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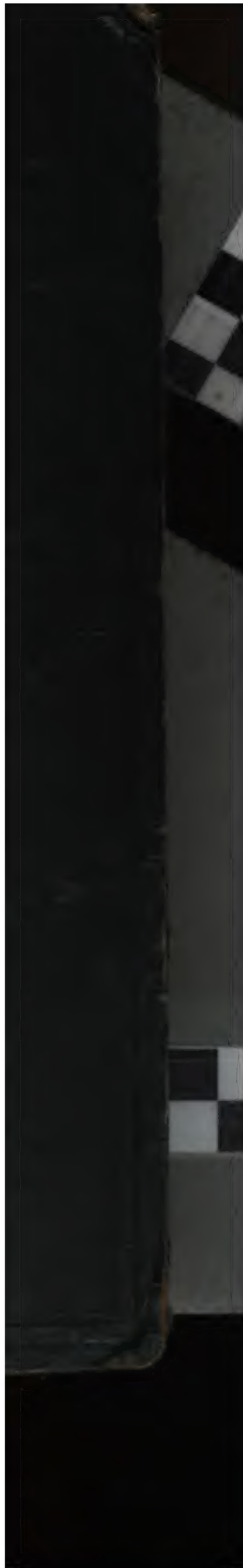
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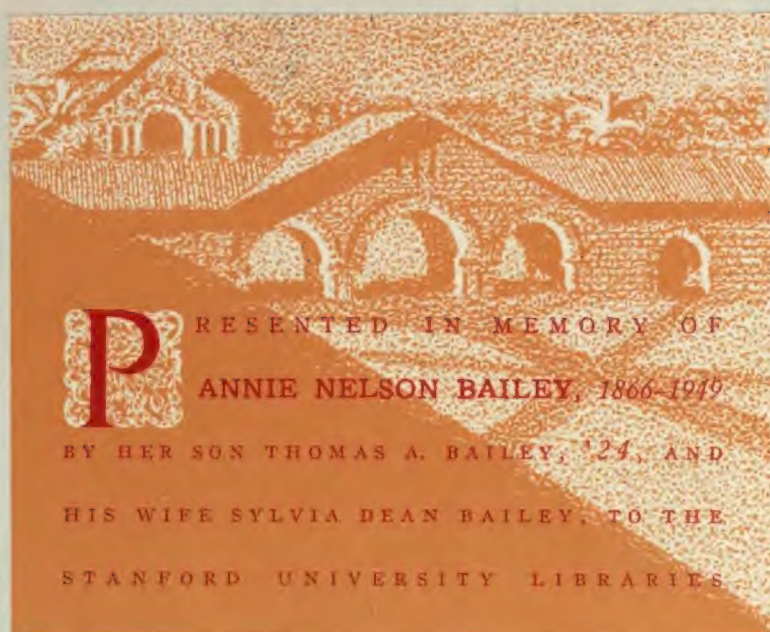
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The Plantation in Ulster.

BELFAST:
M'CAW, STEVENSON AND ORR.
61, UPPER ARTHUR STREET.

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An Historical Account
OF THE
PLANTATION IN ULSTER
AT THE
Commencement of the Seventeenth Century,
1608-1620.

BY THE
REV. GEORGE HILL,
EDITOR OF *The Montgomery Manuscripts*, AND AUTHOR OF *An Historical Account*
of the Macdonnells of Antrim.

“If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their own soile,
and forrainers in their own citie, they may so continue, and therein
flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor
taken these paines.”—CAMDEN.

Belfast :
M'CAW, STEVENSON & ORR, 61, UPPER ARTHUR STREET.

1877

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Preface.



THE contents of this volume may be described, in general terms, as a compilation from State Papers relating to the movement which we now familiarly designate the *Plantation of Ulster*. Calendars of the Carew Manuscripts, and of other equally important collections of Irish State Papers, have recently brought to light plantation records of such value, variety, and extent, that the compiler was induced to prepare from them a connected narrative of the events to which they, more or less directly, refer. This narrative, it may be stated, embodies also a large amount of equally important materials derived from the Patent Rolls of the period, the Inquisitions of Ulster, the Barony Maps of 1609, and other original, but hitherto comparatively inaccessible sources. The publication of these numerous papers and documents, and especially of such as have been recently presented to the public by means of fairly and carefully prepared calendars, is indeed an addition to our historical literature of inestimable value.

Before the publication of the Caréw calendars, there was not much known of the causes leading to that lamentable struggle of seven years' duration, which commenced in 1595, and closed with the surrender of the northern chiefs in 1602. The preceding events had remained provokingly hazy, if not indeed mysterious, for it was well known that during many years before 1588 the English rule became rather popular than otherwise in the North, and that Shane O'Neill was finally defeated, in 1567, by the O'Donnells rather than by the government. Hugh O'Neill, although eventually one of the most formidable of his name, had been educated in English ideas and habits, serving loyally in English armies, first against the Desmonds of the South, and afterwards against the Macdonnells of the North. He had repeatedly, also, and of his own free will, renounced the title of *The O'Neill*, accepting in preference the dignity of an English earldom, and restoration to the family estates by royal grant rather than by the sanction of Celtic law. How, then, did it happen, that these friendly relations of full twenty years' standing, between the government and the Irish of Ulster, were so abruptly and utterly broken up? By what means did it come to pass, that, whilst Shane O'Neill found it necessary to force the O'Donnells and Maguires into the northern combination he had formed against the Government, Hugh O'Neill, on the contrary, required to hold in check the headlong fury of the entire northern population in its vehemence for war with the English? The reader will find that certain very significant petitions and remonstrances, preserved among the Carew papers, have amply illustrated this remarkable state of affairs. (See pp. 38-50). Camden might have given us more light on the subject than he has deigned to afford, for he was actually writing Ulster history at the time to which we refer, and had access to the Irish State Papers soon after their receipt in London; but he looked only at one side of the great controversy then raging in our northern province, and concocted his historical

dainties mainly for the gratification of English palates. In the first or introductory chapter of this volume, the reader has a sketch of the events which led to the war with Hugh O'Neill, as well as of the early history of the great Ulster families afterwards dispossessed.

Since the printing of these plantation papers, there can exist no longer any doubt, or dispute, as to the real extent of the then confiscated lands in Ulster. The six counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, contain about 3,798,000 statute acres, all of which escheated or fell to the Crown, and were thus made available for the several purposes of plantation. Such portions of these six counties as could not be included in the attainder of the fugitive earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, or in that of their immediate adherents who went with them into exile, were claimed for the King through an act of parliament known as the 11th of Elizabeth, which act had not been repealed, nor even modified, in reference to the several territories wherein it was now specially required to operate. It was with more than ordinary gratification, therefore, that Sir John Davys, the Attorney-General for Ireland, and the highest authority, perhaps, on questions of title to land, wrote to his patron, Salisbury, from the vicinity of Coleraine, on the 5th of August, 1608, in the following terms:—"They [the commissioners of survey] hope before Michaelmas to present a perfect survey of six several counties, which the King has now *in demesne and actual possession*, in this province; which is a greater extent of land than any prince in Europe has to dispose of, the disposition whereof by plantation of colonies is a matter of great consideration, wherein it is not easy to lay down a good and sure project." Whilst this fact, then, about the extent of the confiscation, could not be more clearly stated in words, nor on higher authority, we have it actually *demonstrated* on the barony maps of 1609, which show how the lands were laid out for the several plantation purposes, but do not indicate lands remaining for any other purposes whatever. That vast area, therefore, of nearly four millions of statute acres, was parcelled out to British undertakers, London citizens, English servitors in Ireland, Protestant bishops and incumbents, corporate townships, forts, free schools, the college then recently established at Dublin, and certain native inhabitants of the province—for even the little shreds given to them, were given from the confiscated lands, and specially for plantation purposes.

With only two, or perhaps three exceptions, every native landlord, and every native tenant within the bounds of the six counties was dispossessed and displaced; and although a few of both classes were afterwards permitted to share slightly in the great land-spoil, it was only in some other and less attractive localities than their own (1). In other words, such natives as succeeded in

(1). *Their own*.—The only two families not displaced (though dispossessed by the 11th of Elizabeth) were those of Sir Tirlagh McHenry O'Neill of the Fews, and Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, whose lands lay on both sides of the Blackwater. These Irish lords, the former of whom was the Earl of Tyrone's half-brother, and the latter his son-in-law, had joined him against the government in 1595, but deserted him in 1598, hoping to receive grants from the crown of the estates which they had previously held under him [Tyrone] as the head landlord. But their arrangement with the government of Queen Elizabeth was made many years before the plantation, and was a

merely nominal affair, which could have been set aside at any time simply on the grounds of its illegality, the Act known as the 11th of Elizabeth by which these and other lands in Ulster had been confiscated still remaining in force. The grants in both cases required afterwards to be made legal, but this was done in return for their surrender to the government, and not because of any subsequent conditions. One other Irish gentleman, named Mulmorie, son of Hugh Connellagh O'Reilly, was not displaced, though dispossessed by the plantation. His case, however, was quite exceptional, and the fact of his happening, in 1610, to get a grant of at least a part of

obtaining small grants were not permitted to remain on the lands they had previously occupied, nor even anywhere in their native districts, but were dismissed into certain baronies set apart for them, and proverbially known as the most barren in the respective counties to which they belonged. A few servitors, or military men, were located in each of such baronies, to watch and overawe the native grantees; but, as a matter of course, the servitors' grants included whatever good lands could be found in the several bleak and rugged districts referred to. The reader will find these baronies distinctly specified in the plantation papers; and, indeed, they may be but too easily discovered on the otherwise fair face of Ulster, by their comparative sterility even at the present day. But whether the lands thus given to natives were good, bad, or indifferent, the servitors, in numerous instances, soon became their owners, and especially where such lands were granted in tolerably large quantities to natives of rank. Indeed, to make sure of this result in certain desirable cases, the servitors got grants of the natives' lands in reversion, and entered into possession at the deaths of the latter, whilst the rightful heirs, generally children of high rank, were thus left destitute (2).

the estate he had previously owned, is mentioned by Carew, in 1611, as evidently a remarkable coincidence. See p. 460, note 33.

(2). *Left destitute.*—The sons of these families thus turned adrift, and of many other families of the same rank, and placed in the same unhappy position of outcasts on their own soil, took refuge in the woods, particularly of Armagh and Tyrone, and in certain fastnesses between Tyrone and Londonderry, where they lived by levying black-mail on the British settlers all around. To secure the extermination of these plunderers, who were generally designated *woodkerne*, the government was obliged, during many years, to place large forces under the command of numerous provost-marshals, and also to bribe native criminals by promises of pardon, and otherwise, to betray and destroy the *woodkerne* by every means in their power. By these agencies there was a systematic havoc made among the sons of the Ulster gentry, the innocent often suffering, because at times seen to associate with brothers, or other kinsmen, who were known as *woodkerne*. It was felt that the sooner these gentry (who had now no means of support) could be got rid of, the better. Sir Oliver St. John, created Viscount Grandison, and appointed to succeed Sir Arthur Chichester as lord deputy of Ireland, mentions in a letter of the 29th of September, 1619, that by the agency of natives, soldiers, and provost-marshals, employed by him for the purpose above named, he [St. John] had destroyed in three years, 300 of the idle sons of gentlemen, who had no means of livelihood but by spoiling the planters. But although St. John, from the time of his appointment as lord deputy in 1615, had thus done pretty extensive work in the way of extermination, he was forced to admit that the *woodkerne* were literally 'irrepressible.' "Yet, it is true," says he, in the letter to the council in London already mentioned, "that when one sort is cut off, others arise in their places, for the countries are so full of the younger sons of gentry who have no means of living and will not work, that when they are sought for to be punished for disorders they commit in their idleness, they go to the woods to maintain themselves by the spoil of the quiet subjects." The same class of gentlemen-

woodkerne, it would appear, were then troubling the other plantations, south, east, and west, and the grim deputy saw no remedy for the evil until a round number of them—say ten thousand—could be removed from Ireland, and so disposed of that they might be slain in foreign wars. "If I might have an opinion," says he, meekly, when closing his letter to the council, "I think it would be an ease to the kingdom if some foreign Princes were to draw 10,000 of them to a war abroad." (MS. *State Papers*, vol. 235, No. 60). This stern policy was always adopted, when possible, to save the application of still sterner means, although St. John acknowledged, when speaking of certain *woodkerne* then in prison, that he had "not heard any greater hurt they have done than to steal victuals to fill their bellies." This lamentable state of affairs went on for many years, presenting at times curious phases, as differing circumstances tended either to discourage the *woodkerne*, or, on the other hand, to render them bolder in their movements. The government, however, could always keep them pretty well in check by seizing their relatives when necessary, and threatening destruction to the latter by way of retaliation. The following letter, from a succeeding lord deputy [Falkland], to the council in London, may be quoted as an illustration:—"Your Lordships have heard that certain of the O'Neales, being four in number, surprised the person of one Sir Benjamin Thornborough, as he rode (more carelessly than he should) not far from Armagh, and carried him away to the woods. From thence they caused him to write to me, the deputy, how it stood with him, and that in a few days they would execute him if I did not consent to protect them until they procured their pardon for some offences objected against them, which, indeed, were not heinous, yet such as made them doubtful of their safety, and, therefore, to stand upon their guard. Of him [Thornborough] we had compassion, and presently provided for the apprehension of the parents and other friends, giving out that they should all die if Thornborough perished, but his Majesty's honour so overruled all further respects of the particular of Thornborough, as I, the deputy, gave sufficient order for prosecution of those insolent malefactors, if they should

The vast majority of the natives, however, who were dispossessed but did not obtain any small grants in freehold, were obliged to rent holdings as they best could, some on the servitors' estates, others on the bishops' herenagh and termon lands, and not a few on the Londoners' wide possessions. The Government encouraged (it did not see its way to compel) the servitors, bishops, and Londoners, to plant their lands with British tenants, but the servitors, bishops, and Londoners greatly preferred Irish tenants, who willingly paid higher rents and gave less trouble than the others (3).

omit to deliver the gentleman, or not submit absolutely (and without condition for pardon or protection, and that with halts about their necks), to the mercy of his Majesty. And the effects are that, finding their friends thus apprehended, and that a resolution was taken for their pursuit, they not only set Thornborough free, but have put themselves upon the mercy of the King, and yesterday made their submission, with halts about their necks, being contented, besides, to go to foreign parts in the nature of a banishment for seven years, unless they be well warranted by licence to return in the meantime. Dublin Castle, 25 April, 1623." (MS. *State Papers*, vol. 237, No. 23). In the spring of the next year [1624], Sir Francis Annesley wrote to Sir Edward Conway, the English secretary, as follows:—"There are now 30 or 40 rebels, well-armed, in two several parties in the counties of Tyrone and Londonderry, who have taken divers prisoners, and have committed many thefts and robberies upon the good subjects; and one company of them lately took a prisoner from a constable and 7 or 8 others, who were conducting him to the assizes of Tyrone to be tried there, and in doing thereof they cruelly murdered the constable, and carried the delinquent into the woods with them. All this is a trifle to speak of in this kingdom, where there are now many others in several counties upon their keeping (as we call it here), yet because of a sudden they appear bolder than they have done for a long time, we infer that it is fit to look to them betimes. Dublin, 27 March, 1624." (See pp. 349-353). One of the most ruthless and brutal of the Ulster provost-marshals, in dealing with these hapless sons of the native gentry, was Sir Moses Hill, then of Stranmillis, near Belfast.

(3). *The others*.—The late Dr. Reid, in his *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 86, supposes that the area of the six escheated counties comprises above two millions of acres, without stating whether Irish or statute measure. Probably, however, he meant the former; but even if so, the six counties contain at least 2,990,000 Irish acres. Of this quantity—whatever may have been its precise amount—he affirms that only 400,000 acres were confiscated, leaving a remainder, as he states, of a million and a half unconfiscated. Dr. Reid came to this conclusion as to the extent of the confiscated land from a careful examination of Pynnar's 'Survey'; but he overlooked the fact that Pynnar only specified the amount of arable or 'profitable' land supposed to be comprised in the grants for the several plantation purposes, which amount of 400,000 acres constitutes, on an average of the six counties, about one ninth part of their whole area. "The remaining million and a half of acres," he adds, "comprised not only

the unprofitable lands, but also large tracts of country held by the native proprietors who, either being not implicated in the revolt of 1607, or having made timely submission, were unmolested in their estates." It happens, however, unfortunately for Dr. Reid's arrangement that the unprofitable lands were confiscated as well as the profitable, and thrown into the adjoining proportions of undertakers rent-free—that there was no revolt in 1607—and that if O'Dogherty's revolt of 1608 be intended, it could have had no influence on the standing or position of the two 'native proprietors,' Sir Tirlagh McHenry and Sir Henry Oge above named, as they were in no way implicated therein, and did not, therefore, require to make 'a timely submission.' The confusion about 'native proprietors' has arisen in part from the fact that several Irish gentlemen, who had remained quiescent, or had assisted the Government during O'Dogherty's revolt, got each as his reward the rents paid for the grass of a certain number of cows, less or more, according to their several deserts, and generally for a period of two years, or from the summer of 1608, until the same date in 1610 (pp. 249-251). Another fact also must have had something to do in creating the confusion about 'native proprietors,' namely, that on the flight of the earls, their lands in the counties of Tyrone, Armagh, Coleraine, and Donegal were let by the government to native gentlemen, who had been no doubt 'proprietors,' but who were then only admitted as yearly tenants, from November, 1607, until the autumn of 1610, when the lands which they thus temporarily held were distributed amongst British undertakers (see pp. 239-241). Dr. Reid further ventures to apportion his 400,000 acres of confiscated lands as follows:—"I find that of the 400,000 forfeited acres, 100,000 were granted for church, school, and corporation lands, above 60,000 were granted to the native Irish, and the remaining 240,000 were disposed of to British undertakers or colonists, the majority of whose tenants were also Irish, the original inhabitants of Ulster." Unfortunately for this second arrangement, so easily made by Dr. Reid, he happens to have altogether omitted in his enumeration of plantation purposes, three very important ones, to wit, the lands which were set apart for servitors, for the college at Dublin, and for the Ulster forts, forgetting also that British undertakers or 'colonists' were strictly prohibited from accepting any Irish tenants, however much they wished to do so. The college at Dublin alone got of the escheated lands nearly as much as Dr. Reid has distributed to the church, the free schools, and the corporate towns of the whole six counties!

Mr. Froude, when discussing this Ulster Plantation, follows closely, although as if at times impatiently, in the wake

Readers are to observe, that although the plantation arrangements took for granted the confiscation of the six entire counties, and were carried out only on this basis, the plantation papers are found, as a general rule, to record very much smaller quantities of land than those really appropriated to the several purposes already mentioned. The papers, indeed, only profess to specify the amount of *arable* lands supposed to be conveyed in each grant, but it is notorious that the real quantities even of such lands, whether given to individual grantees, or for public uses, must have been in many instances very much understated. The great discrepancies, however, between the quantities expressed in these plantation grants and the quantities actually conveyed, are accounted for principally by the fact that into very many proportions were thrown large sweeps of what was called 'unprofitable' land, but which was soon afterwards acknowledged by the grantees to be very profitable as pasturage, although not exactly coming under the definition of 'arable.' These discrepancies also, in some measure, are traceable to the hasty and imperfect surveys made in 1608 and 1609 (see pp. 67, 118, 122, 123), to say nothing of occasionally corrupt manipulation on the part of the surveyor-general. (See p. 154). But from whatever causes, the fact was too flagrant to be long overlooked, and was acknowledged by the owners themselves in the succeeding reign. A memorable admission was made on this point, at an early period, even by the Londoners. On taking possession of their vast territory in 1611, they admitted that, almost at the threshold of their entrance therein, they had stumbled on two 'proportions' which were passed by the survey as 2,500 acres, but which, in reality, comprised at least 10,000 acres! (See p. 421). It does not appear that any similar admissions were afterwards made by the same party, but it is a well-known fact that the lands handed over to the several London companies were, on an average, at least seven times the amount popularly supposed to have been conveyed in their charter. And, as to the case of undertakers in the other five counties, the understatement of the actual quantities conveyed appears to have been even more decided. When Wentworth, in 1633, began to look narrowly into their patents, he discovered certain very tangible arguments for squeezing them pretty tightly in favour of the King. He found, in fact, that the patents, as a general rule, did not express more than the tenth part of the lands actually possessed by the patentees! When writing to Coke triumphantly about this discovery, the zealous lord deputy affirms that in Ulster, as in plantations elsewhere, the Crown "had sustained Shameful Injury, by passing in truth *ten*

of Dr. Reid. His statement is, perhaps, more graphic than that of his precursor, although equally gratuitous and unreliable. "The six escheated counties," says Mr. F., "contained in all two million acres. Of these a million and a half, bog, forest, and mountain, were restored to the Irish. The half million acres of fertile lands were settled with families of Scotch and English Protestants." (See *The English in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 69.) This, to be sure, is an easy and popular style of managing a knotty question; but, in the present instance, it is something worse than ludicrous. On what possible grounds could Mr. F. assert that a million and a half of acres were restored to the Irish? Could he not have explained, in one or two eloquent sentences, how the Irish appropriated this vast and very unexpected gift, or why there should

have been so much care, and-outlay, and anxiety, on the part of the government to secure the escheat or fall of the whole six counties to the crown? Was this ponderous and difficult job done from the mere whim of English statesmen and lawyers; or, being done, was it as whimsically set aside, by the discovery that only a fragment or fourth part of the lands thus taken from the owners was worth holding? Mr. F. seems to think that the fertile land for Scotch and English Protestants was included in a sort of ring-fence, and thus easily shut off from the bogs, forests, and mountains of Ulster. He had not heard that special grants, exclusively of the mountains, and also of the soil from which the forests were being cleared, were made to distinguished and favoured English servitors.

times the Quantities of Land expressed in their Patents." (See *Strafford's Letters and Despatches*, vol. i.; p. 132). Such was, indeed, the reckless style in which the escheated lands were scattered about to British undertakers; and, certainly, in a no less lavish manner for British plantation purposes generally. Thus, whilst 'the college at Dublin' was represented by plantation documents as obtaining just 10,000 acres in Ulster, the real fact is that 'old Trinity' owns 96,000 statute acres of the escheated lands in the counties of Armagh, Fermanagh, and Donegal. (See p. 454). As another illustration, it may be stated that whilst plantation records give just 8,282 acres to corporate towns and free schools conjointly, the truth is (see Report of Commissioners on Endowed Schools), that the five Royal or Free Schools alone hold fragments of the escheated lands comprising at least 20,000 statute acres. (4).

(4). *Statute acres.*—It may be mentioned, in passing, that the Rev. Dr. Killen of Belfast, also makes a little excursion into the Plantation of Ulster, and that he, too, loses himself amid its labyrinthian windings, although under the immediate guidance of Dr. Reid on the one hand, and "the learned Dr. O'Connor, himself a Roman Catholic," on the other. In other words, Dr. Killen has simply rendered the confusion of the other two doctors 'worse confounded.' What, for example, is the precise meaning of the following announcement by Dr. Killen:—"The counties to which the confiscated estates belonged were amongst the smallest or the most thinly populated in the province; and the lands planted with English and Scottish settlers did not amount to one fourth of their area. The Plantation, therefore, properly so called, extended only over a mere fraction of the north of Ireland." Can it be, that by 'the estates' Dr. Killen means the lands owned by the two fugitive earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and that he thinks these were the only lands confiscated? If so, we can comprehend his meaning, at least to some extent, for the earls' lands lay in the three counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and Donegal, one of which is small, and another thinly peopled; but is Dr. Killen not aware that the 'estates' also of the O'Hanlons, the O'Cabans, the O'Doghertys, the Maguires, and the O'Reillys, were all confiscated, and that these 'estates,' with the lands of the two earls aforesaid, comprised the whole six counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan? "The Plantation, properly so called," included, we suppose, the lands appropriated to plantation purposes, and if nearly four millions of statute acres constituted "only a mere fraction of the north of Ireland," then it follows that the north of Ireland, or Ulster, must be a much more extensive region than has been hitherto generally imagined. Whilst Dr. Killen apparently endorses Dr. Reid's statements, even including "the revolt of 1607," he wisely abstains from any details as to the location of the displaced multitudes, or the disposal of the million and half acres alleged by Dr. Reid to have been 'unmolested,' and by Mr. Froude to have been given back to the natives. Dr. Killen evidently attaches much importance to the three cases mentioned by Dr. O'Connor, of Roman Catholic landowners being permitted to hold on, even after the plantation arrangements had been introduced. But these are not cases in point, and do not affect the question relating to the general dispossession and displacement of

the natives. One of these cases, namely, that of Sir Henry Oge O'Neill (Sir Felim Roe O'Neill's grandfather), has been already referred to and explained in a preceding note. It may be added here, however, that although Sir Henry Oge, and his eldest son Tirlagh, were both slain at the same time whilst assisting the government to put down Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's revolt, only a portion of his lands were given to his heir, Sir Felim, son of Tirlagh, whilst the greater part was distributed among Sir Henry Oge's brothers and younger sons,—Chichester, on that occasion, adopting the provisions of the Celtic law, and abandoning the feudal law of primogeniture, from a fear lest one or other of the claimants might give him trouble by drawing together a party against the government. (See pp. 96, 318, 319). The case of Lord Audley, created Earl of Castlehaven, is quite beside the question. He was *not a native*, but an Englishman, and, although a Roman Catholic, he recommended himself immensely to the king by his zeal as an Ulster planter. He proposed to undertake no less than 100,000 acres of the lands from which his co-religionists had been driven, and to build thereon no fewer than 33 towns. (See pp. 79, 135, 136). The proposal threw the king into ecstasies of delight, but was simply ridiculous, considering old Audley's slender means, and his very unfavourable antecedents as a planter in Munster. He was father-in-law, however, to Sir John Davys, the Attorney-General, and through his influence, no doubt, Audley got two propositions for himself and one for each of his two sons, which neither he nor they were able to manage. The third case, viz., that of Connor Roe Maguire, can never fairly be quoted but as an illustration of heartless ingratitude and injustice on the part of the government. This Ulster noble always opposed the Earl of Tyrone, and served actually against him throughout the whole period of the seven years' war. On the fall of his rebel cousin, Sir Hugh Maguire, at an early period in that struggle, Queen Elizabeth gave Connor Roe a grant of the entire county of Fermanagh as a reward for his loyalty, and to the exclusion of the son and younger brothers of the fallen chief. This came to be considered, however, as rather a high-handed exercise of the royal power, and on the accession of James I., Connor Roe was induced to surrender his grant of the whole six baronies of Fermanagh, on the promise of the king that he should certainly have a re-grant of three baronies. But, when the plantation was determined on, Connor Roe, through Chichester's

From occasional glimpses at the general condition of Ulster in the seventeenth century, as given in these plantation records, the reader will probably infer that our northern province must have had certain rare attractions for British settlers. Among the descendants of the latter, however, it has been a cherished faith that our worthy ancestors came here to find homes only in a howling wilderness, or rather, perhaps, in a dreary and terrible region of muirland and morass. We very generally overlook the fact, that the shrewd and needy people whom we call our forefathers, and who dwelt north and south of the Tweed, would have had neither time nor inclination to look towards the shores of Ulster at all, had there been here no objects sufficiently attractive, such as green fields, rich straths, beauteous valleys, and herds of Irish cattle adorning the hill-sides. But such was, indeed, the simple truth. The glowing account of Fermanagh, for example, from the facile and graphic pen of Sir John Davys, would have been at least equally if not more appropriate as a description of Ulster in general; for although few of our northern counties are so picturesque as the one thus selected by him for special admiration, there are several more fertile and productive. "We have now," said he, when writing to Salisbury, "finished [their work as plantation commissioners] in Fermanagh, which is so pleasant and fruitful a country, that if I should make a full description thereof it would rather be taken for a poetical fiction than for a true and serious narrative." (See p. 182.) Even the great and learned Chancellor Bacon himself could not afford to overlook a theme so touching to Englishmen as this Ulster plantation, and when it suited his argument, or served to glorify the King, he could grow eloquent on the subject of woods, rivers, ports, quarries, fishings, and all other Irish sources of wealth, summing up with the announcement that "it is not easy, no, not upon the continent, to find such confluence of commodities." (See pp. 132, 133.) But, perhaps, even a more persuasive witness on this point than either Davys or Bacon, was Susan Montgomery, who came with her husband—the bishop—to Ulster, on his appointment to the three dioceses of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe. On first hearing of her husband's good fortune, she wrote to her sister from the lovely little rectory of Chedsey or Chedzoy, in Somersetshire, as follows:—"The King has bestowed on him three Irish bishopricks; the names of them I cannot remember, they are so strange, except one which is Derye. I pray God it may make us all merye." This really good and amiable lady appears to have had some presentiment of troubles before her, but wished to make light of her own, and her sister's anxieties on the subject, by concluding her letter with the quaint little device of ending with the word 'merye,' evidently to rhyme with 'Derye.' She appears to have been free from that unworthy prejudice and suspicion then so generally cherished in English society against everything

advice, was shoved into a corner of one barony, and displaced from his ancestral residence of Castleskeagh to make room for a very worthless but influential Scottish undertaker, named Michael Balfour Lord Burleigh (see pp. 61, 109). Another of Dr. Killen's statements is, perhaps, to say the least, rather indefinite also, and has special reference to the Londoners' plantation in northern Ulster. "The corporation of the city of London," says he, "obtained possession of a large part of what had been called the county of Coleraine, but which was now named

after its new proprietors, the county of Londonderry." Dr. Killen appears to be thus actually under the impression that the Londoners' grant included only a *part* of the old county of Coleraine, whereas the present county of Londonderry contains not only *all* the old county of Coleraine, but also the very large barony of Loughinsholin, which formerly belonged to Tyrone, together with two fragments torn from the counties of Antrim and Donegal! See Killen's *Eccl. History*, vol. i., pp. 482, 483, 485.

Irish. On her coming to Derry she must have expressed, without much delay or circumlocution, her astonishment at the plentiful supplies of all substantial creature-comforts to be found in Ulster. Writing to her sister, soon after her arrival, she makes the following allusion to this matter:—"I doute not, if you weare here but that you would like of the countrye well enough. I thank God, I like it indifferaunt well this far [thus far], and I am made believe that we shall like it everye day better than other. Wee have our fatte beefes and sheep brought in by our tennants as fast as we can use them, and we want [lack] no good companye, as my cousin William can show you, to helpe eat it up. . . . If my cousin William doth dispraise the countrye, believe him not, for truly it is a fine countrye." See *Travelyan Papers*, part iii., pp. 78, 100, 102.

We are generally accustomed to believe that the Irish of Ulster, in the seventeenth century, were ignorant of all agricultural pursuits, including, of course, the management of domesticated animals. Our plantation records, however, show us clearly enough that we have been mistaken to a very considerable extent in this conclusion also. Their knowledge and management in such matters would fall far short, to be sure, of our present requirements; but, as compared with their neighbours, whether English or Scottish, it is pretty evident that the Irish of Ulster only wanted *peace* to enable them to excel both, as agriculturists. During the seven years' war already referred to, the native inhabitants of this province were reduced to the lowest depths of misery by the systematic destruction of their cattle and growing crops; but even in the brief lull or interval of peace that succeeded, from the spring of 1602 until the autumn of 1607, the recuperative process appears to have been of a very remarkable character indeed. On the flight of the earls at the latter date, Sir Thomas Phillips made a journey from Coleraine to Dungannon, through the wooded country of Loch-inis-O'Lynn, or Loughinsholin, and thereupon wrote to Salisbury, expressing among other matters, his unfeigned astonishment at the sight of so many cattle and such abundance of grain as he had observed all along his route from the one town to the other. This servitor's astonishment arose from the fact—not that the Irish were successful agriculturalists under favourable circumstances, for that seems to have been generally acknowledged—but that in so short an interval of peace the district above named, which had suffered such fearful havoc during the war, should have assumed, as if by some magical power, that charming aspect peculiar only to a condition of peace and plenty. The hill-sides were literally covered with cattle, where creaghting went on, no doubt, in its most attractive forms; the valleys were clothed in the rich garniture of ripening barley and oats; whilst the woods swarmed with swine—20,000 of these animals being easily fattened yearly (as Phillips himself afterwards affirmed) in the forest of Glenconkeyne alone. As an evidence of the agricultural tastes and achievements of the natives in "that pleasant and fruitful countrye of the O'Cahans," Phillips stated, in his *Project* for planting it, that "the Irishmen have been so addicted to tillage that a Bristowe ban barrell of barley was sold but for 18*d.* in the market of Coleraine." Fynes Moryson informs us that their exports in grain and raw hides were considerable; and Sir Arthur Chichester states that these exports were only permitted to Great Britain. The only period, however, during his administration in which the

Irish of Ulster could possibly have become exporters must have been the short interval between his appointment to the deputyship in 1604, and the actual commencement of the plantation in the autumn of 1610. Sir Oliver St. John, who was intimately acquainted with the capabilities of the Ulster Irish as farmers, recommended that the escheated lands should be let directly from the crown to the natives who had been in possession, and who, in turn, would have given the king large rents, ample revenues, indeed, to meet all his difficulties, transferring also to him that allegiance which had been previously rendered to their own chieftains. See p. 69.

The writer, in conclusion, hereby presents his sincere thanks to several literary friends for their kind and valuable suggestions during his preparation of this volume. He feels specially indebted to JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., whose forbearance with historical inquirers never grows weary, and whose thorough acquaintance with the manuscript materials of modern Irish history enables him, most efficiently, to alleviate the toil of workers in that rugged though attractive field.

BELFAST, *September 18, 1877.*



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THE PLANTATION IN ULSTER.

CHAPTER I.—ULSTER BEFORE THE PLANTATION.

I.



It is told of an Ultonian, who lived in the third century, that from a peak in the Beanna Boirche, now the Mourne mountains, he could see all the land northward to Dun-Sobhairce [Dunseverick], and southward as far as Dun-Dealgan [Dundalk]. In other words, he thus beheld at a glance the great northern division of Ireland nearly throughout its whole length, for the Uladh or Ultonia of that remote period included the present county of Louth, which now belongs to Leinster. The above statement is found in the *Dinnseanchus*, a topographical tract of the eighth century on the origin of the names of many remarkable places in Ireland (1). But the Ulster man of to-day may easily test the truth of this ancient record by a visit to some elevated peak among his native mountains, from which he will find that his eye can traverse nearly every leading division of our noble northern land. Thus, even from the summit of a mountain named Knocklayd, an elevation of not more than 1690 feet in the northern Glens of Antrim, he may behold all the country westward as far as Slieve-Snaght [snowy mountain], on the distant border of Donegal; and southward to the vicinity of Newry, where Slieve-Gullen appears, on clear days, as if resting in an amber-coloured sea. Should he take his stand on the

(1). *In Ireland*.—Two copies at least of the *Dinnseanchus* have been preserved, varying in some slight respects, but both highly valuable, as containing our earliest topographical notices of Ireland. When accounting for the name *Beanna Boirche*, by which the Mourne mountains were anciently designated, the *Dinnseanchus* in the Book of Lecan says:—"Benn Boirche, why so called? Boirche, a cow-herd, son of Ros Righbuidhi, and this pinnacle was his head seat. And alike did he herd every cow from Dun-Sobhairce [Dunseverick] to Inbher Colptha [Colp], and from Boinn [Boyne] to Beanna Boirchi." In reference to this matter, O'Donovan states that "the mountains usually called Beanna Boirche, *i.e.*, the peaks of Boirche, were called (according to the *Dinnseanchus*) after Boirche, the shepherd of Ros, king of Ulster in the third century, who herded the king's cattle on these mountains. In the *Dinnseanchus* it is stated that the shepherd Boirche could view from these mountains [of Mourne] all the land southwards as far as Dun-Dealgan, and northwards as far as Dun-Sobhairce."—(See *Book of Rights*, translated and annotated by O'Donovan, p. 165; see also pp. 38, 157, 169; O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii., chap. 69; *Annals*

of the Four Masters, pp. 735, 1495; *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated and annotated by O'Donovan, note 182; Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 369). Thus, although this celebrated herdsman appears to have had charge, as superintendent, of all ancient Uladh, which then reached southward to the mouth of the river Boyne, he could only see in that direction as far as Dundalk, from his 'head seat' in the Mourne mountains.

Uladh was not known by its present name of *Ulster* until after the invasions and settlements of the Norsemen on its shores. "According to Worsae (p. 230), the termination *-ster*, in the names of three of the provinces, is the Scandinavian *stadr*, 'a place,' which has been added to the old Irish names. Leinster is the *place* (or province) of *Laighen* or *Layn*; Ulster is contracted from *Ula-ster*, the Irish name Uladh being pronounced *Ulla*; and Munster from *Moon-ster*, or *Mounster* (which is the form found in a State paper of 1515), the first syllable representing the pronunciation of the Irish *Mumhan*."—See Joyce's *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, pp. 104, 105.

conical peak of Slieve-Snacht, or even on one of its huge shoulders, the hills and glens of Inishowen, the lakes, and dells, and streams of that wildly picturesque region, are literally spread at his feet; whilst far away, his eye rests on many attractive places, including the Magilligan Strand, the heights around the city of Derry, and even the headlands on the Antrim coast. But, as an illustration better still, let him ascend that magnificent alpine range, now known as the Sperrin mountains, which extends along the mutual border of Londonderry and Tyrone, and forms the culminating point of the extensive highlands in both those counties. The highest peak there, called *Sawel*, is about 2,230 feet above the sea-level, and from it the spectator may be literally said to behold, as on a map, the several divisions of Ulster; and more especially those counties which our task will require us to notice in detail, and which group themselves, with one exception, around and near the base of the mighty mountain range now mentioned. The whole field of the plantation thus lies all around, extending from Lough Ramor, which forms one part of the boundary line with Leinster on the south, to the coasts of Derry and Donegal on the north-west; and from Lough Neagh and the Bann on the east, beyond Lough Erne, and to the boundary line with Connaught on the west.

Although our northern mountains have been formed generally in groups, and often in isolated masses, instead of in ranges, yet the eye can easily trace two distinct series, made up of such groups and masses, running almost parallel to each other across this northern province from east to west. The northern series, passing through the counties of Antrim, Derry, and Donegal, is broken by two great straths or vales, along which the Foyle and the Bann flow into the Atlantic. The southern series, extending through the counties of Down, Monaghan, Cavan, and Fermanagh, is skirted along its whole length by a succession of fertile and beautiful glens. The vast central area of comparatively level country comprises, with slight exceptions, the plantation lands, and is diversified throughout its whole extent by many a pleasant lake (2) and river (3), by undulating hills, fertile plains, and valleys, which combine alike the picturesque beauty and fertility of hill and plain. This area is free, also, as compared with other provinces of Ireland, from those dismal-looking patches

(2). *Pleasant lake*.—The great number of lakes or loughs in Ulster, large and small, is indeed still remarkable, although several of the latter class are known to have disappeared during the last three centuries. Lough Neagh, from its vast extent, cannot be associated with one district or region of Ulster in particular, for its waters form a mutual border of the five counties of Londonderry, Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Tyrone. The same may be said, although to a less extent, of the beautiful Lough Erne, whose waters lie mainly in the county of Fermanagh, but belong also slightly to Cavan on the south, and to Donegal on the north-west. In this principal class of the Ulster lakes may also be mentioned the beautiful loughs Melvin and Macnean, on the boundary with Connaught; loughs Gowna, Kinnail, and Sheelin, on the boundary with Leinster; lough Oughter, almost in the centre of the county of Cavan; lough Ramor, on the south-east border of the same county; the Cootehill lakes, on the mutual border of the counties of Cavan and Monaghan; and loughs Derg, Esk, and Veagh, in the

central and southern districts of the county of Donegal.

(3). *And river*.—The principal rivers of the six counties aforesaid are the *Erne*, which flows from the southern boundary of Ulster, through the counties of Cavan and Fermanagh, and falls into the sea at Ballyshannon; the *Foyle*, composed of many little tributaries in the counties of Donegal and Tyrone, flows across the whole western wing of the county of Londonderry, and falls into Lough Foyle; the *Bann*, born in a dell among the Mourne mountains, comes northward through Down, Armagh, and Lough Neagh, and on escaping thence, forms the boundary between Antrim and Londonderry, crossing the north-eastern wing of the latter before reaching the sea below Coleraine; the *Blackwater*, which rises in Tyrone, and, in its course to Lough Neagh, forms the boundary between Tyrone and Armagh; the *Faughan* and *Roe*, flowing into Lough Foyle, and the *Mayola* into Lough Neagh; together with several smaller rivers falling into Lough Neagh, Lough Swilly, Lough Erne, the Bay of Donegal, and into the creeks along that coast.

which we call bogs, and which have so generally intruded themselves on the landscape during the last ten centuries (4). The Ultonian, who lived before the commencement of Danish and Norwegian invasions in the eighth century, must have witnessed many fairer scenes of natural beauty than even this northern province afterwards presented; for then was initiated that long succession of war and rapine in Ulster which, amongst other lamentable results, literally covered with morass many a plain and lakeside that had once yielded its yearly crops, or was adorned with noble woods.

II.

A region so attractive, however, naturally incurred the fate of most other regions similarly endowed—it drew towards itself flocks of invaders as the ages rolled on, and these sheltering mountains, which could break the fury of wintry storms, were unable to ward off the scourge of war. The early history of Ulster is now well known, and in some respects better understood than that of most other European regions. Without going back to the remotest times, it may be observed, for example, that the events recorded in connection with the origin and progress of Milesian colonisation are just such as might have been expected to occur, and have been narrated by our ancient chroniclers with a charming directness and simplicity. Thus, the seas, which bore the Milesian fleet of sixty sail towards these shores, proved troublesome, and indeed disastrous—as they have done so frequently since, and will do so frequently in future. When within sight of the southern coasts, these sixty Milesian vessels were suddenly caught in a tempest, which swept across their course from that vast and then mysterious world of waters we have learned to call the Atlantic Ocean. The invading fleet was scattered in all directions, and some of the vessels carrying distinguished leaders, perished in the storm. Among the commanders thus lost was a son of Milesius, named *Ir*, whose name was afterwards so distinctly associated with the early history of this northern province. The fragments of the scattered fleet were collected; the surviving colonists heroically dared to land; their successes (as in many a later enterprise against Ireland) drew others from the mother-country after them; and their Milesian banners soon floated triumphantly from all the places of strength which had been held by preceding colonists, known as *Tuatha-De-Danann*. In the distribution of lands among the Milesian leaders, Heber, the son of *Ir*, was rewarded for his father's services, and his own, by obtaining this northern section of the island; and, in honour of his father's memory, his descendants were known during many ages by the tribe-name of *Irians*, a designation which eventually included all the inhabitants of *Uladh*,

(4). *Ten centuries*.—"Though turf [peat] has been the common fuel for several years past, there are circumstances which lead us to suppose that it has been generated within the last thousand years, while tillage and agriculture gave place to war and plunder. The best land, if neglected, may, by various accidents, be soon reduced to a state of rank bog. It is next to demonstration that many of the places where turf is now cut have been once arable, vestiges of which have been discovered at great depths."—

(See Camden's *Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. iv., pp. 224, 233). At a place called Greenan, in Glenshesk, county of Antrim, the writer visited an ancient sepulchral mound, over which the peat had grown to a depth of *eight feet*. When, in process of time, the peat was gradually cut away for fuel, the owner planted the field in potatoes, and found several enclosures beautifully constructed of unhewn stones, and containing cinerary urns of very primitive formation.

excepting a comparatively small settlement of Picts (5), who, although so called, and forming a distinct organisation, were also descended from Ir.

The Irian princes, in their generations, resided at their palace of Aileach (6), in Donegal, until the time of Ciombaeth, who, at his queen's desire, built the great house known as *Eamhuin*, or *Emania* (7), and made it the chief family residence. The first of this Irian line who attained to the dignity of *ard-righ*, or monarch of all Ireland, was a prince named Rudhraighe, who lived about a century before the birth of Christ, and whose memory was so honoured among his clan that they abandoned their old tribe-name of *Irians*, and were called *Rudricians*. This line or dynasty of the Ultonians existed for a period of 600 years, and no fewer than thirty-one of its rulers, from Ciombaeth to Fergus Fogha, occupied the palace of *Eamhuin*. In all that long period, although Ulster had waged occasional wars with the adjoining provinces of Leinster and Connaught, it had never suffered

(5). *Settlement of Picts*.—The Picts, often called Dal-Araidhe, appear to have occupied the territory now comprising the southern half of the county of Antrim, and the greater part of the county of Down. Fiacha Araidhe, the progenitor of the Dal-Araidhe, was, according to Tighernach, lord of the Cruithne, or Picts, in 236.—See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited and annotated by Dr. Reeves, p. 94; see also Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 267, 270, 279, 280, 319, 336, 340.

(6). *Aileach*.—For a most interesting and elaborate account of Aileach, or Grianan Aileach, or Aileach-Neid, or Aileach-Frrieve, by which several names this great structure has been called, see the Ordnance *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*. Certain local antiquaries, among whom may be specially mentioned Mr. Peter M'Laughlin, believe that Aileach, on the summit of Greenan Hill, in Burt, had been a Druidical temple, and that the royal palace so called stood about three miles distant, in the townland of Elagh or Ailech. The views of the latter are well put by a writer on Inishowen, as follows:—"There can be little doubt that the palace of Aileach stood in the townland of that name, at a distance of three miles from Greenan, and at the place where O'Dogherty erected a castle in the fifteenth century, a fragment of which remains. The locality is fairly adapted for the purpose, and bears the signs of occupancy and cultivation from the most remote period. Its elevation is somewhat greater than the Hill of Tara, being 248 feet above the level of the sea. It commands a sufficiently extensive view of Tyrconnell, Lough Swilly, Inch, and the adjacent country. . . . As corroborative of this view, we may mention that when Prince Eoghan, who resided in Aileach, died of grief for the loss of his brother, the lord of Tyrconnell, his body was buried in Iskaheen, which adjoins the townland above-named, as related in the Annals of the Four Masters."—(*Inishowen: its History*, p. 20). Whilst the arguments of this writer, and others holding his views, are worthy of respect and attention, we agree entirely with the opinions of Petrie and O'Donovan, who have clearly shown that the remains on Greenan Hill are those of the ancient royal palace of Eoghan and his descendants, the Ui Neill or Hy-Niall princes.

(7). *Eamhuin or Emania*.—This great building is believed to have been erected about 300 years before the birth of Christ, and the time of its erection is the limit assigned by our most reliable annalist, Tighernach, to authentic Irish history, all records prior to that age being, in his opinion, uncertain. This looks like a gratuitous assertion, the truth of which Tighernach, perhaps, had no more special means of testing than his contemporaries, and about which he was not in much danger of being called to account. The remains of *Eamhuin*, however, are situate about a mile and a-half westward from the present town of Armagh, and "are, without a single exception," says O'Donovan, "the most extensive of their kind in all Ireland."—(See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 213). They "consist of a circular rath or rampart of earth with a deep fosse, enclosing about eleven acres, within which are two smaller circular forts. The great rath is still known by the name of the *Navan Fort*, in which the original name is curiously preserved. The proper Irish form is *Eamhuin*, which is pronounced *Aven*, the Irish article *an*, contracted as usual to *n*, being placed before this, makes it *nEamhuin*, the pronunciation of which is exactly represented by *Navan*."—(See Joyce on the *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, p. 85.) The circumstances connected with the origin of this famous palace, as they are recorded in the Book of Leinster, are sufficiently curious. "Three kings, named respectively Aedh-ruadh, Dihorba, and Ciombaeth, agreed to reign each for seven years in alternate succession, and they enjoyed the sovereignty for three periods, or 21 years, when Aedh-ruadh [Ayroo] died. His daughter, the celebrated Macha, of the golden hair, asserted her right to reign when her father's turn came, and being opposed by Dihorba and his sons, she defeated them in several battles, in one of which Dihorba was killed, and she then assumed the sovereignty. She afterwards married the surviving monarch, Ciombaeth, and took the five sons of Dihorba prisoners. The Ultonians proposed that they should be put to death. Not so, said she, because it would be the defilement of the righteousness of a sovereign in me; but they shall be condemned to slavery, and shall raise a rath around me, and it shall be the chief city of Ulster for ever."—*Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83; see also O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, first ser., p. 527.

the miseries of subjugation, nor internal convulsions so violent as to shake its reigning family, for any long time, from their northern throne. During the reign of the prince last named, however, a change was to come; an utter revolution was to be accomplished; and, strange to tell, a plantation of Uladh was to be made in the fourth century more suddenly, if not so sweepingly, as that which took place in the seventeenth century. A few words explanatory of the earlier movement may be required; and, particularly, as the two plantations, though so far distant from each other in point of time, appear to have been almost alike in at least one important aspect.

The Ultonians, who were a brave people, and proud of their ancient nationality, had given offence to the chief monarch of Ireland. An ard-riagh, simply because of his position, could always command larger resources than any merely provincial king, however popular, and the monarch, at the period to which we refer (A.D. 323), had determined to humiliate the haughty Rudrician nobles with their king. As his instruments in this business, he selected his three nephews, who had given himself serious trouble—even to the thrusting of his family for three years from the throne—and whom, therefore, he felt it necessary to conciliate by at least finding some congenial work for them to do. Unfortunately for Uladh, these warlike brothers had no landed possessions of their own, and this northern province had then become prosperous beyond the other portions of Erin, simply in the wealth which consisted of prodigious flocks and herds. The green fields of Uladh had, in truth, become too tempting to the eyes of the three Collas (8), for by this designation the three brothers are familiarly known in history. Their mother being a princess of Alba (now Scotland), they were able, through this connection, not only to secure the services of many influential kinsmen in that kingdom, but to draw thence a large fragment of the army with which they invaded Ulster. These soldiers from Alba had been brought secretly across the 'Current of the Mull of Cantire,' now the North Channel, and they numbered, with their associates on this side, 7,000 men, in addition to the large force

(8). *The three Collas*.—The names of these three princes were Cairrell, Muredhach, and Aedh, but they are known in history as the founders of the great Clann Colla, and familiarly designated *The Three Collas*, viz., Colla, surnamed *Uais*, or the 'noble'; Colla, surnamed *Maunn*, or the 'stammerer'; and Colla, surnamed *Da Chrioch*, a phrase sometimes written *Fochri*, and translated 'earthy' or 'clay-like.'—(See Eugene O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 72). From an early Irish manuscript account of the Clann-Colla, never printed, we take the following passage, illustrative of the movements mentioned in the text, this extract representing the monarch of Ireland as being actually at war with the Ultonians:—"Colla Uais, son of Eochaidh Doinmblein (or Dublin), assumed the sovereignty of Ireland in the year 322, and he was monarch of Ireland for four years, till Muredach Tirech rose with a mighty host and made battle against the three Collas, and banished them into Alba, where they got extensive lands, because Oilech [Aileach], daughter of the king of Alba, was their mother. This happened when Cormac Finn was king of Alba, 362 [322]. They spent some time in Alba, till it happened to Muredach Tirech, the monarch of Ireland, that a war broke out between him and the Ultonians, namely, the Clanna Rudhraighe, and he sent for his brother's children

to Alba, to aid him against the Clanna Rudhraighe and other neighbouring tribes. They (the three Collas) responded to the monarch of Ireland, and they fought a fierce campaign against the Clanna-Rudhraighe, so that Fergus Fogha, king of Ulster, and his three sons fell by them, and they took to themselves the government of the province of Uladh, and of one-third of the province of Connaught, and many other possessions and privileges, which were conceded to their descendants after them from the monarchs of Ireland. After having terminated that war, Colla Uais returned to Alba, and left all those rights to his brothers; and having spent 15 years in Alba, he came to make a kingly visitation of Ireland, and he died at Tamar-na-righ [Tara of the Kings], anno 335." This extract differs in some respects from other and hitherto accepted authorities. If the three Collas actually conquered a third part of Connaught and other possessions, in addition to the territory of the Clanna Rudhraighe, there is no evidence, so far as we know, that they continued to hold any lands excepting such as belonged to that tribe. The notice here of the movements of the eldest of the three brothers, Colla Uais, after his conquest was made, is curious. The statements that he preferred Alba to Ulster as a place of residence, and died at Tara of the Kings, are both, we should say, probable enough.

supplied for the occasion by the monarch of Ireland. The campaign in Uladh lasted only seven days, but the actual fighting is described as continuous throughout that time. It ceased with a great battle at Farney, in the present county of Monaghan, where the Rudrician king, Fergus Fogha, with three of his sons, was slain, and his army cut to pieces. Other disastrous results soon followed, including the seizure, by the victorious Collas, of nearly the entire northern principality as sword-land, the expulsion of its inhabitants, the planting on its fields of an alien population, and the utter destruction of the beautiful palace of Eamhuin, which, during so many centuries, had been the pride of the north.

It would now be difficult, perhaps impossible, to define the exact boundaries of the lands thus seized and planted by the three Collas and their adherents. In general terms, they may be described as comprising all Northern Ulster, from Lough Neagh and the lower Bann westward, excepting the region now known as Donegal; and as much of southern Ulster as was included in the counties now known as Armagh, Louth, and Monaghan. In an ancient historical tale, known as the *Battle of Magh Rath*, the lands held by the Clann Colla, or descendants of the three Collas, are defined as extending westward from *Ath-an-Imairg*, 'the Ford of the Contest', a place on the lower Bann, to the river Finn, which falls into the Mourne at Lifford, and to *Foither*, a place not yet identified, but probably somewhere further west. According to the same authority, their lands in southern Ulster stretched from *Glinn Ríge* (the glen through which the Newry river flows), to a place called *Bearramain*, which must have been situated on the eastern confines of Breifne—a territory comprising the present counties of Cavan and Leitrim. Another definition of the ancient Uladh, held by the Rudricians, and consequently seized by the three Collas, is also given in the same historical tract. A leading actor in the events therein mentioned is represented as addressing his associates—descendants of Ir and Rudhraighe—as follows:—

" From the fair, beauteous Inbher Colptha,
To Drobhaois and Dubhrothair—
That was the extent of your old province
In the time of your royal ancestors,
When the Ultonians were truly great."

The extreme points on the south-western boundary of ancient Uladh are thus distinctly stated, *Inbher Colptha* being the old name for the mouth of the Boyne; *Drobhaois*, the mouth of the river flowing from lough Melvin into Donegal Bay at Bundrowis; and *Dubhrothair*, or the Black River, now known as the Dubh or Duff, which falls into the same bay at the present Bunduff. It would appear, indeed, that ancient manuscript tracts generally, which relate to the topography of provinces in Ireland, speak of Uladh as including Louth, and extending southward as far as the mouth of the Boyne. O'Donovan refers to one such MS. in particular, which is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and which asserts that the country of the Clann Colla was bounded by the four noblest rivers in Uladh or Ultonia, viz., the Boyne, the Bann, the Erne, and the Finn. See the *Battle of Magh Rath*, translated and annotated by O'Donovan, pp. 8, 9, 28, 29, 38, 39, 142, 220, 221.

The territory held by the Clann-Colla soon began gradually to diminish until it eventually included only portions of the present counties of Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, and Fermanagh. It may be worthy of remark, however, that the plantation originally made by the three Collas was about equal in extent to the plantation made so many centuries afterwards by James I., but different as to boundaries. Thus, the former included the territories comprising the present counties of Louth and Monaghan, but not those comprising the present counties of Cavan and Donegal; whereas, the latter, or the plantation of the seventeenth century, included Cavan and Donegal, but left out Monaghan and Louth. The movement of the fourth century left Breifne (the eastern half of which now forms the county of Cavan) unmolested, for the whole territory then belonged to Connaught; the lands now known as the county of Donegal were also unmolested, for they were held by the northern Ui Neill, or Hy Niall; and the three Collas were commissioned only to invade that portion of the North which was occupied by the Irian or Rudrician race. On the other hand, the planters of the seventeenth century, whilst they had no pretext to assail Louth, which did not then belong to Ulster; nor Monaghan, which had been already settled somewhat after planter fashion; laid hold of Cavan and Donegal, because these counties were respectively owned by O'Reillys and O'Donnells, firm friends and allies of the O'Neills, whom James I., the ardent on the English throne, was anxious to remove, just as Muredach Tirech, the chief monarch of Ireland, had aimed, by his plantation of the fourth century, at the removal of the Rudrician race, whom he alike hated and feared. And the latter, if he did not exactly carry out his behest in this respect, succeeded in firmly planting a colony of at least temporary friends, where opponents had formerly dwelt; a colony, indeed, which grew into a proud and powerful people, so proud, as to be designated the *Oirghialla*, 'of the Golden Hostages,' because any members of the Clann-Colla whom they deigned for a time to surrender as hostages into the hands of enemies, could be bound only during the period of imprisonment by golden fetters; and so powerful, that their kings had the chief seat of honour beside the monarchs of Erin in all grand national assemblages (9).

Although the *Oirghialla*, as a people, were destined to disappear before the advancing power of the O'Neills, it is remarkable that many of their leading septs survived, in an organised form, until the time of the English invasion (10). But, it is perhaps still more remarkable, that although

(9). *National assemblages*.—An ancient Irish tract on the *Oirghialla* states, that whenever the hostages given by them required to be fettered, only golden chains could be used for the purpose, and that hence they were called *Oirghialla*, i.e., of the golden hostages. According to the same authority, the king of the *Oirghialla* sat beside the monarch of Ireland, and all the other sub-kings were the length of his hand and sword distant from the king.—(See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 29). This latter privilege is also mentioned in the well known *Book of Rights*, as follows:—"From the mansions of Eire [dwellings of the chiefs] to the throne of Teamhair [Fara], the seat of the king of the *Oirghialla* is at the right hand of the king of Tailte [Ireland]. The distance of that seat, truly 'tis no mistake, is such that his hand should reach the cup-bearer who distributes. Entitled is the king of the *Oirghialla*, beyond each lord of

tribes, to every third horn of goodly ale, on the right of the king of Teamhair. Entitled is his queen (without falsehood, without boasting) to the same distinction from the other queens."—See O'Donovan's translation, p. 143. As a further illustration of the pride and power of the *Oirghialla*, it may be mentioned that "St. Bernard, in his Life of St. Malachy, says that the *Oirghialla* would not allow any bishop among them except one of their own family, and that they had this carried through fifteen generations; and, he adds immediately after, that they had claimed the see of Ard Macha, and maintained possession of it for two hundred years, claiming it as their indubitable birthright."—*Ibid*.

(10). *English invasion*.—There is much new and important information on the history of Ulster at that period to be derived from the admirable topographical work of John O'Dubhagain or O'Dugan, whose writings take the

the Ulster septs had been broken up and dispersed soon after the English invasion, several individual families of distinction survived from the plantation in the fourth century until they were finally rooted out by the plantation of the seventeenth century! Of these families, the most noteworthy were the *Maguires*, anciently the Mag Uidhir, who occupied Feara-Monach or Fermanagh; the *O'Hanlons*, anciently the O'h Anluain, descended from one of the three Collas through a chieftain named Niallan, whose territory was known as Ui Niallan (now Onealan), although his descendants, the O'Hanlons, in later times occupied the adjoining district of Orior; the *Macanas*, or M'Canns, anciently the Clann-Breasail, also descended from one of the three Collas, and the former occupants of a territory on the southern shore of Lough Neagh, known as Clanbrazill; and the Macmahons of Monaghan, with others that might be named. These families had, indeed, a long existence and distinguished history. Will any families planted by James I. in Ulster be found, if sought for, after the lapse of fourteen hundred years? Several of the leading families planted in the seventeenth century have disappeared already, and not a few, even now, are suffering such fatal eclipse as must soon end in extinction.

But to return. How fared it with the children of Ir and Rudhraighe, after the defeat of their armies, and the death of their king, Fergus Fogha? It is told by the old chroniclers in general terms that the Ultonians as a people, or nation, were driven from their own lands eastward, and hemmed up in the small territories now comprising the counties of Down and Antrim. This statement was, to a large extent, correct enough; but it cannot contain the whole truth. In the first place, it was not likely that all the Ultonians were expelled, for many of them had proved disaffected and disloyal to their own government, taking the side of the invaders, and no doubt afterwards partaking in the distribution of the conquered lands. The nation or people generally could not all find room in the eastern districts above-named, and large numbers of them, therefore, must have sought homes in the adjoining provinces of Leinster and Connaught, and among their northern neighbours, the Ui Neill, who held not only the territory now known as Donegal, but portions of those now known as Tyrone and Londonderry. But an additional way of escape was open to them in Alba, and very many no doubt betook themselves to the opposite shores of Sruthar-na-Maoile-Chinntire. This flight across the Channel, whose waters must have then witnessed exciting scenes, counted probably as one of the several emigrations from these shores to the coasts of Alba, which preceded the great Dalriadic movement of 506 (11). It is evident, however, that a very important

form of a poem, but are valuable chiefly as an accurate historical record. In O'Reilly's *Catalogue of Irish Writers*, p. 99, there is the following notice of O'Dugan and his poem, at the year 1372:—"John O'Dugan, chief poet of O'Kelly, of Ibh Maine, died this year. He was author of a topographical and historical poem, of 880 verses, which gives the names of the principal tribes and districts in Meath, Ulster, and Connaught, and the chiefs who presided over them, at the time Henry II., king of England, was invited to this country by Dermot McMoregh, king of Leinster." Dr. Lynch, the learned author of the *Cambronsis Eversus*, speaks of O'Dugan's work in the following terms:—"I am conscious that the merit of the original excellent poem cannot be appreciated from the

hurried abstract I have given of this remarkable fragment, just as all beauty and order depart from a stone structure, when the union of its component parts has been dissolved. Nevertheless, I did not wish to omit an opportunity of giving from so valuable a monument an account of the families who inhabited the various territories of Ireland before the incursions of the English. Most of the families which the poem mentions were not only in existence at the commencement of the late war (1641), but some of them were even then occupying portions of their old territories, and others enjoyed most extensive estates."—*Cambronsis Eversus*, vol. i., p. 278.

(11). *Movement of 506*.—See Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*, pp. 2, 3.

section of the banished Rudricians found a resting place on the immediate borders of their enemies, but why they were permitted to establish themselves in such close quarters it would be difficult to determine. They were, no doubt, attracted towards Dal Araidhe, from the circumstance of its inhabitants being kinsmen. The latter were descended from Fiacha Araidhe, an ancestor of Fergus Fogha, and no doubt they sympathised with the royal house of Emania, in its then calamitous condition. The inhabitants of Dal Araidhe, who were probably but a weak tribe, appear to have surrendered their identity as a distinct people in favour of their more warlike kinsmen, the Rudricians, who established themselves with the undoubted determination to make the most of their small stripe of territory (which reached from Carlingford Bay to the hill of Slemish, in the county of Antrim, and eventually included all that county), transferring to it their old and cherished name of *Uladh*, and carrying with them the prestige at least of many heroic associations and traditions (12).

It is not to be supposed, however, that their expulsion and enclosure within these small bounds could have been accomplished without tremendous tumult and excitement at the time, followed by occasional attempts on the part of the conquered tribe to regain its former position. The royal house of Rudhraighe was re-established in the new but sadly circumscribed *Uladh*, and the princely representatives of that house, so long as their line continued, never appear to have lived in friendly relations with the Oirghialla. The first noteworthy attempt for the recovery of their lost kingdom was made in the year 578, by their prince named Baedan, son of Cairell, but he was defeated by the Clann-Colla, and died in 581. The most noted and formidable effort in this direction was put forth in the following century by the well-known Congal Claen, son of Scanlan of the Broad Shield, and the last prince of this long line, whose reigns, even going no further back than to Ciombaeth (see p. 4), constitute one of the proudest chapters in the history of ancient Ulster, or, we may truly add, even of ancient Ireland itself. Of this Congal Claen, O'Donovan affirms that "he was descended from the most heroic and ancient line of princes that Irish history has preserved, being the senior representative of the ancient kings of Emania, whose history is more certain than that of any other line of princes preserved in the Irish annals, not excepting even the monarchs of the Hy-Niall race." (*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 203). The expiring struggles of this great and ancient house involved the whole north and indeed the whole of Erin in a series of commotions, for Congal Claen aspired to the chief throne, and was, of course, furiously opposed by the reigning monarch, Domhnall. The latter had rebelled against his predecessor, Suibhne Menn, whom he induced

(12). *And traditions*.—Among the heroes and distinguished men of ancient Ulster, the following may be mentioned:—*Conchobar Mac Nessa*, a king who reigned at the time of the birth of Christ; *Fergus MacRoigh*, who, when dethroned in Ulster, was able to wage war for the space of seven years against the Ultonians by means of his influence with the rulers of Connaught; *Caochullain*, who is designated by Tighernach, 'fortissimus heros Scotorum'; *Conall Cearnach*, one of the most distinguished of the Red Branch, a celebrated military order in Ulster; *Cadchar* of the battles, who gave name to Dun Celchair, near Downpatrick, and was a very distinguished hero of the Red Branch; *Laughaire* the victorious, also a member of the same military association; *Dubhthach*

Dael *Uladh*, whose patrimonial lands were, soon after his death, inundated by Lough Neagh: *Munremar*, one of the most celebrated of the Ulster knights at the time of Fergus MacRoigh; *Cethern*, son of Fintann, one of the twelve heroes of the Red Branch; he figures conspicuously in the Irish historical tale known as the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*, and his fortress of Dun-Cetheren stood in Dunboe, westward of Coleraine; *Amairgin Rochoaidh*, the father of Conall Cearnach, himself the fifth in descent from the founder of the Clanna Rudhraighe; *Fergus*, son of Leide, who resided at Moylinny, or Magh-Line, on the eastern side of Lough Neagh; together with many others whose names are recorded in ancient Irish annals.—See *Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 207-12.

Congal to assassinate, promising that when he (Domhnall) should succeed to the throne of Erin, he would advance Congal from being the ruler of a small corner in the north to the position of his ancestors, who were kings of all ancient Uladh. But, when Domhnall had got his own object accomplished, he forgot his promise; and not only so, but endeavoured to humiliate Congal in the presence of his enemies (13). The latter determined in his wrath to dethrone Domhnall, but was himself suddenly driven into exile, where he remained nine years, and during that time collected an army of Picts, Britons, Saxons, and men from Alba, landing his forces at Dundrum, in the county of Down. The great dispute culminated in the battle of *Magh Rath*, in the same county, which was fought in the year 637, and "was one of the most famous," says O'Donovan, "ever fought in Ireland." In this conflict Congal was defeated and slain. But although he was the last prince of his line in the smaller Uladh or Ulidia, that little nationality continued to maintain its place among the powers of the north until the time of the English invasion (14).

At the date of this battle the power of the Oirghialla had begun to wane, and that of the Hy-Niall and their kindred septs in north-western Ulster to spread and strengthen. The early history of the O'Neills, who were soon to make themselves felt in Ulster, was closely associated with the territory or district known as Inis-Eoghan, now Inishowen, so called from a prince named Eoghan

(13). *His enemies*.—The following is Congal's account of the relations between himself and the monarch Domhnall, as given by the author of the tract entitled the *Battle of Magh Rath*:—"Be not afraid, O King, for although the injuries that thou hast done me, are great, thou needest not dread me now; and I will now state the injuries thou hast done to me. The king who preceded thee over Erin was Suibhne Menn (monarch from the year 615 to 628), son of Fiachna, son of Feradhach, son of Muiredhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages; thou wert not obedient to that king, and thou didst go to make a treaty with the Ultonians, and I was given in fosterage to thee by my father and my own tribe; a woman of my own tribe was sent with me to nurse me with thee, but when she reached thy house thou didst send the Ultonian woman back to her own country, and thou didst place a woman of thine own tribe to nurse me in the garden of the fort in which thou dwellest. It happened on a certain day that I was left alone in the garden without any one to take care of me, and the little bees of the garden rose up with the heat of the sun, and one of them put its venom in one of my eyes, so that my eye became awry, from which I have been named Congal Claen (*i.e.*, crook-eyed). I was nursed by thee until thou wast expelled by Suibhne Menn, king of Erin, and then thou didst repair to the king of Alba, taking me along with thee in that exile; and thou didst receive great honour from him, and you formed a treaty, thou and the king of Alba, and he protested to thee that he would not oppose thee as long as the sea should surround Erin. Thou didst afterwards return to Erin, and I returned along with thee, for I was in exile with thee. We put in at Traigh Rudhraighe [the strand at the mouth of the river Erne, near Ballyshannon], and here we held a short consultation. And what thou didst say was, that whoever thou shouldst get to betray the king of Erin, thou wouldst be bound to

restore his territory to him whenever thou shouldst become king over Erin." Congal then relates how and where he assassinated the monarch Suibhne Menn, on the promise given him by Domhnall, that the latter was to make him (Congal) king of all Ulster, as his ancestors had been. "I then returned to thee," he adds, "and thou didst, after this, assume the sovereignty of Erin. My father, Scannall of the Broad Shield, died soon after, and I came to thee to be made king [of all Uladh], as thou hadst promised me. Thou didst not perform thy promise, except to a small extent, for thou didst deprive me of Cinell Conaill [Tyrconnell], and Cinell Eoghain [Tyrone], and also of the nine cantreds of Oirghiall, the land of Maelodhar Macha (king of the Oirghialla, or, according to the Annals of Ulster and Tighernach, only chief of the territory of Orior), who now sits at thy shoulder, and whom thou hast seated in the place of a king, in preference to me, this night, in thine own house, O king. And I will give battle to thee and the men of Erin in consequence, as thou hast assembled them around thee this night. And he (Congal) went out of the house, and the Ultonians followed him."—*Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 34-39. When, afterwards, Congal Claen urged his followers to fight valiantly for their ancient inheritance, he exclaims—"What country is there but our province, in which its own king and prosperous chief does not appoint, with full consent, toparchs over mighty territories, and bruchaidhs [farmers] over townlands; the sons of kings guarding them, but ours of the race of Rudhraighe? The races of Conall and Eoghan, and the Airghialla, have seized our lands, and against them we make this onset, to drive them from over us."—*Ibid.*, p. 223.

(14). *English invasion*.—See *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated and annotated by O'Donovan, pp. 35-41.

[Owen or John], son of a distinguished monarch of Erin, known as Niall the Great, and also as Niall of the Nine Hostages, who died in the year 406. So early as the time of Eoghan, the family had entered upon its career of conquest, using as its base of operations the ancient and celebrated palace of Aileach. This structure Prince Owen carefully repaired, for even in his remote time Aileach had become old and ruinous, but still retaining a noble prestige, which he was wisely anxious to cherish and preserve. In the progress of the Ui Neill or Hy-Niall southward from this place, the several septs or families of the Oirghialla who stood on their path, and who refused to succumb, were dispersed in various directions, east and west, some seeking an asylum even in the little Uladh, among the descendants of those who had been victimised by the Clann-Colla. Among the banished Oirghialla, who went eastward across the Bann, and settled on the Antrim side of that river, between Lough Neagh and Coleraine, were the celebrated *Hy-Tuirtre* (15), descendants of Fiachra Tort, a grandson of Colla Uais. This tribe, originally seated in the region now known as Tyrone, and unwilling to submit to Hy-Niall authority, was then compelled to retire. The territory from which they removed was the first annexed by the victorious sons of Niall, was appropriated by Eoghan himself, and was subsequently known as *Tir-Eoghan* [Tyrone], or 'the territory of Eoghan,' whilst the original seat of the family was assigned to his brother Conall, and after him named *Tir-Conall*, or 'the territory of Conall.' To this last mentioned chieftain's name was added the epithet *Gulban*, because he had been fostered at Bengulbain, now Benbulbin, a mountain not far distant, in a northern direction, from the town of Sligo. These brothers, Eoghan and Conall

(15). *Hy-Tuirtre*.—The territory originally occupied by this tribe, and from which they were eventually expelled, comprehended large portions of the present baronies of Dungannon and Loughinsholin, both of which belonged to the principality of Tir-Owen, or Tir-Eoghan, although the latter forms part of the county of Londonderry since early in the seventeenth century. "At an early date," says Dr. Reeves, "it would appear that the people of Hy-Tuirtre removed to the eastern side (of the Bann), and transferred their name to the tract which is comprised in the modern baronies of Upper and Lower Toome. . . . The clan of Hy-Tuirtre continued to be governed by chieftains of their own tribe for a long series of ages, as the following catalogue, chiefly furnished by the Four Masters, shews:—

- AE.C. 668. 'Moelfothartaigh, son of Suilbhe, chief of the Cenel-Tuirtre, died.
 " 728. 'Reachtabra O'Cathusaigh, chief of Hy-Tuirtre, died.
 " 738. 'Muredhach, son of Fergus Forcrad, lord of Hy-Tuirtre, died.
 " 743. 'Colman, bishop of Lissan (Lissan), strangled by the Hy-Tuirtre (An. Ul.)
 " 834. 'Eochaidh, son of Cucongoltach, lord of Hy-Tuirtre, died.
 " 1015. 'Conchobhar O'Domhnaillan, lord of Hy-Tuirtre, slain in battle.
 " 1059. 'Muredhach O'Flann, lord of Hy-Tuirtre, died. (An. Ul.)
 " 1081. 'Maolmthidh O'Maolruanaigh, lord of Hy-Tuirtre, slain.

- AE.C. 1121. 'Cumaighe, son of Deoradh O'Flinn, lord of Derlas, drowned in Lough Neagh.
 " 1151. 'Cunladh O'Flinn, lord of Siol-Cathusaigh [kinsmen of the Hy-Tuirtre.]
 " 1154. 'MacDeoradh O'Flinn put out the eyes of his son because he had obtained the lordship of Hy-Tuirtre, to the prejudice of his father's rights.
 " 1158. 'Cunladh O'Flinn, son of Deoradh, lord of Hy-Tuirtre and Dal-Aradia, died.
 " 1159. 'Cumaighe O'Flinn, Rex O Turtray, attests the Charter of Newry.
 " 1176. 'Cumaighe O'Flinn, lord of Hy-Tuirtre, Fir-Lee (Men of Li, the modern barony of Coleraine), and Dal-Aradia, was slain by his kinsman, Cumaidhe, aided by the people of Fir-Lee.
 " 1177. 'John de Courcy was opposed in his advance upon Hy-Tuirtre and Fir-Lee by Cumaidhe O'Flinn. In the following year, having again invaded Dal-Aradia, he encountered Cumaidhe O'Flinn, lord of Hy-Tuirtre and Fir-Lee, and having suffered a defeat he fled, wounded, to Dublin." (See Reeves' *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 294-296.) The Hy-Tuirtre continued to be governed by their own lords or chiefs, the O'Flinns, until near the close of the fourteenth century.

Gulban, the oldest and youngest of the numerous sons of Niall the Great, appear to have been always cordial, hand-in-hand workers in their career of conquest and annexation. Even in death they were not long divided, for Eoghan is reported to have died of grief on hearing that Conall Gulban had gone to his rest ! The following is the Four Masters' account of this occurrence under the year 465 :—"Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, (from whom are descended the Cinel-Eoghan) died of grief for Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and was buried at Uisce-Chain, in Inis-Eoghain, concerning which was said—

"Eoghan, son of Niall, died
Of tears—good his nature—
In consequence of the death of Conall, of hard feats,
So that his grave is at Uisce-Chain."

Uisce-Chain is now Iskaheen, a very pleasant locality—as the name implies—adjoining the present townland of Aileach, and not far distant from the ruins of Eoghan's palace. He did not pass, however, from his summer-house and arched walks on the hill, down to take his rest among the quiet, green slopes of Iskaheen, before he had laid deep and broad, the foundations of the great house of O'Neill in Ulster. The principality of Tir-Eoghan gradually and in due time absorbed not only the nine cantreds of the Oirghialla, but virtually, also, the smaller Uladh after the death of Congal Claen, although it continued to retain its originally organised form. The Oirghialla and the Hy-Niall tribes had probably less difficulty in uniting for the same objects, or in a common policy, from the fact that they were really kindred races, being both descended from Cairbre Lifeachair, a monarch of Erin, A.D. 277. In the interval, however, between the death of Eoghan and the commencement of the Norse invasions of the eighth century, several princes of the Ulster Hy-Niall had the honour of being elected to the chief throne of Ireland. The first of them who enjoyed this distinction was his grandson, Murtagh MacEarcha, who became a pattern ruler ; and the next prince of this house, elected monarch in 544, was Dermot, contemporary with his troublesome kinsman, Columbkille, or St. Columba, descended from Conall Gulban. Dermot, soon after his appointment, became a distinguished law-maker, and was so really anxious to inspire his subjects with a love of what was just and right, as to involve himself in much sorrow and trouble. It so happened that his own son, Breasal, was the first to violate a new code of laws promulgated by the monarch ; and the latter felt that should he shrink, even at the outset, on any pretext, from the due administration of the law, the labours of his wisest counsellors would have been undertaken comparatively in vain. He stood firm ; and allowed the law to take its course, although it inflicted the penalty of death on his own son. Another case, not so lamentable, but involving great trouble and calamity, occurred soon afterwards. A son of the king of Connaught, presuming on his high, and as he believed, irresponsible position, wantonly slew a nobleman during the time of a national assembly at Tara. On finding, however, the real danger of his position in the presence of Dermot's new code, the murderer hastily sought shelter with Columbkille, who had then become a great power, especially in the North, from the magnitude of his ecclesiastical performances. Dermot, who did not spare his own son, could not be expected, under similar circum-

stances, to spare the son of the king of Connaught. The culprit, therefore, was seized, even in the presence of Columbkille, tried according to the new code, found guilty, and forthwith executed. Another case of a different class, but also clearly illustrative of Dermot's sense of justice, may be mentioned. A certain St. Finian complained that Columbkille had copied a portion of the sacred scriptures from a manuscript made by him (Finian), and had promulgated the contents without the owner's knowledge or permission. The dispute between the two saints was carried for final adjudication before the king, who decided that Columbkille's transcript rightly belonged to Finian, sustaining his decision with the curious illustrative remark—"to every cow belongeth her calf, and to every book its copy."

But Columbkille did not accept this just decision as a genuine saint should have done. He raged against the good king, not only because of this decision in the small affair of the manuscript, but because of the punishment justly inflicted on the young Connacian, whilst under his (Columbkille's) protection. He rushed first among his immediate kinsmen and connexions in Tirconnell, (for he was born at a place called Gortin, in that region), rousing them by such arguments as we may imagine a saint such as he could employ, on the subject, perhaps, of the profane attempt made by the monarch to restrict the circulation of scriptural knowledge, in the decision then recently made. Whatever may have been his utterances in Tirconnell, he succeeded in thoroughly stirring up the fighting population against the king. He next passed into Connaught, crossing the Dubh-Rothair, no doubt in the spirit of a crusader, and calling the Connacians to arms for the purpose of avenging the execution of their youthful prince. To check this movement, Dermot sent a large force northward, consisting of more than two thousand men, which was completely defeated at a place called Cul-Dreimhne, in the present county of Sligo. But, although victorious, the saint thus drew down upon himself the wrath of other opponents more virulent than any that Dermot could command. These were his brother ecclesiastics, who imposed what was called a canonical penance upon Columbkille, for causing the bloodshed at Cul-Dreimhne, which canonical penance would have probably proved rather troublesome in Tirconnell; so he beat a hasty retreat from his native hills and glens, crossing the north channel in company with twelve of his disciples, and landing in Iona, since known as Icolmille, where his efforts for the spread of the Gospel subsequently became so celebrated (16). It may be stated, however, that when peaceable relations were established between

(16). *So celebrated.*—Readers wishing to become acquainted with all the known facts of St. Columba's career should consult Dr. Reeves's already celebrated edition of Adamnan's life of this saint, who was concerned not only in the battle above-mentioned, but in two others, which were fought respectively at Coleraine and Clonard. Respecting the two last mentioned, Dr. Reeves has the following notices:—"As the battle of Cul-Dreimhne arose in part from a religious dispute with St. Finian, so that of Cul-Rathain, or Coleraine, is described as the result of a quarrel with St. Comgall of Bangor. The modern name of Ros-Torathair is not known, but the place was somewhere near Coleraine; and it is very possible that some collision did take place between the saints about jurisdiction, as St. Comgall's abbey church of Cannus was

situated close to Coleraine, and St. Columba is recorded to have been occasionally in that neighbourhood. Besides, the territory west of Coleraine was the debatable ground between the Dal-Araidhe, St. Comgall's kinsmen, and the Hy-Neill, of St. Columba's tribe. Fiachna, son of Baedan, with kinsmen of the Clanna-Rudhraighe, are described as the belligerents on the Dalaradian side. Now this Fiachna was lord of Dalaradia, and is spoken of in the life of St. Comgall as residing at Rath-mor, in Moylinny (the moat in Donegore, county of Antrim), and a devoted friend of the Saint. . . . That the battle of Cul-Rathain, though not recorded in the Annals, was fought,—that he was a leader therein,—and that it took place in consequence of the jealousies of the Dalaradians and the Hy-Neill, quickened into action by the influence

Dermod and the saint, the latter got back his transcript of Finian's manuscript, which was afterwards preserved during many centuries in the O'Donnell family (descendants of Conall Gulban), and which now actually lies in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Dermod's dust sleeps partly in Clonmacnoise, and partly in Connor, county of Antrim, his head being buried at the former place, and his body at the latter, near which he had fallen in battle.

The princes of this great Ulster house or family of O'Neill, who afterwards became monarchs of Erin, during the incursions of the Northmen, were generally remarkable for their bravery and patriotism, amidst those scenes of terror, bloodshed, misery, and widespread depravity then witnessed throughout this province. The Danes and Norwegians sometimes came on friendly terms with each other, but not unfrequently in hostile bands, deciding their quarrels on Irish soil, and compelling the natives to lend a hand in such conflicts, which were to be succeeded, as a matter of course, by wider and greater desolation among the Irish themselves. These terrible northern marauders began to appear in the closing years of the eighth century, and in less than thirty years afterwards, when they had carried off all the treasures from religious establishments within reach of the coasts, they evinced an unmistakeable determination to introduce permanent settlers from their own countries. Niall Caille, who was appointed chief monarch in 833, took care to interrupt as much as possible their designs of colonising, defeating them in two pitched battles, one of which was fought in the vicinity of Derry, and the other further west in Tirconnell. After his death, his son, Aedh Finnliath, elected monarch in 863, continued the struggle with even greater success, slaying thousands of the Northmen in Inis-Eoghan, or Inishowen, and plundering their new settlements on the coasts. One grand onslaught is noticed as follows by the Four Masters, at the year 864:—"A complete muster of the north was made by Aedh Finnliath, so that he plundered the fortresses of the foreigners wherever they were in the north, both in Cinel-Eoghan and Dalaraidhe; and he carried off their (the foreigners') cattle and accoutrements, their goods and chattels. The foreigners of the province came together at Loch-Feabhail [Lough Foyle]. After Aedh, king of Ireland, had

of their respective arch-ecclesiastics, is extremely probable; only it was a military event which *followed*, not *preceded*, St. Columba's settlement in Ily [Iona].

"The third battle, that of Cul-fedha, or Bealach-fedha (probably at or near Clonard), was fought in 587. . . . How far St. Columba participated in this transaction is not recorded, but that he was deeply interested in it appears evident from the words of Tighernach, a sentiment which the Four Masters studiously suppress."

"Thus, we find St. Columba directly or indirectly concerned in three battles, the earliest of which occurred in the year but one before his retirement to Britain, and the others at later periods, one of them after he had been twenty-four years in the abbacy of Ily. The first, his biographers and panegyrists acknowledge to have been the grand error of his life, for which he paid the penalty of pilgrimage; but to save his character after he became the apostle of the Northern Picts, and the religious exemplar of the Albanian Scots, the device is resorted to of antedating the other occurrences in which the failing of his nature betrayed itself; and whereas his participation in these evils could not be denied, it was thrust back into

the irresponsible part of his life, rather than allow it to be numbered among the acts of his maturity. That Columba, closely allied to the principals in these deeds of strife, and within one step himself of the object they were contending for, should look on with indifference, is not to be expected—especially in an age of revolution, and among a people whose constitution and national construction rendered civil faction almost inseparable from their existence. It was not until 804, that the monastic communities of Ireland were formally exempted from military service; and the endeavours of Fothadh, the canonist, in procuring this enactment from Aedh-Oirdnidhe, the monarch of Ireland, form the subject of panegyric and special mention in the Annals. . . . The same principle which caused St. Columba's panegyrists to represent his battles as delinquencies of his *youth*, operated with the Four Masters, when compiling their comprehensive Annals from earlier authorities, in dealing with those oft-recurring monastic encounters, and as there was no opening for a transfer of the blame, they suppressed the mention of them." Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves, pp. 253-255.

learned that this gathering of strangers was on the borders of his country, he was not negligent in attending to them, for he marched towards them with all his forces ; and a battle was fought fiercely and spiritedly on both sides between them. The victory was gained over the foreigners, and a slaughter was made of them. Their heads were collected to one place, in the presence of the king ; and twelve score heads was the number reckoned before him, which was the number slain by him in that battle, besides the numbers of them who were wounded and carried off by him in the agonies of death, and who died of their wounds some time afterwards."

A son of Aedh Finnliath, named Niall, and nicknamed *Glundubh*, or 'Black-Knee,' was chosen to succeed as monarch of Erin, in 916 ; but his reign was brief, for he fell sword in hand three years afterwards, defending Ulster against a greater than usual horde of Northmen, who arrived in the autumn of 919. From this Niall Glundubh, the whole race or family took their surname of *O'Neill*. A great grandson of Niall Glundubh, known as Maelseachlainn, or Malachi II., was elected in 980, and signalised his reign by two crushing defeats of the Northmen, obtaining greater victories than any previously won against them during the long and terrible struggle that had been going on since their first appearance in 797. These victories were achieved at Tara and Dublin, and were attended by the happiest results for the country. Before the victory at Tara the inhabitants had been reduced to the most deplorable condition—a fact but too significantly told in a proclamation issued by the brave monarch, immediately after the battle. "It was then," say the Four Masters, "Maelseachlainn himself issued the famous proclamation, in which he said—'Every one of the Gaeidhil, who is in the territory of the foreigners, in servitude and bondage, let him go to his own territory in peace and happiness. This captivity was the Babylonian captivity of Ireland, until they were released by Maelseachlainn ; it was indeed next to the captivity of Hell.'" In his battle subsequently with the Northmen, near the present city of Dublin, the victory gained by the Irish over their oppressors was equally decisive. Among the booty then seized by Malachi were a golden collar and a sword, which had been preserved as family treasures among the descendants of a great Scandinavian prince named Tomar. The Four Masters notice this incident of the battle at Ath-Cliath, or Dublin, as follows :—"The ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus were carried away by force by Maelseachlainn, from the foreigners of Ath-Cliath." Our Irish bard has the following popular and spirited comment :—

"Let Erin remember the days of old,
Ere her faithless sons betrayed her—
When Malachi wore the collar of gold,
Which he won from her proud invader." (17).

(17). *Proud invader*.—It is not surprising that even slight victories, tending to weaken the power of the Norsemen, were hailed by the Irish everywhere with delight. An old chronicler, describing the extent of the slavery imposed by these invaders on the native Irish, informs us that "such was the oppressiveness of the tribute and rent of the foreigners over all Erin at large, and generally, that there was a king from them over every territory, and a chief over every chieftainry, and an abbot over every church, and a steward over every village, and a soldier in every house, so that none of the men of Erin had power

to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour or in kindness to an aged man, or to a friend, but was forced to preserve them for the foreign steward, or bailiff, or soldier. And though there were but one milk-giving cow in the house, she durst not be milked for an infant of one night, nor for a sick person, but must be kept for the steward, or bailiff, or soldier, of the foreigners. And however long he might be absent from the house, his share or his supply durst not be lessened ; although there was in the house but one cow, it must be killed for the meal of one night, if the

Although Malachi lived until the year 1023, he had not the glory of inflicting the crowning defeat on the Northmen at Clontarf in 1014, for his ally, Brian Boiroimhe, previously raised a commotion against him, and was able to depose the old northern hero from the chief throne. In these proceedings Brian Boiroimhe was the agent of a great southern party, who had become jealous of the frequency with which monarchs for Ireland were drawn from the northern house of O'Neill, and had, therefore, combined to interrupt or put an end to that arrangement. This southern party professed to be reformers; and, during Brian's reign of twelve years, some roads and bridges were made throughout the country, and the inhabitants were encouraged, as a matter of convenience, to adopt the use of surnames. Brian immortalised himself by his great closing grapple with the Northmen at Clontarf, which resulted in the extinction of their power throughout Ireland. He only lived, however, to see the enemy routed, and the avengers on their track; for he could not have had time, before his assassination by a stragglng Dane, to comprehend how thoroughly complete and magnificent was the victory he had then achieved. From the date of his death, the struggle went on between the Irish north and south about the monarchy; and during its progress Malachi II. regained his lost seat, which he occupied until the time of his death. That event is noticed in the following terms, by the Four Masters:—"Maelseachlainn Mor, son of Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, pillar of the dignity and nobility of the west of the world, died on Cro-inis, Loch Aininn, after having been forty-three years in sovereignty over Ireland, according to the Book of Cluain-mic-Nois, . . . after being anointed by the hands of Amhalghaidh, successor of Patrick, for he, and the successor of Colum-Cille, and the successor of Ciaran, and most of the seniors of Ireland, were present at his death." Towards the end of the century Murtagh O'Brien, a grandson of Brian Boiroimhe, was chosen chief monarch, and by way of putting an end to all Hy-Niall pretensions in future, he marched a large army into Inishowen, and demolished the ancient palace of Aileach, actually carrying back some of its heaviest materials into Munster, as trophies of his success. A grandson of Maelseachlainn, known as Murtagh MacLaughlan, of the same house of O'Neill, revived the family prestige for a time, although he was the last of his line to enjoy the distinction of being elected monarch—a distinction so repeatedly won by his ancestors, at longer or shorter inter-

means of a supply could not be otherwise procured. And the most fit person of the family was obliged to take wages, the day on which he embarked on board ship with his lord, and must be supplied with provision as if he was at home [*i.e.*, the most useful member of any family was thus carried away into slavery, with as much of the family means as would support him during his period of absence]. And an ounce of silver, Findrum, for every nose (as a tax), besides the royal tribute afterwards every year; and he who had not the means of paying it had himself to go into slavery for it. In a word, although there were an hundred hard-steeled iron heads on one neck, and an hundred sharp, ready, cool, never-rusting brazen tongues in each head, and an hundred garrulous, loud, unceasing voices from each tongue, they could not recount, or narrate, what all the Gaedhil suffered in common, both men and women, laity and clergy, old and young, noble and ignoble, of hardship, and of injury, and of oppression, in every

house, from these valiant, wrathful, foreign, purely-pagan people. Even though great was this cruelty, oppression, and tyranny; though numerous were the oft-victorious clans of the many-familied Eriann; though numerous were their kings, and their royal chiefs, and their princes; though numerous their heroes, and champions, and their brave soldiers, their chiefs of valour and renown, and deeds of arms; yet none of them was able to give relief, alleviation, or deliverance from that oppression and tyranny, from the numbers and multitudes, and the cruelty, and the wrath of the brutal, ferocious, furious, untamed, implacable hordes by whom that oppression was inflicted, . . . because of the excess of their thirst and their hunger for the brave, fruitful, nobly-inhabited, full of cataracts, rivers, bays, pure, smooth-plained, sweet-grassy, land of Erin." *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Dr. J. H. Todd, pp. 49-53.

vals, during a period of six hundred years. Murtagh MacLaughlan did not attempt to rebuild the old family palace of Aileach, which lies in ruins ever since its demolition; but he left a somewhat equivocal legacy to his country, for he was progenitor of that beautiful Dervorgilla who married O'Ruairc or O'Rourke of Breifny, and who, as an Irish Helen, was supposed to be the cause of many of Ireland's sorrows (18).

No sooner were the O'Neill princes relieved from the prosecution of such ambitious projects as had been found necessary to place so many of their ancestors on the supreme throne, than they began to devote themselves more immediately to the duties of their own proper sphere as rulers of Ulster. Their first object was to consolidate the several fragments of territory in the north into one strong government, although, indeed, even whilst the inhabitants suffered from the dire effects of Norse invasions and settlements, they had maintained, for so far, an unwavering allegiance to the house of O'Neill. The deep and general sentiment of respect throughout all Ulster towards that family was truly expressed by O'Dugan, when, in his characteristic sketches of the several peoples and territories of the North, he said—

“ We shall not halt till we reach to Aileach,
To the race of Eoghan of valiant arms,
Who have obtained the palm of greatness, without fraud—
The acme of the nobility of Erin.”

A truly noble distinction this! To have attained to such greatness as the O'Neills had won, and without fraud, indeed, entitled them to be hailed as the very acme of the nobility of the whole land. It is not surprising that, with their qualifications of bravery and strict integrity, they soon took their place at the head of those other Ulster chiefs, who might have been regarded

(18). *Ireland's sorrows*.—This celebrated beauty, whose name is written variously, Dearbhforghill, Dervorgill, Dervorgilla, and Derbhorcaill, was the daughter of Murchadh, who died in 1153, son of Domhnall, who died in 1094, son of Flann, slain in 1013, son of Mael-sachlainn, or Malachy, the heroic Hy-Niall monarch of Ireland. Dervorgilla became the wife of Tighernan O'Rourke, but in the year 1152 she eloped with, or was carried off by, Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, more familiarly known as Dermot MacMorrough, king of Leinster, and became thus the cause of his introducing the English into Ireland, to sustain him against the assaults of certain powerful enemies whom his misconduct had thus summoned against him. In the following year she returned to her husband, persuading him, no doubt, that she had been carried off by force, but it was believed that she would not have re-appeared in Breifny so soon, had not her lover, Dermot, been obliged to leave her and fly to England for aid. As an evidence, however, of her desire to compensate for the past, she became a distinguished benefactor of the Church, and eventually died in the Abbey of Millifont, in the year 1193, aged 85. Old Hanmer, who puts the most uncharitable construction on her conduct, ignorantly concludes his reference to her elopement or abduction as follows:—“When he [Dermot] saw himself quite forsaken, voyde and destitute of all ayde, he betooke himself to the sea, and fled

for England, but what became of the Harlot I cannot learne; belike shee hanged herself when shee had sett all the country in uprore.” (See *Ancient Irish Histories*, vol. ii., p. 221.) Although Dervorgilla's elopement or abduction was undoubtedly the cause of the troubles which eventually led to the introduction of the English, that event did not take place for many years after her flight in 1152. “Giraldus Cambrensis (who has been followed by nearly all subsequent writers on the subject) represents this elopement as the proximate cause of the invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans. But this is more than doubtful. Giraldus refers the elopement to the year 1152. Under 1153, the Four Masters record the return of Derbhorcaill to her husband. An interval of fourteen years elapsed, therefore, between the elopement of Derbhorcaill and the advent of Strongbow and his companions, during which period many other causes concurred to provoke the hostility which led to Dermot's expulsion, and to his subsequent appeal for assistance to Henry II.” (See *Annals of Loch Cé*, translated and edited by W. M. Hennessy, vol. ii., pp. 172, 173.) Sir John Davys has no mention of Dervorgilla in his reference to this crisis in Ireland's history, but simply represents “the Lord of Leinster” [MacMorrough] as “being oppressed by the Lords of Meth and Connaught, and expelled out of his territories.” See *Historical Tracts*, p. 6.

in many respects as their compeers, for the estates of the O'Neills comprehended no more than the present counties of Tyrone and Armagh, the one barony of Orior excepted, although they derived tribute from the other chieftains of Ulster. Among these others, the O'Donnells, a kindred race, descendants of Conall Gulban, stood next to the children of Eoghan themselves. O'Dugan, who speaks very favourably of the O'Donnells, designates them as "the Clann-Dalaigh of brown shields,"—this their tribe-name, being derived from *Dalach*, one of their most distinguished chieftains, who died in the year 868, whilst from his grandson, Domhnall, came their hereditary surname of O'Donnell. Their adherence to their kinsmen, the O'Neills, remained unshaken until after the coming of the English, to whom they occasionally transferred their allegiance, and by whose influence they were able to extend their territory. Originally, they had been only lords of one cantred called Cinel-Luighdheach, of which Kilmacrenan was the most noted district, as containing their church, residence, and inauguration chair; but subsequently to the English invasion the O'Donnell representatives became princes or kings of all Tirconnell (19). Another kindred race, constituting also a powerful sept were the O'Cathains, or O'Cahans, descended in common with the O'Neills themselves from Eoghan. This family of O'Cahan first appears in history under the tribe name of *Fir-na-Craebh*, or 'Men of the Creeve,' the territory of Creeve being situated on the western side of the lower Bann, and so called from the celebrated cataract of *Eas-Craebhe*, afterwards known as the 'Salmon Leap,' and, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, known as the 'Cutts,' in the vicinity of Coleraine. Its first name, Craebh, or Creeve, had been that of a lady who was drowned at this point in the river, and the daughter of a chieftain who occupied the ancient fortress of *Dun-da-Bheann*, now known as Mount Sandal. The Fir-na-Craebh, or O'Cahans, displaced the *Cianachta* (descendants of a prince named Cian), from the territory still retaining from them the name of *Keenaght*, and now forming one of the baronies in the county of

(19). *All Tirconnell*.—Dr. O'Donovan has collected several notices from the *Annals of the Four Masters*, between the years 641 and 1207, to "show that the O'Donnells had little sway in Tirconnell till after the arrival of the English in Ireland." During that long interval only four chieftains of that immediate family appear to have held the supreme place in Tirconnell, or, as the territory was always designated in early times, *Cind-Conaill*. The first of these was Dalach, slain in 868, from whom the family was known as the *Clann-Dalaigh* (see above). Dalach's son, called Eigneachan, who died in 901, was also lord or head of the Cinel-Conaill. Another Eigneachan O'Donnell ruled at the commencement of the thirteenth century, and was succeeded by his son of the same name, in 1207. The two O'Donnells last mentioned were appointed after the coming of De Courcy; and from that time the Clann Dalaigh continued to furnish chiefs or lords for the whole territory of Cinel-Conaill, instead of minor leaders in only one cantred. (See *Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 337, 338.) It would appear that the O'Donnells, soon after the coming of the English, entered on a course of rivalry with the O'Neills, which had the effect of thoroughly weakening both these great kindred races. Their common origin was appealed to, at an early period, by the monarch Domhnall, as a motive for their uniting against the designs of

Congal Claen. "In whom is it more becoming," says Domhnall, "to check the unjust judgments of Congal, and to humble the haughty words of the Ultonians, or to protect the race of Conall [the O'Donnells] from violent assaults, than in the princes of Aileach [the O'Neills]? For no two tribes of the old surnames of the men of Erin are the vessels formed by one hand, the race of one father, the offspring of one mother, of one conception, of one fostering, but we and you. Wherefore, our fathers, Eoghan the renowned, and Conall the defensive, have bequeathed unto us the same prowess and gifts, freedom and noble-heartedness, victory, affection, and brotherly love." (See *Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 145, 147.) From this passage it would appear that not only were Eoghan and Conall Gulban brothers, but twin-brothers, and the two races of O'Neills and O'Donnells respectively descended from these brothers, had thus an additional obligation to be united. And they were very generally and closely united in their clan career until the O'Donnells came into contact with the English. And although the rivalry, and even hostility which then sprung up between them were at times allowed to sleep, they never died out, and indeed eventually became one leading cause of the ruin of both families, at the battle of Kinsale, in the year 1601.

Londonderry. The O'Cahans are referred to by O'Dugan as 'of the race of Eoghan of valour.' Their chieftains gradually extended their rule over the whole of the region known as *Oireacht Ui Cathain*, 'O'Cahan's country,' but were tributaries or vassals of the O'Neills, and, perhaps, their most trusted adherents. Another kindred race were the O'Reillys, anciently the *O'Raghallaigh*, descended from Brian, a brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and therefore kinsmen to the O'Neills, and the other great families now mentioned. O'Dugan designates the O'Reillys as 'the O'Raghallaigh of red arms,' and 'of rough incursions,' because of their fierce raids into other territories. Anciently, the O'Reillys occupied a territory called Muintir-Maoilmordha, which comprised as much of the present county of Cavan as is not included in the baronies of Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco; but eventually their sway extended over these portions also. The *Mag Uidhir* or Maguires of Fermanagh, although a powerful sept of the Oirghialla, were also kinsmen of the O'Neills, the Clann-Colla and Hy-Niall being descended from a common ancestor.

The above-named great families or septs occupied the six several counties of Ulster afterwards destined for plantation, and were sustained by other septs therein of minor importance whose names and territories will also be duly noticed in the progress of our narrative. In the meantime, the reader is required to observe that, prior to the English invasion, Ulster throughout its whole length and breadth, from Fair Head to the Fewes mountains, and from the shores of the North Channel and the Irish Sea to the boundary line with Connaught, acknowledged the authority of the O'Neills as paramount. The sub-kings or vassal chiefs, it is true, often quarrelled with each other (as those of the same class in all European lands did) many feuds arising and being fought out, even amongst leading families of the same clan; but none ventured permanently to dispute with *The O'Neill*, however much, or often, the minor families of that surname might be found in conflict with others. Indeed, the inhabitants of this province, under the long line of their Irian or Rudrician kings, had been a comparatively peace-loving race, and it was chiefly owing to the new and largely foreign element introduced by the Clann-Colla that Ulster became a decidedly warlike section of Ireland. The tumult and confusion then occasioned by the violent bringing in of many settlers from Alba, and probably other foreign parts, continued at longer or shorter intervals, to convert this province into a sort of pandemonium for a period of at least two centuries. There came afterwards a comparatively peaceful time, not only for Ulster, but for Ireland, from the beginning of the fifth until nearly the close of the eighth century. After the expulsion of the Norsemen the country had another breathing time from foreign invasion; and had Ireland been then left to herself, as England and Scotland were, it is reasonably supposed that she would have risen above her sorrows, even perhaps sooner than they, and entered on her upward path. England gradually abandoned her heptarchy, and was content, after long internal strife and bloodshed, to be governed by one sovereign; Scotland, slowly and through terrible internecine struggles, became partially united even under her later Dalriadic kings; and Ireland would have moved, but probably with more rapidity, in the same path, giving up her provincial kings in succession, until some one of her great families, whether an O'Neill, an O'Brien, or an O'Connor, would have risen permanently to the throne. The English invaders, however, who began to come at the call of Dermot MacMorrough,

whilst they prevented the growth of a strong central power in this country, were wholly unable for a long period to supply any adequate authority in its place. "The Anglo-Norman settlement on the east coast of Ireland," says Sir Henry Maine, "acted like a running sore, constantly irritating the Celtic regions beyond the Pale, and deepening the confusion which prevailed there. If the country had been left to itself, one of the great Irish tribes would almost certainly have conquered the rest. . . . Anglo-Norman attempts at conquest, never consistently carried out, or thoroughly completed, the very existence of the Pale, and above all the policy directed from it of playing off against one another the chiefs beyond its borders, are allowed by all to have distracted the island with civil war, however the responsibility for it is to be apportioned. See *Early History of Institutions*, pp. 54, 183.

III.

The first of a long series of English incursions into Ireland was but the adventure of a few private persons of freebooting proclivities. When MacMorrough urged Henry II. to come, by the promise of being able to obtain for him the sovereign lordship of the whole country, the king refused to incur the expenses of an expedition, but was willing to grant license by letters patent to such of his subjects as might wish, at their own expense, to become adventurers in that enterprise. Two Welshmen, named Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, whom MacMorrough met and persuaded at Bristol, were the first to appear on the Irish shore with a party of 390 men, and were followed soon afterwards by the Earl of Pembroke, surnamed *Strongbow*, at the head of a force numbering 1,200. These adventurers operated so successfully on the coasts of Leinster and Munster that the English king himself was soon induced to come over; and they had also made the way so smooth before him that all the little kings and great lords alike, in the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, were easily persuaded to become tributaries, and to accept him as their sovereign lord. "Besides," says Sir John Davys, "the better to assure this inconstant Sea-nymph [Ireland], who was so easily won, the Pope would needs give her unto him with a ring. But as the conquest was but slight and superficial, so the Pope's donation, and the Irish submissions were but weak and fickle assurances. . . . The truth is, the conquest of Ireland was made piece by piece, by slow steps and degrees, and by several attempts, in several ages. There were sundry revolutions, as well of the English fortunes, as of the Irish; sometimes one prevailing, sometimes the other; and it was never brought to a full period, till his Majesty that now is [James I. of England] came to the crown. . . . Though King Henry the Second had the title of Sovereign Lord over the Irish, yet did he not put those things in execution, which are the true marks and differences of sovereignty. For, to give laws unto a people, to institute magistrates and officers over them, to punish and pardon malefactors, to have the sole authority of making war and peace, and the like; are true marks of sovereignty, which King Henry the Second had not in the Irish countries, but the Irish lords did still retain all these prerogatives to themselves. For they governed the people by the Brehon laws, they made their own magistrates and officers, they pardoned and punished all malefactors within their several countries, they made war and peace one with another without controlment; and this they did, not only during the reign of King Henry the

Second, but afterwards in all times, even until the reign of Queen Elizabeth." See *Historical Tracts*, pp. 6, 11.

In the first accounts of this nominal conquest of Ireland only three provinces were mentioned; and, as for Ulster, although Sir John de Courcy (20), with a company of 400 volunteers, ran round the eastern coasts from the Boyne to the Bann, winning some battles and losing others, the province really remained intact under the sway of its Celtic rulers, the O'Neills. The work of disintegration progressed but slowly, so far as the North was concerned, and required not years, but centuries to accomplish it. Ulster presented great natural defences against the Pale, not only in its mountain ranges and the net-work of woods, lakes, and bogs, reaching from the Fews to the head of Loch Erne, but especially in the warlike character of its people. To break up this formidable and long standing power soon became, naturally enough, the well-understood policy of the English Pale (21). Very little progress, however, was thus made until the time of Con

(20). *John de Courcy*.—Hanmer has the following notice of De Courcy, introductory to his account of the several battles in which that adventurer was engaged:—"Now to the true history of Sir John de Courcy, as worthy a knight for martiall prowess as ever trode upon Irish ground, whom Cambrensis lightly overskipped, partly upon private grudge,—for that Sir John de Courcy allowed him not for Vicar General in Ireland, and Secretary to the State, partly in favour of Sir Hugh Delacy, who maligned and envied the honor and renowne, and prosperous successes of Courcy; lastly, for fear of King John, into whose displeasure Courcy fell, through the false accusation of Lacy and his faction. Yet, the certainty of his exploits hath bene preserved, and in Latine committed to Paper by a Fryer in the North, the which booke Oneil brought to Armagh, and was translated into English by — Dowdall, Primate there, Anno 1551. He was by father a Norman, by mother a Cambrian or Britaine, and married the daughter of Gotred [Godfrey], king of Man; he was a Gentleman descended, as it seemeth by his Coate, of an ancient house, of whom the Irishmen hold that Merlin prophesied, where he wrote—'A white Knight sitting on a white horse, bearing birds in his shield, shall be the first which, with force of Armes, shall enter and subdue Ulster.'" (See *Ancient Histories of Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 296, 297.) After a fierce rivalry between De Courcy and De Lacey, the former was captured in the year 1204, and it was generally understood that he was sent to England by De Lacey, where he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. "When he had endured for a long time the most squalid life of a prison," writes the annalist Grace, summarising the general belief, "he was at length set at liberty by King John, being chosen as champion against a certain man of gigantic stature whom the King of France had appointed the defender of his right to a certain castle; when the Frenchman, afraid of his great strength, had refused the combat, in the presence of both kings he gave noble proof of his vigour, having cut through a helmet at one stroke. Wherefore, by both he was gifted with large presents, and was restored by John to the earldom of Ulster, but having endeavoured fifteen times, always with great danger and contrary winds, to

return to Ireland, and having sojourned some time with the monks at Chester, he returned to France, and there ended his life." (See Grace's *Annales*, at the year 1204.) It turns out, however, by an entry in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, that, whilst De Courcy was supposed to be in prison, he had actually gone as a crusader to the Holy Land. On this entry, W. M. Hennessy, the learned editor and translator, has the following remarks:—"The entry respecting John de Courcy, in which it is stated (sub anno 1204) that De Laci set him at liberty 'after having been crossed to go to Jerusalem,' taken in connexion with other entries of a like nature in reference to the crusades in these Annals [of *Loch Cé*], means, beyond question, that De Laci imposed on his powerful rival the obligation of going to the Holy Land, as a condition of setting him at liberty. This entry has been quoted by Dr. O'Donovan, in his edition of the Four Masters, but by an unwonted error has been by him rendered, in the reverse sense, 'after having been prohibited from going to Jerusalem,' as if *crossed* were used in the sense of *cross*, a hindrance, instead of *cross*, a sign. This misconception had hitherto left the movements of De Curci, after his liberation, in the same obscurity which surrounded them while the native Annals were still unpublished, save in so far as the publication of the Tower Records may be considered to have dispelled it. It might be thought that, as he obtained licence in 1207 to come into England, a probable mode of accounting for his disappearance from local history after that time was to be found in the romantic tale of his imprisonment in the Tower of London, related with much detail by the Anglo-Irish annalists, and recorded as authentic by Grace in his *Annals of Ireland*; but it would seem more probable that the silence of contemporaries about this period of his life is to be accounted for by his absence, now seemingly well authenticated, in the Holy Land." *Annals of Loch Cé*, Preface, pp. 49, 50.

(21). *English Pale*.—This portion of the eastern coast, originally occupied by the English, was so called because of its being enclosed, as if with pales or paling, from the adjoining territories belonging to the Irish. It is first mentioned at the commencement of the thirteenth century as the region wherein English law and authority

O'Neill, who accepted an English earldom in the year 1542, and died in 1559. This Ulster prince fell a prey to certain English servitors, including the Bagenalls (22), who were able to intermeddle with his family affairs, and who eventually induced him to adopt the son of a Dundalk blacksmith, named Kelly, to the exclusion of his own only legitimate son, Shane O'Neill.

One of our best Irish archæological authorities—O'Donovan—believed that Con O'Neill's heir was really the son of a blacksmith, and that his [the heir's] son, who is known in history as Hugh O'Neill, second earl of Tyrone, was not, therefore, an O'Neill at all. Our authority, however, no less genial than indisputable, comforts his readers by showing that the O'Kellys were really a great and very distinguished clan or tribe, and as royally descended as the O'Neills themselves! "Whether this Earl Hugh," says he, "was an O'Neill or not—and the editor [O'Donovan] feels satisfied that Shane-an-diomas proved in England that he was not,—he was the cleverest man that ever bore that name. The O'Kellys of Bregia, of whom this Hugh must have been (if he were not of the blood of the O'Neills) were descended from Hugh Slaine, monarch of Ireland from A.D. 599 to 605, and consequently of as royal lineage as the O'Neills themselves, if not more so, though brought low by the English at an early period. Mageoghegan says that 'there reigned of King Hugh Slaine's race, as monarchs of this kingdom, nine kings, and there were many other princes of Moy-Brey, besides the said kings, of the family of O'Kelly of Brey.' We may, therefore, well believe that the blood of Hugh Slaine, which was brought so low in the grandfather [the blacksmith],

were recognised. The *Pale* became the familiar designation of what was known as "Englishe Lande," which at first comprised the present counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin, and Kildare. "An old distinction," says Campion, "there is of Ireland into Irishe and Englishe Pales, for when the Irishe had raised continual tumults against the Englishe planted here by the conquest, at last they coursed them into a narrow circuit of certain shires in Leinster, which the Englishe did choose as the fattest soil, most defensible, their proper right, and most open to receive helpe from Englande; hereupon it was termed the *Pale*, as whereout they durst not peepe; but now within this *Pale* uncivill Irishe and some rebells do dwell, and without it contries and cities Englishe are well governed." The English, soon after their coming to Ireland, had extended their possessions much beyond the four counties already named: "but having fallen at odds among themselves," says Dr. Boate, "and making several great wars the one upon the other, the Irish thereby got the opportunity to recover, now this, and then that part of the land; whereby, and through the degenerating of a great many from time to time, who, joining themselves with the Irish, took upon them their wild fashions and their language, the English at length came to be so weakened that at last nothing remained to them of the whole kingdom worth speaking of but the great cities of the forenamed four counties, to which the name of *Pale* was given, because the English colonies and plantations which before were spread over the whole land, were now empaled to so small a compass." (See Preface to Morrin's *Calendar of Patent Rolls of Elizabeth*, p. xvii., *et seq.*) Numerous early documents record the great corruption of morals within the *Pale*, after the English had

been driven to live together in such limited quarters. About the middle of the fifteenth century in particular, their dissensions raged most violently, and mutual recriminations of treason, murder, sorcery, and almost every other crime disgraced their contending factions. See Hardiman's edition of the *Statute of Kilkenny*, pp. 97-99.

(22). *The Bagenalls*.—One man, named Nicholas Bagenall, to whom Con O'Neill had proved specially useful and kind, became the deadliest enemy of the old earl and his family. This Englishman came from Staffordshire to Ulster in the year 1542, having been obliged to make his escape from his native place to avoid the consequences of a manslaughter with which he was charged. It is hardly credible that Bagenall would have disappeared from his English home so suddenly, had he only committed a justifiable homicide, or that he would have required a special pardon from the king to secure him against the consequences of such an act. At all events, Con O'Neill required to write specially to Henry VIII. on Bagenall's behalf, and his influence was then such that he readily procured a pardon for the delinquent. Bagenall prospered apace under the auspices of O'Neill until at length he became greater than his patron, and indeed secured for himself one of the most important fragments of the O'Neill estates, at and around the present town of Newry. His son was the well-known Sir Henry Bagenall, who wrote a *Description of Ulster* in 1586, and was a deadly foe of Hugh O'Neill, the second earl, but refused to meet him in single combat. The Bagenalls are now represented by the Kilmorey family at Newry.

found its level in the military genius and towering ambition of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone." (*Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. vi., p. 1888.) Although the foregoing is probably the correct account of this matter, we shall be excused for mentioning this remarkable man by his universally received name of O'Neill, a name which, if not his own, he has rendered more distinguished, perhaps, than any one of the real family who ever bore it—at least in modern times.

The policy adopted by the authorities of the Pale, in thus intermeddling with Con O'Neill's domestic affairs, soon led to the 'beginning of the end,' so far as Celtic rule in Ulster was concerned, although Shane O'Neill fought gallantly in its defence, and although Hugh O'Neill, the son of Shane's illegitimate brother, concentrated in the same cause almost the whole strength of this province, during a struggle of seven years. This struggle is memorable not only in the annals of Ireland, but of Europe, conducted as it was on behalf of the Irish of Ulster by a chieftain who had been brought up in England, and resulting, as it did, in the rooting out not only of the O'Neills, but of their principal adherents throughout six northern counties. To make these matters intelligible, it is necessary that the reader should bear in mind the drift of certain introductory events. Shane O'Neill, when disinherited by his father, soon raised the standard of revolt, and as preliminary steps, he imprisoned his father and slew the illegitimate claimant to the family honours and estates. This claimant, who was known as Matthew O'Neill, and nicknamed the 'blacksmith,' in virtue of old Con's submission had been created baron of Dungannon. Being thus adopted not only on the part of his reputed father, but also by the Government, he soon enjoyed a distinguished position among the nobility of the province. In the fourteenth year of his age he had come from Dundalk to Dungannon, and soon afterwards married a lady of the old and still powerful house of Maguire. This lady, who was daughter of Cuconnaght Maguire, known as the *Coarb*, died in the year 1600, and of her the Four Masters have the following notice:—"A woman who was the pillar of support and maintenance of the indigent and mighty, of the poets and the exiled, of widows and orphans, of the clergy and men of science, of the poor and the needy; a woman who was the head of counsel and advice to the gentlemen and chiefs of the province of Connor MacNessa (23); a grave, womanly, devout, charitable, meek, benignant woman. She died

(23). *Mac Nessa*.—The North was designated, by pre-eminence, the province of Conchobhar, or Connor Mac Nessa, because his reign was supposed to be the most brilliant in the long period during which the Irian dynasty existed. Its peculiar brilliancy was ascribed to the great military organisation known as the Fenian or Red Branch order, which was then in its most flourishing condition, and could boast of heroes, such as Cuchullain and Conall Cearnech, of whose exploits in battle the old-world inhabitants appear to have been especially proud. "It may be here mentioned that the ancient order of Fenians [or Fians] were a body of militia, whose object was the support of the monarchy, and the maintenance of law and order. Their history is largely interpolated with fiction and the marvellous. There is a copious literature in the Irish language, consisting principally of romantic tales, recording the deeds of Fenian heroes, some of which have been published by the *Ossianic Society* of Dublin. See *Transactions of*

that Society for 1855, containing the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Graine*, with Mr. Standish H. O'Grady's introduction, where a valuable account of the extant Fenian literature is given." "See also the *Boyish Exploits of Finn Mac Cumhaill*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, 1859. Compare Keating's curious account of the qualifications necessary for admission to the Order of the Fianna, or Fenians." (Dr. Todd's *Introduction to the Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, pp. clxvi.-clxxxii.) In this military order Conchobhar had nine sons, who appear to have been distinguished ornaments, and whose names are enumerated in the following ancient fragment cited by Mac Firbis in his pedigrees of the Clanna Rudhraighe:—"The sons of Conchobar the king, among the Ultonians great was their vigour; there never engaged in skirmish or battle nine who would subdue them: Cormac Conluingsis, the strong, Fionchadh, Glaisne, Consing, Maine, Cumsgraidh, of fair countenance, Fiacha, Fiachna, Furbuidhe." See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 208.

at Machairen-a-croise [a townland in the parish of Magheracross, county of Fermanagh], on the 22nd of June, and was interred in the monastery of Donegal, after receiving the body and blood of Christ, after unction and penance, after having made many donations to the orders of the Church of God, and more especially to the monastery of Donegal, that she might be prayed for there among the dead" (24).

By this lady, Matthew the baron of Dungannon, left at least three sons, named respectively Brian, Hugh, and Cormac. When their father was slain by Shane O'Neill in 1558, a strict search was made after the eldest son, Brian, who was recognised as the second baron, but who was discovered by Shane's emissaries, and slain in 1562. The two younger brothers were then hastily sent out of harm's way to the English quarters, the authorities considering perhaps that they were responsible for the safety of these children, or that, at all events, it was good Ulster policy to get possession of the probable heirs to the O'Neill estates. Although for political objects, they accepted or recognised Hugh, then only a boy, as the third baron, he was permitted for several years to live in obscurity, and to see his claims utterly ignored by the great clan of whom his reputed grandfather, Con O'Neill, had been the legitimate head or representative. On the death of Shane O'Neill in 1567, Shane's cousin, Turlough, surnamed *Luineach*, of Newtown (now Newtownstewart) and Strabane, was made *The O'Neill* or chief representative, by the members of the clan. This appointment complicated Ulster affairs very considerably, and the more so as the new chief at first evinced an unmistakeable anxiety to throw off, or put an end to, English interference altogether. To meet this difficulty, therefore, it became necessary for the government to take up the young baron, Hugh, more decidedly than had been hitherto done, and to train him so as that he might become a formidable rival of Turlough Luineach. Indeed, Matthew, the first baron, and his sons, had already been used as "the English claimants for the principality of Ulster, and upon every quarrel with the elected chiefs [Shane and Turlough Luineach], were put

(24). *Among the dead*.—This lady's family burial-place was Lisgoole, a religious house founded on the western shore of lough Erne, by one of her ancestors, so early as the year 1106. But the abbey of Lisgoole, although so ancient and sacred as a place of sepulture, had been laid in ruins by the English during the war against her son Hugh O'Neill, and in that condition it remained until partially restored in the year 1631. She, therefore, sought a last resting-place in the celebrated abbey of Donegal, which very soon afterwards shared the fate of Lisgoole, being seized and occupied in the autumn of 1601 by a native force in alliance with the English, who had landed at Derry under Sir Henry Docura in the spring of the preceding year. One of the forty friars who then occupied Donegal abbey has left in Latin the following account of its original founding:—"It was in the year 1474, when the Franciscans were holding a provincial chapter in the monastery of Ross-Rial, that Nuala O'Connor, daughter of O'Connor Faily, one of the most powerful of the Leinster princes, and wife of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, came, accompanied by a brilliant following of noble ladies, and a goodly escort of Kerne and Galloglass, to present an humble memorial

to the assembled fathers. When the latter had duly considered the prayer of the Lady Nuala's memorial, they deputed the provincial to inform her that they could not comply with her request at that moment, but that at some future time they would cheerfully send a colony of Franciscans to the principality of Tirconnell. 'What!' replied the princess, sorely pained by the refusal, 'I have journeyed a hundred miles to attain the object that has long been dearest to my heart, and will you now venture to deny my prayer? If you do, beware of God's wrath; for I will appeal to His throne, and charge you with the loss of all the souls which your reluctance may cause to perish in the territory of Tirconnell!' Earnest and energetic was the lady's pleading; so much so, that she ultimately overcame the hesitation of the friars, some of whom professed themselves ready to accompany her to Tirconnell. Proud of her success, the lady Nuala then set out on her journey homewards, followed by a goodly number of Franciscans, who, when they arrived in the barony of Tirm Hugh, immediately commenced building the far-famed monastery at the head of the lovely bay of Donegal." Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 4, 5.

forward by the government as the rightful lords of Tyrone, in virtue of the surrender and re-grant of these lands to Con O'Neill by Henry VIII.; but whenever it seemed more politic to come to terms with The O'Neill *de facto* (and *de jure* according to Celtic ideas), the claims of this family [Matthew and his sons] were disregarded, and the bastardy of the first baron [Matthew] officially admitted." See Richey's *Lectures on Irish History*, delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, second series, p. 407.

The chief, familiarly known as Turlough Luineach, bore the latter epithet because of his having been fostered in a family of the O'Looneys of Muintirloney, in Tyrone. The baron's two sons being only boys at the time of Shane's death, the government itself had actually at first brought forward Turlough Luineach for the chief place in Tyrone, because of his well-known opposition, or rather hostility, to Shane's policy. The clan had no special objections to him; but in admitting him as their representative, they expected him to think and act as a Celtic chief, and not as an English servitor. He wavered for a time, therefore, in his allegiance to Queen Elizabeth, and on his inauguration as *The O'Neill*, he either felt or feigned a temporary impatience of English rule. He was a vain man, it would appear, and was evidently pleased when others urged him to this course, although perhaps he never had the slightest intention of quarrelling permanently with the government. He was a great patron of rhymers, and "there are still extant several Irish poems addressed to him, inciting him to shake off the English yoke, and become monarch of Ireland like his ancestors, Niall Frasach, Niall of the Nine Hostages, Con of the Hundred Battles, and Tuathal Teachtmhar, whose lineal heir he is stated to be, and whose example he is encouraged to follow. But he was so old when he was made The O'Neill that he seems to have then retained little military ardour to tread in the wake of his ancestors; and he was so much in dread of the sons of Shane the Proud and of Hugh earl of Tyrone that he continued obedient to the queen of England." (See *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. vi., pp. 1984, 1985, *note*.) According to the same authority, Turlough Luineach "had bestowed most wealth and riches upon the learned, the ollavs, and all those who sought gifts, of [any of] the lords of Ireland in his time; for he had often issued a proclamation throughout Ireland to all those who sought gifts, to come to him on the festivals of the nativity of our Lord; and when they came, not one departed dissatisfied, or without being supplied. He was a lord who had many soldiers in his service for pay and wages, a lord prosperous in peace and powerful in war, until age and infirmity came upon him." (*Ibid.*, p. 1985.)

• This chieftain's second wife was lady Cantire, a daughter of the third earl of Argyle, and widow of James Macdonnell, Sorley Boy's eldest brother. After her marriage with Turlough Luineach, she had the additional title of lady Tyrone. His marriage with her was negotiated principally by one of his bards, named Ferdoragh MacAnany, who was described in a State paper as "the richest rhymers in Ireland." See Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells*, pp. 147-151, 159, 161.

At the time this chief exhibited the uncertainty in his allegiance to which we have referred, the young baron, Hugh O'Neill, had been opportunely carried into England, and was being there educated so as to prepare him for the position of an English lord in Ulster, where he was expected, on his return, to introduce English ideas and habits. The Queen, who had hoped to have great

comfort with her young *protégé*, appointed him to the command of a troop of horse in the cruel and desolating war then waged against the earl of Desmond; and when that struggle came to an end in Munster, O'Neill had conducted himself therein so gallantly, and so acceptably, that he was forthwith transferred to Ulster, where his services were represented as so necessary—ostensibly against the Antrim Scots, but, in reality, to serve as a check on the warlike or rebellious policy which, it was feared, the natives of this province might impose upon their 'chief captain,' Turlough Luineach. Under such circumstances, it was not to be expected that the relations between these two distinguished O'Neills would be of an amicable character, although it was soon rumoured that the baron was about to marry—or indeed had actually married—Turlough Luineach's daughter. This rumour created great uneasiness among the authorities in the Pale, for such a union was supposed to lead to a real alliance between the rival chiefs, and was, therefore, very much deprecated by the government.

Although Turlough Luineach, however, seemed occasionally disposed to be independent, his advanced age kept him from quarrelling persistently either with the government on one hand, or the very plucky young baron on the other. With the latter he was forced by circumstances to keep up a sort of standing controversy until his advanced age, more than any other moving influence, induced or compelled him to retire from the turbulent scenes of public life altogether. By a deed between himself (Turlough) and the government, so early as 1572, he had humbly and finally submitted to the Queen, promised to co-operate with the earl of Essex, who had then just arrived as governor of Ulster, abandoned all claims on lower or northern Clannaboy eastward of the Bann, all superiority over the baron and his brother, or any others dwelling between the Blackwater and Dundalk, undertook to serve the Queen against all parties on whom she might make war, and to deliver up two of his sons as pledges for his fidelity. In return, he then got a grant from the crown of all lands lying between the Blackwater and Lough Foyle, and from the Bann westward to the borders of Fermanagh, with all monastic lands throughout the province. (See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 12.) Another arrangement was made in the year 1584, by which the baron got a firmer footing on the clan property, whilst Turlough Luineach as he became feebler, became also more uncertain in his position. According to this arrangement, which was not only sanctioned, but in a great degree dictated by the government, Turlough was confined to the north-western district of the principality of Tyrone, whilst Hugh, the baron, got the south-eastern district, which included, besides a large portion of the present county of Tyrone, all the present county of Armagh, with the exception of the barony of Orior. On this settlement being made, Hugh O'Neill became, professedly at least, an ardent admirer of English order and civility, declaring it as his decided wish, in so far as he was concerned, that the title of The O'Neill should be utterly suppressed (25).

(25). *Suppressed*.—This ancient Irish title, so formidable in English eyes, was already suppressed so far as an English act of parliament could do it. By the 11th of Elizabeth it was enacted that "the name of O Neyle, with the maner and ceremonies of his creation, and all

the superiorities, titles, dignities, preheminences, jurisdictions, authorities, rules, tributes, and expenses, used, claymed, usurped, or taken by anie O Neyle, as in right of that name, or otherwise, from the beginning, of any the Lords, Captaines, or people of Ulster, and all maner

Of the settlement now mentioned we have the following account by Sir Henry Sydney, who records the curious fact that several of the clan disapproved of this breaking up of the ancient principality of Tyrone between these rivals:—"To my camp came Turlo Lenogh, who had been in Shane's life Tanist of Tyrone (26), and yet by me made in those wars his enemy. He was by the people of that country chosen [The] O'Neill, which title in truth he accepted, being given him with the brutish ceremonies incident to the same. There came with him the principalest of all his surname, and I had with me

of offices given by the said O Neyle, shall henceforth cease, end, determine, and be utterly abolished and extinct for ever. And that what person soever hee bee that shall hereafter challenge, execute, or take upon him that name of O Neyle, or any superioritie, dignitie, pre-eminance, jurisdiction, authoritie, rules, tributes, or expenses, used, claymed, usurped, or taken heretofore by any O Neyle, of the Lords, Capitaines, or people of Ulster, the same shall be deemed, adjudged, and taken high treason against your Majestie, your crowne and dignitie. And the person or persons therein offending, and being thereof attainted, shall suffer and sustaine such paines of death, forfeiture of landes and goods, as in cases of high treason, by the laws of this realme hath been accustomed and used. And for the better extirpation of that name, be it further enacted, that all the Lords, Capitaines, and people of Ulster shall bee from henceforth severed, exempted and cut off from all rule and authoritie of O Neyle, and shall only depend upon your imperiall crowne of England for ever."

(26). *Tanist of Tyrone*.—The Celtic law of Tanistry by which the successor to a chief lord was appointed during the lifetime of the latter, stood greatly in the way of English progress to complete ascendancy in Ulster, and was, therefore, set aside by a very simple process, at every possible opportunity. The land belonged to the clan and not to the chief, but the English, as they expressed it, drew an interest to the latter, when they got him to surrender his "country," and take out a patent from the queen according to the terms of English or feudal law. After this process, the doctrine of the English judges and lawyers was, that the clan had entirely lost its right in the lands, which right became vested solely in the chief or landlord, so that on his forfeiture and fall, the whole "interest being drawn to him," was transferred as a matter of course to the crown. The grand aim, therefore, of the government was to get as many surrenders of "countries" as possible, for, in doing so, they afterwards had the virtual election of the chief landlords, and when the latter came to be charged with treason, the crown became the sole proprietor of what had rightfully belonged to the clansmen. The following is the substance of a very instructive letter of Sir John Perrott, on the subject of Tanistships, urging the government of England to abolish the Irish law:—

"1. The seigniories of many of the Irish Lords are as big as shires in England. They have always chosen within themselves the most ancient and warlike man to be the chief of that name and seigniorie, who levied imposts for his own maintenance, and for that of his kerne, galliglas, and shot [his military establishment]. In such countries the Queen's writs and processes were not current, nor any

rent paid her. In some few of late years they would give to the Deputy for his good-will a reward of 200 or 300 kine to confirm such elections [of chiefs], but the Queen never had anything. Two, and sometimes three were elected, which bred war among themselves, and he that was the weakest commonly obtained aid of the Deputy [for very obvious reasons]. 2. Owing to the Captainries and Tanistships, it was necessary to maintain soldiers to defend the Pale from the daily incursions and spoils made by the O'Reylies, the O'Farralls, McMahon's country, the McGwiris, the Captains of Dartrie [in Monaghan], the Fewes [O'Neills], Ferney [MacMahons], O'Hanlons, and others, who did not care what evil they did, for they were sure their children, commonly bastards, would not have their seigniories till all the rest of the eldest and worthiest of the house were sped. 3. Sir Henry Sydney made a law, 11 Eliz., to cut off all captainries and seneschalships, except those granted by letters patents. The exception was mischievous, for it is all one whether the Deputy or the Irish name the captain. 4. Finding this Act produced no reformation, Sydney made another in 12 Eliz., authorising the Deputy to grant letters patents to the Irishry that would surrender their lands to her Highness, and have the same granted back to them in fee tail, or fee simple. 5. In the time of my government I was commanded to take surrenders of such Irish lords as would make surrenders to her Majesty of their seigniories, and to grant the same back again to the same lords for their heirs male or heirs general. I persuaded Sir John O'Reily, Sir Rosse McMahon, Sir Oho [Oghie] O'Hanlon, Sir Connor McGwire, Shane McBrian, Neal Oge McFelim, Sir Con McNeale Oge, Sir John O'Dogherty, the Captain of Kilwarlin, O'Connor Sligo, O'Connor Done, Sir Brian O'Rourke, Sir Murragh [Mulmorie] ne Doe, Angus McConell [Macdonnell], the lord of Cantire [who then held the Antrim glens], and many other lords to do so, and reserved from them about 2,000*l.* for the Crown, besides risings out of sundry horsemen and footmen, and other customs. I lost near 1,000*l.* in preferring the public good to receiving cows for making captains and seneschals, placing in their stead shreves [sheriffs], justices of the peace, and other officers, whereby peace was secured. Many of the great lords came to Dublin to take their leaves at my departure [pleased no doubt at getting possession of the whole property of their respective clans]. 6. All this tends to prove that the surrendering of their lands, and taking the same back again, must breed quietness, obedience, and profit. Love to their children will make them fearful to disobey the laws, and desirous to build houses, purchase lands, and grow wealthy. I wrote a pamphlet about 10 or 12 years past upon this subject. See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, third series, pp. 27, 28.

the young baron of Dunganan, Shane's eldest brother's son, whom I bred in my house from a little boy, then very poor of goods, and full feebly friended. I then, in the presence and hearing of all that were in my camp, as well of them that came with me as those that came with him, and all other the potentates and landlords of Ulster, rebuked him [Turlough Luineach] sharply for taking upon him the title of O'Neill afore her majesty's pleasure was known, affirming unto him that I would not confirm the same, but would write to her Highness to nobilitate him with title of higher honor and dignity, which he seemed reverently to accept. Then I descended with him into the consideration of his own country, and appointed unto him all lands beneath or by north the Blackwater. . . . Then I allotted to Hugh baron of Dunganan, and of right ought to be earl of Tyrone, all the lands called the O'Neale lands lying about and beneath the Great Water [Blackwater, anciently *Abhainn-mor*]. I exempted him from taking any exaction upon any of the lands of the church of Armagh, or any member of the same; to all such covenants he agreed to the great rejoicing and contentment of all the proprietaries of that province, saving some particular and peculiar followers of his own, who much repined that the great and regal estate of the O'Neill (as they deemed it) should be so broken and dismembered." See *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 339.

The baron, evidently an ambitious gentleman, was determined that the earldom conferred on Con O'Neill by Henry VIII. should not lie much longer in abeyance, and also that the dismemberment of which "his peculiar and particular" followers complained should be healed as soon as possible. In the following year he memorialed to be admitted to the title and rank of earl of Tyrone, and to be restored to the estates of his ancestors in virtue of the grant made to his grandfather Con, in 1542. The title and rank of earl were conceded to the baron at once, and without hesitation; but, as the estates had been vested in the crown by the act known as the 11th of Elizabeth, the Queen required to be consulted before any grant of the entire family property could be made, or even promised to the petitioner. There were other important matters also to be considered, as the Queen herself explains in a letter to the deputy, Sir John Perrot, the substance of which is as follows:—"We understand by your letters of 30 June [1585] that the baron of Dungannon presented in Parliament a supplication for his place of earl of Tyrone, and a petition for the lands of his grandfather in Ulster; and that you did yield him the place of the earldom by virtue of letters patents, and referred him to us respecting his lands and superiority in Ulster, by reason of the act whereby Shane O'Neale was attainted, and the whole territories of Ulster were invested in us. He [the baron] has since offered new articles for keeping a peace between him and his kinsmen. Cause inquisition to be made of the said lands, and thereupon devise: I., what parts of them should, for their strength, be kept in our possession; II., what portions are meet for him to have; and III., what portions may be kept by us limited in some special state tail for the sons of Tirlough Lenough, and the sons of Shane O'Neale, and of Henry M'Shane, and such others as have any colour of competitorship to the signority of the title of O'Neale; the whole to be held of us *in capite*. He is to bear 200 soldiers. As he has had two wives, and children by them both, if the limitation be made to exclude his first children, as he desires, some controversy may hereafter

grow. The articles by him offered for renouncing the usurped title of O'Neill, and the Uriaghts [sub-chiefs], shall be comprised in a writing betwixt us and him. He offers to make consideration of such as be expectants in Tyrone of the title of O'Neill. We think it better for him to have that opportunity by grant from us. We understand divers ways of the good disposition of the said earl to serve us." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 407, 408.

This grant, however, was made on the conditions only that the lands should be surveyed (27); that one or two positions should be reserved for garrisons, especially that of Benburb on the Blackwater; that provision should be made for the sons of Shane and Turlough Luineach; and that the earl was to exercise no authority over any governors of forts or districts beyond such as were specified in the grant. These terms appear to have been satisfactory to the grantee, embodying, as they did, the several articles agreed upon between himself and the Queen, together with such others as he had undertaken before the privy council to perform. But, although now an earl, and restored to the

(27). *Surveyed*.—After so much talk, on the part of the government and the earl about the necessity of a survey of at least the greater portion of his possessions, the work was at last accomplished in the summer of 1591. That portion of the great principality of Tyrone, which lay south of the Blackwater, had been shired in the year 1584, and was named by the English the county of Armagh. That portion of it which lay between the Foyle and the Bann had also been shired at the same date, and called the county of Coleraine. But the earl did not acknowledge that the representatives of the O'Canans ranked among the Uriaghts of Ulster, nor that their "country," although known as *Oireacht Uí Cathain*, or O'Canan's country, was, in any respect distinct from Tyrone, being simply a territory thereof. This doctrine appears to have been admitted by the government in 1591; for, according to the survey then made, the whole sweep from the Bann to the Finn on the west, and from the Blackwater northward to Lough Foyle and the sea, is represented as one vast region, consisting of the following eight baronies, with their subdivisions:—I. The barony of *Loughinsholin*, so named from a small lake known anciently as *Lough-inis-O'Lyne*, near the present village of Desertmartin. This barony or territory included two well-known subdivisions named respectively Glaneonekeyn and Killetragh. II. The barony of *Dungannon*, including in former times the ancient territories of *Magh-Lomchlaire*, which lay around Donaghmore; *Uí Briúin*, now Minterbim, in Aghaloo; and *Uí Caracain*, the parish of Killyman. III. The barony of *Clogher*, including the four subdivisions known respectively as the Closaghe, Ballentakan, the two Fintonaghs, and Termon McGuirk. The two last named, although in 1591 belonging to the barony of Clogher, were soon afterwards transferred to that of Omagh, in which they are still comprised. The Closage was anciently the celebrated *Magh-leamhna*, mentioned by the Four Masters at the year of the world 3727. "Fintonagh,—*Fionntamhnach*, 'the fair green field,' is mentioned by the Four Masters at 1488. The present village of Fintona, in the parish of Donaghcavey, preserves the name." IV. The barony of *Omagh*, or *Oghmoghagh*, was the territory of the Clann-Arte-O'Neill. It contained two subdivisions, viz., Slut or

Sliocht Art's Land, and "Camon, now Camowen, the name of a river and townland in that part of Cappagh which is in the barony of Omagh." The Sliocht Arte division was much the larger of the two, and was occupied by the family or descendants of a great territorial leader called Art or Arthur O'Neill, "as the *Sliocht Enri*, whose head-quarters were at Newtown Stewart, were of Henry O'Neill." V. The barony of Strabane, or *Strath-ban*, "the fair holm," contained the four subdivisions of Lengechence, Kilalmoyan, Mynterlynnie, and Ballymechorry. The position of Lengechence is doubtful; Kilalmoyan, or Cinel-Moain, forms the south-western part of the barony; Mynterlynnie, now Munterlony, forms the eastern portion of the barony; and Ballymechorry, now Ballymagorry, forms the north-western portion of the barony. VI. The barony of *Coleraine*, anciently *Cuilrathain*, "the ferny corner or recess," contained the two subdivisions of Maghery-Sluthgorey and Sluth or Sliocht Donaghe's country. The former district was that occupied by the ancient tribe known as the *Fir Li*, and it now forms the northern half of the barony of Coleraine. Sluth-Donaghe's country lay a little north-west of Kilrea, and is now the southern part of the barony. VII. The barony of *Lima-vadie*, or *Leim-an-mhadaidh*, "the Dog's Leap," contained the three subdivisions of Ardmagilligan, Kenaght, and Faranycryve. The barony is now known only by the name of *Kenaght*. This name is the modern form of *Cianachta*, the district around Dungiven. Faranycryve, correctly *Feara-na-Craoibhe*, or "men of the Creeve," was a district on the western side of the Bann, opposite the "Cutts," near Coleraine. Ardmagilligan is now Magilligan, or Tamlaghtard. VIII. The barony of *Anagh*, now only known as *Tirkeeran*, contained the three subdivisions of Tyrchyrine, Sgryn, and Clandermol. The first of these ancient divisions is now represented by the parish of Fauginvale; the second, probably by the parish of Cumber; and the third by the parish of Clandermol.

The above is abridged from a most interesting account of the whole region of Tyrone by Dr. Reeves, in his edition of Archbishop Colton's *Visitation*, pp. 125-130.

O'Neill estates, his relations with other branches or families of the great clan O'Neill were not improved, but rather embittered, by his good fortune. With Turlough Luineach and his sons the quarrel continued, and required the frequent interference of government officials. Fitzwilliam, who had been appointed deputy after Sir John Perrot, was utterly unfitted by his selfish nature for the duties of his office, and appears to have taken more pleasure in witnessing the quarrels than the contentment of Irish chiefs. The following extract from one of his letters to Burghley in 1591, is significant enough as to the state of affairs in Tyrone:—"I and this council, being now but six [in number] must be, the last of this month (God pleased) at Dondalk, for the ending of a great controversy between the earl and Sir Tyrclagh O'Neale, by reason of a fray fallen between them, in which the dutiful old knight, Sir Tyrclagh O'Neale, was shot through the shoulder with a bullet, and stroken with a horseman's staff in the small of the back, two grievous wounds; but (God I thank) well recovered. I sent him a surgeon, with a great deal of stuff for his dressing." Writing, less than a month afterwards, to Sir George Carew, the deputy notices the "affair" thus:—"In the quarrel between the earl of Tyrone and Sir Tyrclagh O'Neale it was complained that the earl was altogether in fault, but upon examination (having them both here, and at the Newrie) it fell out that Sir Tyrclagh was therein far to blame. I and the council have so ended those causes, as they are both returned home with good contentment, and have given both their consents to have Tyrone reduced to shire ground, and to accept of a Sheriff." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, third series, pp. 55, 57.

Throughout this feud, the government *appears* to have been satisfied with the earl's loyalty, and indeed it was generally acknowledged that he had left no act or duty undone that could be expected from the most zealous pioneer of English interests in Ulster. Moved apparently by this consideration, and anxious finally to establish peace between the earl and Turlough Luineach, the Queen requested the latter to retire on certain conditions, from his public position as governor of a district in Tyrone. Accordingly he did so retire, thus leaving the earl a clear field for the introduction of his contemplated improvements. If the earl dissembled at this time, he was only playing at the game of which old Burghley, the Queen's adviser and guide, was a thorough master, and in which Elizabeth herself so freely engaged; for she sometimes scolded her Irish council for not following her *private* instructions or suggestions, when their obedience to her *public* letters of state happened to lead to unfortunate results! The consciousness of their own sins of deception had probably led the Queen and her ministers to interpret the earl's promises in a somewhat liberal spirit; but, from whatever cause, they now appear to have accepted him as a firm ally. In the final arrangement between him and Turlough Luineach, they affected at least to see the commencement of a new and happier era for Ulster. They spoke of him as the true representative of its royal line, congratulating themselves in the hope that they had found an apostle worthy of his great mission, to wit, the introduction of English manners and customs,—and even costumes—into the remotest parts of Ulster. But they had evidently calculated in this matter "without their host," or at least had overlooked the fact that, even were the earl thoroughly disposed to carry out his English friends' ideas, he had not the power to impress this new policy, at least very promptly, on the native population.

But, at all events, a knowledge of the terms of this final arrangement between him and his rival is required, not only to understand the earl's real position at the time, but to explain also the nature of certain claims afterwards put forward by the grandsons of Turlough Luineach against the government. We subjoin the substance at least of this arrangement, which has only of late seen the light, and must, therefore, be new to the readers, and indeed the writers, in Irish history of the seventeenth century. The document from which we quote is headed *Articles of Agreement*, and dated *Dondalke, 28 June, 1593*. "First, the earl of Tyrone had the command of 50 horse, equivalent to a sum of 636*l* 9*s*. 4½*d*. yearly, and Sir Turlough was to have this command transferred to him during his life, according to the Queen's injunction as expressed in the patents of the captainry of Tyrone, he finding the said horsemen to serve her majesty at the said earl's expense. 2. Sir Tirlagh to receive the yearly rents and duties payable by Maguire, the lord of Fermanagh, according to the Queen's grant, the earl being bound to compel Maguire and his heirs to pay the same, should they, at any time, refuse to do so. 3. The earl to pay Sir Tirlagh so many cows yearly as shall, after the rate of 20*s*. ster. the cow, make up, together with the said command and Maguire's rent, the sum of 2,000*l*. ster.; provided always, that if the said command do, in the life of Sir Tirlagh, surcease, by the death of the earl or otherwise, then the earl, his heirs or assigns, shall pay to Sir Tirlagh, his servants or assigns, in lieu of it, and to make up the said 2,000*l*., the sum of 636*l*. 9*s*. 4½*d*. ster., or, in default of money, a choice cow for every 20*s*. ster.; such cows as shall be delivered at May yearly to be in calf, and the cows to be delivered at Hallowmas yearly to be sufficient beefs, 5*s*. extra to be paid for every cow not delivered at the said feasts. The said money or cows to be paid at Strabane or Bynnvorbe [Benburbe]. 4. Sir Tirlagh to have for life the towns and lands of Strabane and Largie Uirnevie [Urney], and also the lands adjoining Strabane [between the Finn and the Derg] free from all duties or other charges; and also the town of Binvorbe, or Curren, with the half-ballybetagh of land [420 acres Irish] and appurtenances adjoining to such of the said towns as he shall choose; and when Sir Tirlagh shall make choice of Benburb, or Curren, the house and lands thus chosen to be surrendered to him in due time. 5. Sir Tirlagh shall quietly, and without any molestation from the earl, receive three score cows yearly from O'Dogherty, and also one-half of the duties due from Lough Foyle and the Bann; the other half to be received by the earl. 6. Sir Tirlagh demanded of the earl some increase of pension, over and above the said 2,000*l*., to which the earl at first was unwilling to yield, but the arrangement of this point was left to the earl's brother, Cormac O'Neill, and to his sons-in-law, Donnell O'Cahan and Henry Oge O'Neill, Sir Tirlagh naming an arbitrator also. A dispute existed between Sir Tirlagh and his own son, Arthur, on the subject of certain lands then in possession of the latter, and the earl engaged to enforce the decree of arbitrators for the settlement of this controversy also. 7. Sir Tirlagh to receive such rents and duties out of the lands of Sleevesheese [eleven ballybetaghs owned by his father, Neal Connellan O'Neill], as were due to him by such as dwell in Tyrone, and to cause Maguire and O'Cahan to pay Sir Tirlagh the arrear due upon them. He was also to permit Sir Tirlagh to receive such arrear as was behind for that last year, 1592, of the command aforesaid. 8. The earl and his heirs to hold the territory and lands of Tyrone against Sir Tirlagh and his heirs discharged of all such title and demand, as Sir Tirlagh claimed to have in and to the same, or any

part thereof, the castles, hereditaments, and lands, hereby appointed to Sir Tirlagh, excepted only for term of his life ; and also excepted, all the ancient inheritance of Sir Tirlagh, to him and his heirs. See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, third series, pp. 73-75.

IV.

We have thus submitted to the reader the substance of the several terms between the government and Hugh O'Neill, and also between him and Tirlagh Luineach, down to the year 1593. But, although the government in London would have wished to interpret the earl's professions in a liberal spirit, there were certain English servitors in Ulster who envied him the possession of his newly acquired estates, and who were disposed to snatch an opportunity of arousing suspicions of his loyalty. Unfortunately, an occasion soon occurred exactly to suit their purpose. In the year 1588 several ships of the Spanish Armada were wrecked on the north-western coasts of Ireland, one being driven on the rocks near Elagh castle in Inishowen. In the fact that the earl spared the lives of those on board, and treated them humanely, the government officials could see only plotting with Philip of Spain and treachery towards Queen Elizabeth ! A letter preserved among the State papers, and addressed to the deputy Fitzwilliam, gives the following account of the capture of the Spaniards, and their being brought to the earl at Dungannon :— "Our very good Lord : imedatly after the writing of our last letters to your Lordship, we went where we heard the Spaynarde were, and mett them at Sr John O'Dogherty his town called Illagh. We sent unto them to know who they were, and what their intent was : or why they did invade any part of the Queene's Maties domynion ? Their answer was that they did sett forth to invade England, and were parcell of the fleete which was overthrowen by her Maties navy, and that they were driven thither by force of weather. Whereupon, wee (perceiving that they were in nombre above vi^c [600] men), did encampe that night within muskett shott of them, being in nombre not passing vii^{xx} [140] men, and the same night, about mydnight, did skyrmysh with them for the space of 11 houres, and in that skyrmysh did slay their lieutenant of the feelde, and above xx^{iv} more, beside the hurting of a great nombre of their men. So as the next day (in skyrmyshing with them) they were forced to yeeld themselves, and wee lost but one soldier. Now O'Donill and wee are come with some of them to Dongainne [Dungannon], meaning to go with them, without companys, to your Lordship ; and therefore wee beseech your honour to graunte warrant for victualling of them ; and as the prysoners are verie weake and unhable to travaile, we desire your Lordship (if you shall soe think meete), to gyve direction for levyeing of horses and garrans to carry them to Dublin. The best of them seemeth to carry some kinde of majesty, and hath bene governor of thirty thousand men this xxiiii yeares past ; the rest of the prysoners are men of greate calling, and such as (in our opynions) were not amiss to be questioned withal. So wee humbly take our leave.

"Your most humble,

"From Dongainne, the xiiii day of September, 1588.
See *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, p. 235.

"RICH. HOVENDEN.
HENRY HOVENDEN."

It would appear that the earl of Tyrone, and a few other Irish lords, were induced the more readily to act humanely towards the shipwrecked Spaniards at that crisis, from witnessing the

cruelties inflicted upon them in many places by those who should rather have protected such helpless, half-drowned strangers. Fitzwilliam, the Queen's deputy in Ireland, and perhaps the most decided money-worshipper of his time, actually led a crusade against the shipwrecked Spaniards, marching large forces to several places on the coasts where shipwrecks had occurred. His first care on these occasions was to secure the treasure contained in the ships, and next to hang the men. He even carried off the cattle and burned the houses of any inhabitants known to have sheltered Spaniards (28). The earl of Tyrone was of too much consequence, and too powerful, to be dealt with in this style, but he was obliged to incur very serious expenses in the protection, for a time of the party imposed upon him from the shore of Lough Foyle (see p. 32). When he applied to the government for compensation he was called traitor for his pains, but might have had ample reward for the summary execution of his Spanish friends. Now, it came to pass that between him and the sons of Shane O'Neill there existed a violent feud, for they hated him because he was in possession of the lands which they believed to be rightfully theirs, and he hated them because he feared them, and because their father had slain his father and brother. One of these sons of Shane, named Hugh, was surnamed *Gaveloc*, 'of the fetters,' from the circumstance of his being born when his mother was a captive in Shane O'Neill's castle. This lady had been the wife of Calvagh O'Donnell, but was taken prisoner by Shane during a war between him and her husband; and, after the death of the latter, she married her captor. She was the daughter of Hector Mor Maclean of Mull, and had returned, after Shane's death, in 1567, to her native land. Hugh Gaveloc was the eldest of her sons by Shane, and had been on a visit to his mother in 1588 (29). Whilst in Scotland, he chanced to meet certain survivors of the party of Spaniards who had been sheltered for a time at Dungannon, and who described, in grateful and glowing terms, the kindness they had

(28). *Spaniards*.—The following is a contemporary account of Fitzwilliam's conduct in Galway and Inishowen:—"The Deputy, who was the most sordid man that ever held that high office, lost no opportunity of making profit of it [the wreck of the Spanish Armada] and no sooner did he learn that some of the crews of the Spanish vessels had been saved in Galway and Inishowen, than he marched with a considerable force to the ancient city of the Tribes, where he caused the unfortunate sailors to be arrested, and closely searched for any valuables they might have on their persons. The search, however, was fruitless, and so sorely disappointed was the avaricious deputy, that he ordered 200 of those wretched men to be executed on the hill where the Augustin Friars had their convent. Pursued by the curses of the people of Galway, who were unable to prevent the cruel butchery, Fitzwilliam hurried on to Inishowen, where, not satisfied with slaying many of the disarmed Spaniards, he carried off all the cattle of the district, burned the haggards, and made prisoners of Sir Owen O'Toole [O'Gallagher], and O'Dougherty [Sir John], although the former had entertained him sumptuously in his own house. On arriving in Dublin, O'Dougherty was set at large, but the aged O'Toole was thrown into the castle dungeon, where he died after a long imprisonment. And be it recorded to the honour

of the women of Galway, that they provided shrouds and coffins for the mariners so inhumanly murdered by Fitzwilliam. O'Rourke of Breifny afforded protection to many of them, nay, refused to surrender them to Bingham, the queen's governor in Connaught; and the Mac Swynes of Tirconnell treated others of them with their wonted hospitality." (Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 21, 23.) Sir Hugh O'Donnell, the father of Hugh Roe, appears to have acted a dastardly part on the occasion above described. Father Mooney, whose words we have now quoted, speaks of Sir Hugh O'Donnell thus:—"The father of Hugh Roe always assisted at those grand solemnities [in the abbey of Donegal]; for after resigning the name and title of O'Donnell, he lived almost constantly among us [the friars], preparing himself for the better life, and doing penance for his sins, the weightiest of which was the cruel raid on the wrecked Spaniards of the Armada, whom he slew in Inishowen, at the bidding of deputy Fitzwilliam." (*Ibid*, p. 13.)

(29). *In 1588*.—This lady was probably alive in 1605. On the 4th of May in that year, Rorie earl of Tyrconnell, writing to Angus Macdonnell of Isla, concludes his letter by requesting to be remembered or "commended to McLean's daughter." She was the earl's aunt by marriage, and she appears to have been generally styled in Ulster *M'Lean's* daughter.

there received. He is supposed to have artfully drawn some expressions from them which he determined to turn to account against the earl, by accusing the latter to the government of having held traitorous conversations with these foreigners. Full of this purpose, Hugh Gaveloc returned from Scotland to his usual place of residence at Strabane, and forthwith entered upon a project for the ruin of the earl, which happened, in the first instance, to prove fatal to himself.

Before setting out on this business to Dublin, he wrote a letter, explaining the object of his intended visit. This letter, which was intercepted, contained the amplest evidence of the writer's intentions; and the earl had him instantly seized on a charge of certain outrages committed since his return, in the neighbourhood of Dungannon. It would appear that Gaveloc, believing he would be able, by his forthcoming revelations, to secure the countenance and protection of the government, had commenced a series of compulsory proceedings against several tenants in that district who refused to recognise his claims as their landlord, and that in the course of these proceedings some persons had lost their lives. This gave the earl a good plea for having Gaveloc seized and tried according to the ancient usages on such occasions in Ulster, where the chief lord had power thus summarily to deal with criminals, and where, at that time (1590), no English magistrates, sheriffs, or judges, had made their appearance. The Celtic law was willing to accept an *eric* or fine, as compensation, in proportion to the nature of the crime, even were it murder in the first degree; but the earl chose in this case to forego the comparatively milder remedy, and to inflict the more terrible punishment required by the feudal code. This was, to say the least, inconsistent on his part, unless, indeed, as an illustration of his anxiety to introduce English laws! Perhaps, however, the conduct of the authorities in the Pale was even more inconsistent; for they waxed actually wroth because the earl adopted their own code, for he refused to accept a ransom which was offered for Hugh Gaveloc's life of no less than 300 horses and 5,000 cows. Indeed, Sir Nicholas White, the master of the rolls, wrote to Burghley, accusing the earl of cruelly strangling his namesake, if not kinsman, as no one could be found to hang a son of Shane O'Neill, and a son besides, who had already made himself very popular in Ulster,—perhaps too popular for the earl's taste. White's accusation, however, was indignantly denied by the earl's friends, who stated that Gaveloc was hanged by an executioner from Cavan, named Murtagh Loughlin, in the presence of the earl's brother, Cormac O'Neill, Art O'Hagan, and more than a hundred spectators, including some of the most influential men in Tyrone. The Four Masters, at the year 1590, record this event as follows, without saying anything as to the particular circumstances under which the execution took place:—"The son of O'Neill, *i.e.*, Hugh Geimhleach [pronounced Gaveloc], son of John Donnghaileach [Shane was so called because he fostered with a family of the O'Donnellys], was hanged by the earl of Tyrone, *i.e.*, Hugh, son of Ferdorcha, son of Con Bacagh. There had not been for a long time among the race of Eoghan, a man more generally lamented than this Hugh." Hugh Gaveloc's mother was described, even by her enemies, as a high-spirited and accomplished woman, and her son probably inherited his popular qualities from her. The Irish historian, O'Sullivan Beare, states that what he had charged against the earl was true to the letter. Fynes Moryson states that "Tyrone hardly found any, in regard to the general reverence borne to the blood of the O'Neys, who would do the

office of hangman ;” and Camden, who was living at the time, tells us in his *Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth*, that the earl *was represented* as having actually performed the task of hangman himself. Moryson, however, is a better authority in this matter than either Camden or the master of the rolls—indeed, Camden made his statement on the authority of Sir Nicholas White. A remarkable Tract, entitled *A Briefe Declaration of the Government of Ireland*, was written and presented to the Queen in 1594, by captain Thomas Lee, an English gentleman and a distinguished servitor in Ireland for the space of twenty years. The writer notices this affair in the following terms :—“ And where the earl’s adversaries have, in times past, incensed your majesty against him, for hanging and cutting off one Hugh Gaveloc, a notable traitor, and son to Shane O’Neale, informing your majesty the said Hugh was your Majesty’s subject ; it shall be well proved that he [Gaveloc] was ever a traitor against your majesty, a daily practiser with foreigners (as the Scots and others), for the disturbances of that kingdom, and one who sought, by all means, to overthrow the earl who, by martial law, which he then had, did cut him off for his offences. For the doing whereof he did incur your highness’s displeasure ; and the said martial law, which kept the whole country in awe, was taken from him ; the want whereof has made his country people grow insolent against him, and careless of observing any humanity or duty ; which hath bred the outrages now in practice, so that in my poor opinion, it were requisite the same authority were restored unto him.”

This business subjected the earl’s loyalty to great suspicion, and cost him a very tedious and unpleasant sojourn in London, “where,” says Father Mooney, a contemporary, “taking up his abode in the house of Sir Henry Wallop, he remained three weeks restrained from her Majesty’s court and presence, till he convinced the lords of the privy council that he had only acted according to the ancient laws of his country, by ridding society of a notable murderer, whose father had slain his [the earl’s] father and brother, and whose many crimes justified him in cutting off so vile a miscreant.” Although his pleadings had the appearance of persuading Elizabeth, they had not really done so. He was permitted, however, to return to Ulster, Hatton, the dancing chancellor, and the earl of Ormonde becoming security that he would appear whenever it might suit the deputy, Fitzwilliam, to arraign him for having taken the law into his own hands. On his coming home, the earl found that the lands of his own earldom of Tyrone literally swarmed with enemies, including all who had been adherents of Shane O’Neill, and also many Scotch kinsmen of Shane’s last wife, Catherine Maclean, of Mull, who were also, through her, kinsmen of Hugh Gaveloc. These last mentioned were known in Ulster as M’Ellanes, or M’Illanes (Macleans), many families of whom had come from the island of Mull to settle in these northern counties, at the time of their distinguished kinswoman’s sojourn here, first as the wife of Calvagh O’Donnell, and afterwards of Shane O’Neill. They had become a numerous and somewhat influential people, at the period of Hugh Gaveloc’s death ; at least so much so, as to attract the attention of the Irish deputy and council, who a few years afterwards—at the commencement of the war against the earl in 1596—described them (the Macleans) as “opposed unto the Earl for sundry provocations, and specially for the hanging of Hugh Cayvoloughe, one of the sons of the late Shane O’Neyle.” The fact of their opposition to

Tyrone, at that crisis, had no doubt made the Macleans of more consequence than they would otherwise have been.

The earl had not long returned from London when he received a summons to appear before the Irish deputy. Having acknowledged the receipt of this mandate, and his readiness to comply with its terms, he sent his secretary to Dublin to make arrangements for a sumptuous banquet, and to invite the leading English nobility there to meet him (the earl), on the evening of his intended visit to the metropolis. He had heard that the government intended to seize him on his arrival in Dublin; but had he refused to go, his sureties or bailsmen would have been brought into trouble. In going, however, it was necessary to make it appear that he intended to remain for a time; although it was at least equally necessary, or rather absolutely so, that he should not remain in Dublin during the night. The fact of the banquet made Fitzwilliam's mind easy, as leading him to believe that O'Neill would be in no hurry to get beyond his reach; and, indeed, for this purpose it had been adroitly arranged. On the appointed evening the guests had assembled, when Tyrone reached the city after sunset. But, instead of going to preside at the feast, where he was expected, he rode straight to the castle and presented himself before the deputy, where he was *not* expected. Fitzwilliam received him, however, with a great show of friendliness, beseeching him in the meantime, to go and attend to his guests as it would be quite soon enough to visit him (Fitzwilliam) the next day. But the northern visitor had his wits about him; and knowing that the deputy had received *private* instructions from London to arrest him, and having no particular taste to join O'Donnell and certain Irish nobles then prisoners in the castle, he remounted his horse, riding all night, and when the morning dawned he had cleared the northern boundary of the hated Pale. His English guests in Dublin were left to take care of themselves, whilst he felt that, under the circumstances, he had done enough by presenting himself when summoned before the deputy to exonerate his bailsmen from all legal difficulty in the matter.

From that time forth, however, he was resolved, at all hazards, to eschew the Pale. The secret intention of the government to seize him, notwithstanding a certain outward display of friendly feeling, appears to have stunned him, and changed the whole current of his political sentiments and ideas. And although the government, as already stated, afterwards recommended the retirement of Turlough Luineach (30) in his favour, yet in the light of events which were then occurring or had actually occurred in Monaghan, he reasonably enough concluded that even

(30). *Luineach*.—This chieftain died in the year 1595, after a career of much trouble and strife, during which he appears to have always taken the winning side, and at last became a decided adherent of the government. He seemed to covet nobilitation from the queen, and it was at one time resolved to gratify him, but there is no distinct evidence that he ever attained to this honour; although we have the following passage in a State paper of 1595:—"In 19 Eliz., by articles indented between the then lord deputy and Sir Turlough Lenagh, *now earl of Clanconnell*, all the lands from Lough Foyle to the Great Water [Abhainn Mor], were granted to the latter for life, with the countries of Clancann and Clanbresolloghe *ut sequacibus*. These articles were ratified by the

Queen 26 May. Afterwards she created Sir Turlough Earl of Clanconnell, but he promised to claim no other lands *colore honoris*." (See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, third series, p. 108.) If this title was really conferred, Sir Turlough is never spoken of by the style of earl. The truth was, that the patent for creating him an earl was made out; but just then a patriotic fit seized Turlough, and, as a matter of course, whilst under its influence, he clung to the Irish title of *The O'Neill*, and despised the English earldom. Afterwards, when time had brought certain changes, Turlough sought to be made an earl, but the government then did not require his support, or rather reckoned it of no consequence, and therefore declined to advance him to the coveted dignity.

this apparently favourable move, in procuring Turlough's retirement, had been made with a deep ultimate purpose or design. Although Hugh Roe Macmahon had been formally recognized and confirmed as the lord of Monaghan, by Fitzwilliam, yet when he ventured to recover certain rents and duties illegally withheld from him, using the Celtic law as a means of redress—for there was really then no other available—he was summoned to Dublin to answer for so doing, where he was treacherously seized by Fitzwilliam, and soon afterwards hanged at the entrance of his own castle in Monaghan. It turned out, in fact, that Macmahon had been recognised and confirmed as successor to the family estates "purposely to draw an interest unto him and his heirs, contrary to the custom of the country; and then, by his execution, to draw the country into her Majesty's hands," as, indeed, the *settling* of Monaghan, immediately after his execution, abundantly proved. Tyrone already could see that he himself had been used against Turlough Luineach, just as his father, Matthew, the first baron of Dungannon, had been used against Shane O'Neill; and he now felt, besides, that neither he nor any other native Ulster landlord had the least security against the dire fate that had befallen Hugh Roe Macmahon. This was, indeed, a mischief-making impression, or conviction; and, unfortunately, the conduct of leading officials at that crisis was calculated to fix it darkly and deeply in the earl's mind.

Indeed, on all sides, the bitterest complaints were then loudly spoken by Ulster lords or chiefs because of the oppressions inflicted upon them by government officials; whilst the common people literally groaned under the exactions and insults of English soldiers. The war, which was then soon to commence, has been hitherto generally regarded by English readers of Irish history as simply an outburst of turbulent Catholicism on the part of the Celtic people of Ulster, fomented by the ambition of Tyrone to become *The O'Neill*, a title which he had himself freely renounced, and more than once urged the government practically and theoretically to extinguish! This view of the origin or cause of that war cannot now for a moment be maintained consistently with historic truth. The haziness, if not the palpable darkness, which existed as to the issues then to be discussed and decided, has been latterly very much removed by the printing of Irish State papers, especially the vast and valuable collection known as the *Carew Manuscripts*. Although Sir George Carew only looked at Ireland as a field on which to gather wealth and fame, yet to him Ireland is indebted for the careful preservation of many documents which will certainly make her past history better understood. His letters, and other papers, he bequeathed to Sir Thomas Stafford, who published, in 1633, under the title of *Pacata Hibernia*, that portion of them which had reference to Carew's administration when president of Munster—an office which he held from 1599 to 1602, or about the space of three years. The vast remaining portion of the collection fills forty-three manuscript volumes, thirty-nine of which are preserved in the library at Lambeth Palace, and four in the Bodleian library at Oxford. This mass of most interesting materials, relating to a most important period of Irish history has been calendared in six thick octavo volumes, 1867—1874. Sir William Dugdale, referring to Carew's labours, says:—"Tis not a little observable, that being a great lover of antiquities, he wrote an historical account of those memorable passages which happened in Ireland during the term of the three years he continued there [in Munster; he was many

years in Ireland], and made an ample collection of many chronological and choice observations, as also of divers exact maps relating to sundry parts of that realm, some whereof are now in the public library at Oxford, but most of them in the hands of Sir Robert Shirley, bart., of Stanton Harold, county Leicester, bought of his executors." It may further be mentioned, to the honour of Carew's name and memory, that he rendered very efficient assistance to William Camden when the latter was engaged in the preparation of his great work known as the *Britannia*.

V.

The people of Ulster, therefore, at the present day, are, or ought to be, most interested in the collections made by Carew, for we have here access to copies of the letters in which the Ulster leaders at the crisis referred to gave expression to their wrongs, as well as of those which were written to defend the conduct and policy of the government. We are thus able to understand how it was that the natives then so universally drew themselves together in Ulster against the government, and were able to find a distinguished leader in one who would have naturally wished to be at peace with his former English associates and friends. When Shane O'Neill previously made war with the Pale his Uriaghts or sub-chiefs were not generally disposed to adopt his policy, and a few required to be actually forced into the combination then formed throughout Ulster. This disunion continued to be the source of Shane's weakness, and, indeed, he was finally beaten, not so much by the English as by the O'Donnells. It required now, however, that the earl of Tyrone should use his influence to moderate the headlong rage of all the Ulster lords (even including O'Donnell and Maguire, who had refused to co-operate with Shane), and to hold them back so long as there was the slightest hope of coming to any peaceable solution of the difficulties with the government. Now, however, as in many former cases, the government had its own officials to thank, or blame, for drawing it into a long and bloody struggle with its own subjects. Among those culpable officials, Fitzwilliam the deputy, and Sir Henry Bagnall the marshal, occupied "a bad eminence." The former, it is true, was summarily dismissed, and the plottings of the latter were suddenly brought to an end on the memorable field of the Yellow Ford; but they had already done the evil work, by their arrogance, their selfishness, and their oppressions.

When the government of Elizabeth at last condescended, by its commissioners, to ask of what the "rebel" leaders in Ulster had to complain, a few of the latter came forward with short but significant statements of their grievances. As the notices in British history of Ulster affairs at that period have been almost exclusively devoted to the task of describing the gallant acts of such men as Bagenall, and the political sagacity of such others as Fitzwilliam, we shall now, on the contrary, permit their "rebel" opponents to occupy a small space of our narrative in telling their own tale. Tyrone's statement was, perhaps, the most important, and we give it first, in substance, as follows:—
 "A Note of sundry causes and articles wherewith the earl of Tyrone is grieved. First, the marshal [Bagenall] having possessed the now lord deputy [Fitzwilliam] with many bribes in plate and great sums of money wrested from the inhabitants under his rule, hath in June last [1593], by false accusations of treason, sought the earl's life, and produced base men to prove the same when the

lord deputy and council were at Dundalk, who have brought disquietness in all these northern parts.

"2. When the earl brought into subjection [submission to English authority] the upper Clandhubois in the time of Con McNeile Oge (31), Kilultagh (32), Kilwarlyn (33), McCarten's country (34), O'Hanlon's country (35), and all McMahon's country; such as appertained to the earl (bearing rule in any of these places) were removed, and base and servile fellows of the marshal's faction were placed in their rooms.

"3. All gentlemen bearing affection towards the earl are put from having any place of credit or government, and those that have served under them, either as officers, soldiers, or servants, are preferred before them; so that, though the earl could digest the villainy of Thomas Henshawe (36), now seneschal of county Monaghan, William Mote, vice-constable of the fort, and many more (who, being instruments of the marshal, do nothing else but seek to cut the earl's throat), all the earl's followers and tenants do so much loathe and hate those parties, as they will never trust them

(31). *Con McNeale Oge*.—Neale Oge, the father of this Con, died in 1537; he was son of Niall Mor, who died in 1512; son of Con of Edenduffcarrick, who died in 1482; son of Hugh Boy, slain in 1444. Con, in whose time the earl of Tyrone reconciled the Upper Clannaboy, comprising the two modern baronies of Castlereagh, to English rule, was a warlike chieftain, and supposed to be unmanageable. Among his numerous raids he repeatedly robbed or spoiled the inhabitants of Carrickfergus. In a "Note of their greates Losses" it is recorded that on one occasion he took from them 400 head of cattle, after having slain the mayor, the constable of the castle there, and 24 of the townsmen. At another time, he carried off their mayor, named William Wallis, and a Mr. Corbett, for whom he received 540*l.* as ransom. Indeed he had committed so many depredations that the good citizens engaged to pay Sorley Boy Macdonnell the sum of 20*l.* to defend them against further spoiling. They paid this sum in wine, silk, and saffron. (See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 147, 148.)

(32). *Kilultagh*.—This territory, anciently *Coill-Ulltach*, or "wood of Ulster," comprises the present parishes of Ballinderry, Aghalee, Aghagallon, Magheramesk, Magheragall, and the portion of Blaris north of the river Lagan. (See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, 234, 347.) At the time referred to in the text, the captain, or chief of Kilultagh was Coimac, son of Neal O'Neill. On the corner of an old map of Down, published about 1592, there is the following note:—"Along this river [the Lagan] be the space of 20 myles groweth much woodes, as well hokes [oaks] for tymber as hother woodde, which maie be in the baie of Cragfergus with bote or drage." (*Ulster Journal of Archeology*, vol. iii., p. 274.) In 1586, Sir Hen. Bagenall in his *Description of Ulster*, speaks of Killultagh as "full of wood and bogg."

(33). *Kilwarlyn*.—"A portion of Lower Iveagh [adjoining Killultagh] was known in the sixteenth century as *Kilwarlin*, which is variously written *Kilmarlin*, *Kilwarly*, *Kilwarlinge*, and *Kilwarney*. This tract comprehended the parish of Hillsborough, and the neighbouring parts of Blaris, Moira, Dromore, and Dro-

mar. . . . It was the patrimony of a branch of the Magennis family which was called *Mac Rory*, from Rudhraighe, an ancestor. Art, surnamed *na Madhman*, or 'of the Overthrows,' who flourished A.D. 1380, had two sons. Aodh and Cathbar; from the former of whom the lords of Iveagh were descended; whilst the Kilwarlin branch derived its origin from the latter. In 1575, Ever Mac Rory of Kilwarlyn made a surrender of this tract to queen Elizabeth, and took out a patent for the same." (See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 389.) The "woodmen of Kilwarlin" were always considered a formidable power in Ulster, and when "bringing them into subjection," the earl was assuredly doing a loyal turn for the government.

(34). *McCartan's Country*.—This was the present Kinelarty, and anciently known as *Cinel-Fagartaigh*, or "Race of Fagartach," the tribe name of the Macartans,—Fagartach, from whom they derived it, being a distinguished descendant of Ross, a king of Uladh in the third century. Kinelarty lies between Kilwarlin and Lecale. In 1585 their chief was Acholice McCartan, who was able to call out a goodly number of soldiers, and disposed to join Sorley Boy against the government; but the earl states above that he had brought the Macartans also "into subjection."

(35). *O'Hanlon's Country*.—O'Hanlon's country was originally Oneilan, so called from Niallan, a chief descended from one of the three Collas; he was progenitor of the O'Hanlons, and his territory, *Ui Niallan*, or Oneilan, was theirs also, as his representatives, although in more modern times they occupied the adjoining territory of *Orior*. (See p. 8.) To this latter the earl above refers. At the time when he brought it into subjection, its chief was Sir Oghie O'Hanlon, who had married one of the earl's sisters.

(36). *Henshawe*.—This Lieutenant Henshawe was placed at the head of a garrison in the island of Rathlin left there by Perrott in 1585. He was appointed seneschal of Monaghan in 1592. See Morrin's *Calendar*, second series, p. 226; see also Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*, p. 177.

or come to them ; whereas, if any gentlemen of good minds or calling were in the places of those base men, they would yield the earl assistance in her majesty's service.

" 4. The earl's foster-brothers, captain Richard and Henry Hovendon, having the leading of 200 footmen upon the earl's charges, overthrew 500 or 600 Spaniards in Tireconnell, and brought all the best of them to the earl (see p. 32), whom he sent to the now lord deputy ; but neither they [the Hovendens] nor the earl, had any recompence for that service, or so much as part of the ransom of those prisoners (which was great), they being greatly indebted for the furnishing of their companies at that time.

" 5. In the late service against Magwire (37), it was promised to the earl that he should be in commission, and he promised the lord chancellor [archbishop Loftus] that he would come with the marshal in that service, without remembering any causes of discord between them, being greatly moved against Magwire in that he brake his word with him. That service cost him near 3,000*l.* sterling, for which and the loss of his blood he had no thanks, but was called traitor by the lord deputy at his own table ; while the marshal (having only her majesty's forces and none of his own) obtained a concordatum of 400*l.*

" 6. The earl and marshal encamping in Fermanaghe, the marshal caused a false alarm to be suddenly raised in his camp, in hope to find him unwatchful.

" 7. When the earl requested but 200 soldiers to enable his company to go upon the borders of Tireconnell to take a prey, the marshal would let him have only 60 or 80 men, the refuse of several companies. The earl, however, set forward, after obtaining the marshal's promise that he would follow next day, and meet the earl's men the second night at ' Le Place,' in Termon Magrath ; but the marshal came not until the third or fourth night, wherein he colourably betrayed the earl and all his company, who had to continue in arms day and night until he came (38).

" 8. After the overthrow given at Beleeke by the earl's means, wherein he himself was sore hurt, the earl wrote to the lord deputy and council of the manner of the service, and showed the letter to the marshal, at whose request he added that both himself and the marshal did kill of the enemies with their own hands, though there was no eye-witness of the marshal's killing any man ; but the marshal in his letter made no mention of the earl according to promise (39).

" 9. In the time of the government of Sir John Perrot, the earl brought unto him, to Drogheda, Sir Rosse McMahon, knight, for defraying of whose charges then, the earl gave his word to the town there for the sum of 188*l.* ster. The said Sir Rosse had also the earl's daughter to wife, with whom he gave a large portion of his goods in marriage. And the earl having exhibited

(37). *Against Magwire*.—The inhabitants of Fermanagh had led the way in the great uprising, whilst the earl of Tyrone held back so long that he was literally employed for a time to quell the commencement of that revolt, at the head of which he was destined to take his place before many months. In this service against his kinsmen, the Maguires, he got severely wounded ; and these native Irish of Ulster, who despised his apparent pusillanimity, were right glad to hear of his wounds.

(38). *Until he came*.—The rising in Fermanagh was

encouraged by O'Donnell (Hugh Roe), and, as punishment for so doing, the earl and Bagenall were sent by the government to 'take a prey' in O'Donnell's country. The treachery of Bagenall at Termonmagrath disgusted the earl, and prepared him to yield the more readily to the native pressure put upon him at the time.

(39). *To promise*.—As the earl in this instance had gone further to gratify Bagenall than truth required or permitted, he could not, with a good grace, accuse his brother in arms of deception.

complaint hereupon in England, brought direction from thence that the said sum of 188*l.* ster. as also the goods which he gave with his daughter, might be paid unto the earl out of M'Mahon's country, or else by such to whom the country is fallen; or otherwise that his daughter, in lieu of her marriage goods, should have a third part of that country for her dowry; in neither of all which the earl got satisfaction. And when the country was divided, every peddling merchant, and other *men* of no account or desert, had a share thereof; and the marshal (who never took pains in the bringing of that country to subjection) had a great part of it almost within some part of the earl's inhabitants [tenants]; and the earl himself, neither for payment of the said debts or for his service done in that country, had any part thereof (40).

"10. The lord deputy and marshal are knit together against the earl, and do and have sought his life. They are greatly befriended in court, while the earl himself, since the death of the Earl of Leicester (41), the late Lord Chancellor (42), Sir Francis Walsingham (43), and others of his friends in England, is destitute of friends. Therefore, although for the confidence he has in the Lord Chancellor and Sir Robert Gardiner, and also in Sir Anthony St. Leiger (44) (third now in the

(40). *Part thereof*.—Rosse MacMahon, above named, is stated by the Four Masters to have been the son of Art, who was the son of Brian, nicknamed 'of the Early Rising,' who was the son of Redmond, who was the son of Glasny. Rosse died in the year 1589. The outlay by the Earl of Tyrone in bringing MacMahon to Dublin was incurred at the time the latter was induced to surrender his country to Elizabeth and receive it again by patent from the Crown. By this process the interest in the lands was drawn to the chief or landlord, and snatched from the members of the clan, who were the real owners. It would appear, on the distribution of MacMahon's lands soon afterwards, that neither the earl nor his daughter got any share as compensation for their claims. His daughter, however, married another MacMahon, named Brian McHugh Oge, who obtained a fragment of the estates, and with him, then an old man, and his moderate means, the lady Mary O'Neill was obliged to be content. The earl himself had owned 16 tates of land in the barony of Trough which were given to John O'Conolan, the renegade parson of Monaltie. See *Ulster Inquisitions*, Introduction, p. xxx.

(41). *Leicester*.—This friend to the earl died in the year 1588. Robert Dudley was a famous man in his generation, not merely as a favourite of Elizabeth, but as the son of that Duke of Northumberland who was beheaded for proclaiming Lady Jane Grey as queen. He was created Earl of Denbigh on the 28th of September, 1563, and Earl of Leicester on the following day. In 1575, he gave the Queen a memorable entertainment at Kenilworth Castle, which lasted seventeen days, and cost £60,000. Naunton, the author of the *Fragmenta Regalia*, says of Leicester:—"To take him in the observation of his letters and writings, which should best set him off, for such as have fallen into my hands, I never yet saw a stile or phrase more seemingly religious, and fuller of the straines of devotion; and were they not sincere, I doubt much of his well-being; and I feare he was too well scene in the aphorisms of Nicholas the Florentine, and in the reaches of Caesar Borgias." See

Lord Somers's *Tracts*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. i., pp. 259, 260.

(42). *The late Lord Chancellor*.—The earl here refers to the English chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, who succeeded Sir Thomas Bromley in 1587. Naunton's account of Hatton is as follows:—"He came to court, as his opposite [opponent], Sir John Perrott, was wont to say, by the Galliard; for he came thither as a private gentleman of the innes of court, in a maske; and for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her [Elizabeth's] favour; he was made Vice-Chamberlain; and, shortly after, advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor. A gentleman that, besides the graces of his person, and dancing, had also the endowment of a strong and subtile capacity, and that could soon learne the discipline and garbe both of the times and court; . . . and he was a mere vegetable of the court, that sprung up at night, and sunke again at his noone." See Lord Somers's *Tracts*, vol. i., p. 270. Hatton was familiarly known as the *dancing* chancellor.

(43). *Walsingham*.—He was principal Secretary of State, "and noted," says Naunton, "to have certain courtesies and secret ways of intelligence above the rest. . . . Both himself and Stafford, that preceded him, might well have been compared to him in the gospel that sowed his tares in the night, so did they their seedes of division in the darke." Walsingham is further described by a writer in the *Biographia Britannica* as one who "outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and overreached them in their own mental reservations. For two pistoles an order he had all the private papers in Europe. Few letters escaped his hand, whose contents he could read, and not touch the seals. He had the wonderful art of weaving plots, in which busy people were so entangled that they could never escape, but were sometimes spared on submission, at others, hanged, for example." Lord Somers's *Tracts*, vol. i., p. 264.

(44). *St. Leiger*.—The three persons last named were commissioners who met the rebel Irish lords.

commission), he is come to them, nevertheless, the earl will use the best means he can for preserving his life, and will not trust those that seek his death by indirect means; yet he will be true and faithful to her highness.

"11. Hugh Roe McMahon succeeding his brother Sir Rosse McMahon by virtue of her majesty's letters patents, and coming to the State [*i.e.*, going to Dublin] upon the word of a nobleman here, and the word also of Henry Moore, deceased, a gentleman of worship, was afterwards executed as a traitor for distraining for his right according to custom (45).

"12. The lord deputy sent Humfrey Willis and John Fuller, a couple of base men, with 300 men or more, to invade Fermanagh suddenly, upon pretence that the said Humfrey Willis went thither as a sheriff; whereupon Magwire gathered 600 or 700 men, and besieged them in a church. The earl [of Tyrone] rescued them, and procured licence for them safely to return, with bag and baggage (46).

"13. When the lord deputy made a journey into Tیرهonnell (after the said Hovendons overthrew the Spaniards), Sir Owen O'Toole [O'Gallagher], knight, came to his lordship upon his word, and he promised (as by witness shall be proved) not to take him any farther than Donnigall, being ten miles from the said Sir Owen's house, where the lord deputy then was, which was not performed, for that Sir Owen is detained prisoner ever sithence, though he had done good services. This has made the now O'Donnell to be most fearful (47).

"14. These dealings have caused the earl to fear his life in coming to the State and to bring in any other.

"15. The marshal, unknown to her majesty and the council of England, has procured a commission to end and determine all causes in Ulster, and appointed a chief sergeant to execute

(45). *To custom*.—This affair will be noticed in connection with the MacMahons' statement of *grievances*. In the meantime, we quote a reference to it as corroborative of the earl's statement:—"When upon the death of a great lord of a country, there hath been another nominated, chosen, and created, he hath been entertained with fair speeches, taken down into his country, and for the offences of other men indictments have been framed against him, whereupon he hath been found guilty, and so lost his life; which hath bred such terror in other great lords of the like measure, as maketh them stand upon those terms which now they do." See *A brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland*, by Captain Thomas Lee, 1594.

(46). *Baggage*.—The following reference to this affair is supplied by Captain Thomas Lee—"A great part of that unquietness of O'Donnell's country [Maguire's country], came by Sir William Fitzwilliam his placing of one Wallis there to be sheriff, who had with him 300 of the very rascals and scum of that kingdom, which did rob and spoil that people, ravish their wives and daughters, and made havoc of all; which bred such a discontentment, as that the whole country was up in arms against

them, so as if the Earl of Tyrone had not rescued and delivered him and them, out of the country, they had been all put to the sword."

(47). *Most fearful*.—See p. 32. The following is Captain Lee's reflection on this wicked proceeding:—"When there have been means made to an aged gentleman (never traitor against your Majesty, neither he, nor any of his ancestors, and dwelling in one of the remotest parts of your kingdom), to come into your State; and that the hard courses used to others, made him demand security for his coming in, which hath been sent unto him by great oaths and protestations, delivered by the messenger, [the pursuivant Bermyngham], whereof he hath accepted, and thereupon come in; yet notwithstanding all these promised safeties this aged gentleman hath been detained prisoner for six years, and so yet remaineth. And his imprisonment is the only colour to satisfy your majesty for a wonderful great charge, which your majesty and your subjects were then put unto. But his detaining, contrary to promise, hath bred great fear in all, or most of his sort (in those parts) of crediting what your state there [in Ireland] shall promise."

all his orders. The earl is not well pleased that the marshal should bear that sway over him (48).

"16. Whereas, the late marshal, Sir Nicholas Bagnall, left his daughter, now married to the earl, 1,000*l.* current money of England for her preferment, the present marshal sithence the said marriage, being two years and upwards, wrongfully detains and withholds the said sum (49).

"17. Finally, forasmuch as neither the earl himself nor any the inhabitants of his country can abide or digest the said malicious practices against him, insomuch as the chiefest in his country were ready to tear him (50) for his coming in to your honours, he therefore humbly prays that it would please her highness to remove those base, covetous, cowardly persons that only seek his overthrow.

(Signed),

HUGH TYRONE."

"These articles were delivered to us, the commissioners, the 14th day of March, 1593, by the Earl of Tyrone. Ad. Dublin, canc., Robert Gardiner, Anthony St. Leiger." *Carew MSS*, third series, pp. 145-151.

Next to O'Neill in importance as a 'rebel' was Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who had not long before made his escape from a dungeon in Dublin, and who now came forward with a statement of his grievances, in substance as follows:—

"1. It is well-known that O'Donnell's predecessors were always faithful subjects [to the

(48). *Sway over him.*—The infamy of this tribunal—an abuse of the court-martial—set up by Bagenall, is illustrated by the following passage from Captain Lee's admirable tract:—"When some one who hath been a bad member (pardoned by your majesty) hath heard himself exclaimed against to be a notable thief after his pardon; and hath simply come in without any bonds, or any other enforcement, to an open session, to take his trial, by your majesty's laws, if any could accuse him; notwithstanding his coming in after this manner, and without any trial at the time (because he was a bad man in times past), there hath been order given in that session for the execution of him; and so he has lost his life, to the great dishonour of your majesty, and discredit of your laws. There have been also divers others pardoned by your majesty, who have been held very dangerous men, and after their pardon have lived very dutifully, and done your majesty great service, and many of them have lost their lives therein; yet upon small suggestions to the lord deputy, that they should be spoilers of your majesty's subjects, notwithstanding their pardon, there have been bonds demanded of them for their appearance at the next sessions. They knowing themselves guiltless, have most willingly entered into bonds, and appeared, and there (no matter being found to charge them), they have been arraigned only for being in company with some one of your highness's servitors, at the killing of notorious known traitors; and for that only have been condemned of treason and lost their lives. And this dishonest practice hath been by consent of your deputies."

(49). *The said sum.*—Respecting the Earl of Tyrone's marriage with Mabel Bagenall, the reader may find many curious details in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeol. Society*, new series, vol. i., pp. 298-309; Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 30-32; Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*, pp. 212, 213.

(50). *Ready to tear him.*—This state of affairs in which the earl was literally placed between two fires, was brought on sooner than it might otherwise have occurred, by his own act of going forth with Bagenall to quell the beginnings of the insurrection in Fermanagh and Donegal. (see p. 40). On his return from that campaign, in which he inflicted a severe defeat on his friends the O'Donnells and Maguires, at Beleek, he found all his immediate kinsmen not only in a white heat of rage, but literally in arms, because of his vacillating conduct. His nephew Brian, son of his brother Art O'Neill, of Oneilan, in Armagh, had, in the meantime aroused nearly the whole province, and could have played the part of *The O'Neill* in a style superior to any member of the clan then alive. The O'Donnells, O'Doghertys, and MacSwynes, were already up in Donegal or Tirconnell; Cormac O'Neill, the earl's brother; Con, his illegitimate son; Henry Oge O'Neill, his son-in-law; Arthur and Cormac, the sons of Tirlagh Luineach; together with the O'Hagans, the Donnellys, and the O'Quinns were all ready in Tyrone. The leading Macmahons stood to their arms in Monaghan; whilst in Armagh, the O'Neills of the Fewa, headed by Tirlagh McHenry, the earl's half-brother; the O'Neills, of Clanbrazill and Oneilan, the Macans of Clancann, and the O'Hanlons of Orior, were mustering their hosts for the war. The O'Reillys of Cavan, jealous of the Maguires, hung fire for a time, but soon exploded like their neighbours. The Macdonnells of the Route and Glynnys were devoted to the earl, whilst any doubtful parties in Ulster had a visit from Brian MacArt, who soon brought them to the test. On this mission, he required to visit the O'Neills of Upper and Lower Clannaboy, the O'Neills in the Dufferin, the O'Neills of Killultagh, and the Magennises of Kilwarlin; where he dwelt for a time among the creaghts of the several districts, and soon convinced them of the necessity for going to war.

English]. (See p. 18). His father overthrew Shane O'Neill at Farsitmore, and killed and drowned 1,700 of his forces, thus forcing him to fly for refuge to the Scots, by whom he was betrayed and so lost his life (51).

"2. In the rebellion of the late Earl of Desmond, Sir Turlaghe Lenaghe, the late O'Neale, sought by bribery to induce O'Donnell to join with him against her Majesty, and take part with the earl [of Desmond] that he might not be banished, which O'Donnell refused to do (52); though the reward that O'Donnell had for these and many other services was that Sir John Perrott, in the time of his government, sent Captain Boyne [Bowen] with 150 soldiers into Tircconnell under colour to help O'Donnell to set the country in good civility, to whom O'Donnell gave divers pledges, and four of the best towns for relief of his forces; but he [Bowen] not only took ransom for the pledges and sent some of them to Dublin, but also surrendered the same towns to a supposed base son of Callough [Calvagh] O'Donnell, named Hugh, the son of the dean of Galcoule [O'Gallagher], an utter enemy of O'Donnell. By this indirect dealing Tyrconnell grew then in uproar against O'Donnell, and was utterly wasted (53).

"3. The said Lord Deputy Perrott, desiring to suppress the same O'Donnell, did countenance the said Dean O'Galcoule's [O'Gallagher's] son against O'Donnell, and sent his letters of special favour with him to her Majesty, from whom he obtained a yearly pension. By O'Donnell's

(51). *Lost his life*.—The statement here made by Hugh Roe respecting the loyalty of the O'Donnells to the government was amply borne out by well-known facts. Captain Lee, who knew all about the political movements in Ulster, confirms this statement in the following terms:—"And one special matter more is to be thought upon, where your Majesty, in all the wars of Shane O'Neale, had Tyrconnell faithful and ready to do your Highness service, and to assist your soldiers, giving the traitor many overthrows (being then an utter enemy to all the Neals); now it is not so, for O'Donnell [Hugh Roe] is married to the Earl of Tyrone's daughter, and is thereby so linked to him, that no place of succour is left to your Majesty's forces in all the north; for Sir John O'Dogherty, who was well affected to your Majesty's service, is now held under O'Donnell, so as no aid is to be expected from him. This poor gentleman hath been hardly used on both sides; first by Sir William Fitzwilliam, who imprisoned him in hope to have some Spanish gold; and now by O'Donnell, because he shall not in these troubles annoy him." The battle of Farsitmore, at which the O'Donnells defeated Shane O'Neill, is described in the following terms in the Book of Howth:—"He [Shane] went with a great power upon O'Donnyl to Teyreconnell, and after great harms done there, this O'Neyll camped be-west the river Lough Foyll in A'Donnyl's country, and might have comen over the water before. And upon the sudden O'Donnyl set upon A'Neyll, and fought with his men, that with very force he dryve them to take the river, and there was drowned. At this time the sea was in; and O'Neyll, with seven horsemen, fled towards a ford that was be-south his camp, and so saved himself. And after, for very necessity of men of war to maintain his wars, he made his combination with the Scots, who traitorously

slew him in their camp; whose head was brought and put upon the castle of Dublin." *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, fifth series, pp. 208, 209.

(52). *Refused to do*.—This attempted seduction of the O'Donnells by Tirlagh Luineach occurred in 1579. In the December of that year the lord justice wrote to the council in England, stating that "Desmond had daily messengers with Turlough Lenough," and that the latter "was procuring Scots to go to Munster." The Book of Howth describes Turlough Luineach at this time as "not to be trusted, for he killed his own brother, and in his drunkenness slew three of the best captains of the Galloglas he had, by reason whereof all the Galloglas refused him, by reason whereof he became unable to the wars that he would." *Ibid.*, p. 209.

(53). *Utterly wasted*.—For the settlement of these commotions an indenture was entered into between Sir John Perrott and Sir Hugh O'Donnell in the following terms:—"Whereas, the said Sir Hugh, by his indenture dated at the camp, near Dunluce, the 20th Sept., 1584, did covenant to find and maintain in Tyrconnell 200 footmen; and whereas he seemeth to be grieved with the disorder of such soldiers as were laid upon him, the Lord Deputy and council are content to receive of him, for the year past, 700 good, fat, and large beeves to be delivered at Sligo, and afterwards yearly at Kells, co. Meath. Sir Hugh also covenants to deliver to the castle of Dublin, his son Rowry O'Donnell, McSwyne Fanad's eldest son, and McSwyne na Doe's eldest son, as pledges; and to satisfy all controversies between him and William Bowen, and between the said Sir Hugh and one Hugh O'Donnell otherwise McEdegan [son of the Dean], and Sir John O'Dogherty, or any others." *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 444, 445.

suppression Tyrconnell was to have been brought into her hands. But this hard course against him was stopped by the death of the said Hugh, the dean's son.

"4. When the said O'Donnell was ordered to send in his second son as a pledge he would have performed the same, but before he could be in his country, the lord deputy sent one skypper with a bark, who took the now O'Donnell and brought him to Dublin, where he was committed to the castle, from which he escaped; but through the vehemency of the weather and his travail at that time, he was forced to cut off both his toes to the second joint; and at his coming into Tircconnell he found all his followers dispersed, the country ruined, and then one Captain Wallis beared such sway in the country there as he kept the last O'Donnell with him as a thrall or vassal, to be as it were a guide for him in the country (54).

"5. When the late lord deputy made a journey into Tircconnell, he sent by John Breminham, the pursuivant, for Sir Owen O'Toole [O'Gallagher], who came to his lordship upon his faithful oath and word that he would not carry him from his own house further than Donagall; but the deputy brought him to Dublin, where he was kept prisoner six years, and, by reason of his aged years and continuance in prison, he died soon after his deliverance. Before the deputy's departure out of Sir Owen's town, his haggard was all burned, and the town spoiled. Such was the reward that the old knight had for his services to her highness (55).

(54). *In the country*—The following reference to Hugh Roe, and his treacherous capture, was written by one who knew him personally:—"In sooth, dear brother, I knew him from his fifteenth year, when Perrot's hired agent lasely entrapped him aboard the ship that anchored opposite the Carmelite nunnery of Rathmullen. Often and often during the four years he was prisoner in Dublin Castle, have I loitered about that fortress, to catch a glimpse of him, when he and his fellow-captives were allowed to walk out on the ramparts to breathe the fresh air,—nay, after Deputy Fitzwilliam had clutched the bribe of a thousand pounds, given him by O'Neill, to connive at his brother-in-law's [son-in-law's] escape, I was one of the first to congratulate him as he lay sick and frostbitten in the fastness of Glenmalure, tended by doctors and guarded by O'Byrne's galloglass. . . . I was a soldier in my prime, and I marched under his banner, after I had witnessed his inauguration on the mound of Kilmacrenan. Well did I know him in every phase of his career—in the hour of his splendid victory over Clifford, in the passes of the Curliews, and when his cavalry chased the remnant of Bagnall's routed forces from the Blackwater into Armagh. Alas, I knew him too in the hour of his reverse, and was one of the last to kiss his hand on the beach of Castlehaven, when he was about to embark for Spain." (Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 67, 68.) Captain Lee mentions the prison-sufferings of O'Donnell thus:—"He being young, and being taken by stratagem, having never offended, was imprisoned with great severity, many irons laid upon him, as if he had been a notable traitor and malefactor, and kept still among those who were ever notorious traitors against your Majesty; having no other council, or advice, or company but theirs—what good could come to this young man, for his education among such, I humbly refer to your highness."

(55). *To her highness*.—(See pp. 32, 42.) When Captain Lee wrote his celebrated tract, Sir Owen O'Toole

was still in prison, and that candid and eloquent writer recommended, as one of the remedial measures for Ulster, the immediate release of this aged captive. "There is one prisoner in the castle of Dublin," says he, "an aged and impotent gentleman, of whom (if it be your highness's good pleasure) I desire your Majesty shall take notice; his name is Sir Owen Mc [O'] Toole, one who was never traitor against your Majesty, nor ever in any traitorous action, but so good a subject, and so faithful a servitor as (for his deserts) he had a pension from your Majesty, whereof Sir John Perrot bereft him. This gentleman was sent for by promise and assurance from the State, that he should not be abridged of his liberty; contrary whereunto he was committed unto prison, where he hath remained eight [six] years; for whose enlargement all bail hath been refused, yet is the gentleman of so great years, as he is not able to go [walk], and scarcely able to ride; for which respects and for the State's promise, methinks, he ought to find favour. Moreover, he is pledge for no man; if he were, pledges profit nothing, as before I have rehearsed. He is father-in-law to the Earl of Tyrone, and if the earl recovers your Majesty's favour, how highly your Majesty shall honour yourself by bestowing this old gentleman's liberty upon the Earl, and how much your Majesty shall provoke the Earl to acknowledge your highness's favour therein, your Majesty may easily judge, and they who know the state of that kingdom can inform. But, if the Earl be not so happy as to obtain such grace at your Majesty's hands, yet it may please your Majesty graciously to regard the poor aged gentleman, that upon good sureties he may have his liberty; for which I know there would be five hundred pounds given, though he can by no means steed them in any bad practice against your Majesty's State there, neither in body nor council; neither can his imprisonment stay any of his friends from doing evil, if they be badly disposed."

"These and many like courses, together with the base practices daily used against his neighbours in Fermanagh and Connaught, caused O'Donnell to fall into his disloyalty, fearing his own turn would come to be banished (56)." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, third series, pp. 152, 153.

The next in importance as a 'rebel' leader was Sir Hugh Maguire, who presented the story of his 'griefs' in substance as follows :—"1. His predecessors have been of long time loyal subjects. When Fermanagh came into his hands he began therein a most dutiful course of obedience; and when first he went [to Dublin] after being placed in his father's room, the late lord deputy and council gave him special letters of favour, that neither the Bingham's nor his other bordering neighbours, should molest him, but assist him in his lawful causes. Yet Sir Richard Bingham, and the rest of his name in Connaught, came with forces and arms into his country, burned it, killed divers men, women, and children, and took from him 3,000 cows, besides 500 garrans and mares, and certain women prisoners whom he was fain to ransom.

"2. Magwire sent letters to the lord deputy and council to desire restitution, and they addressed letters to Sir Richard Bingham and the rest for causing amends to be made; but the said Bingham's came forthwith into Fermanagh at two several times, and preyed Magwire of 6,000 cows, besides much murder.

"3. Captain Henshawe, seneschal of Monaghan, came several times with his forces to places in Fermanagh, called Clankally and Cowle [now the baronies of Clankelly and Coole], captured 3,000 cows, and killed men, women, and children; but Sir William Fitzwilliam caused no redress thereof.

"4. In the several sheriffships of Sir Henry Duke and Sir Edward Harbert in co. Cavan, they killed and preyed Magwire's tenants in Knockclangorie, the Cowle, and other places, to his and their damages of 3,000*l.* ster.

"5. Afterwards, the said lord deputy being in Monaghan, Magwire obtained faithful oath and promise that he should not be charged with sheriffs or other officers in regard of his coming to do obedience, for one whole year; for which grant he paid as a bribe to his lordship and others 300 beoffs [fat cattle], besides 150 beoffs to the marshal [Bagenall]; but Captain Wallis, having Captain Fuller's band and other companies with him, was sent with commission to be sheriff there, and

(56). *To be banished.*—As remedial measures for Tírconnell, and to withhold O'Donnell from any hostile movement at this crisis against the government, Captain Lee recommended to the Queen's adoption the following course :—"For O'Donnell's country it may please your Majesty to send thither such gentlemen against whom O'Donnell, nor his country, can take exceptions; nor your State there think unfit for judgment or ability; namely, Captain Anthony Brabazon, to be seneschal of that country, and to have under his charge 25 horse; Captain Nathaniel Smith, to have 100 foot; Captain William Warren, to have his five horsemen restored to him (which Sir William Fitzwilliam bestowed on others) and added to the 20 which he hath, to strengthen his band, and to be sent thither to be sheriff of that county. And for the settling of your Majesty's forces there, to reserve these lands to be inhabited by those whom these

gentlemen shall take with them, viz., one small barony belonging to Tyrconnell, on that side of the river towards Connaught, called, as I take it, the barony of Carbery [Tirhugh]; the castle of Ballyshannon to be reserved still in your Majesty's hands, for him who shall command there; the abbey of Tashiroe [Assaroe] to be bestowed on the seneschal; the abbey of Donegal and the abbey of Derrie are two abbeys that have no lands belonging to them; so much land, therefore, to be laid unto them as shall be thought sufficient for their habitations, who shall be drawn thither." The march of events prevented these recommendations from being carried out. Although the people of Tírconnell would have no doubt welcomed the advent of these popular servitors when contrasted with such others as Bowen, Henshawe, and Wallis, yet it is questionable whether they would have willingly given up so much land for their accommodation.

preyed the country. They cut off the head of the son of Edmond McHugh McGwyre, and hurled it from place to place as a football (57). These hard courses compelled him to entertain forces to expulse the said Wallis, and his companies, whereupon ensued the proclaiming of himself and his followers, and their banishment out of the country (58)."

Another powerful Ulster lord was that Shane, son of the well-known Sir Brian Mac Felim O'Neill, who was treacherously seized by the first Devereux, Earl of Essex, at Belfast, and executed at Carrickfergus, in 1574. His eldest son, Shane, held afterwards the greater part of Lower Clannaboy, and now, in 1593, came forward to state the "grievances" of which he had to complain, and which, indeed, amply justified the rebellious attitude he had assumed. His statement is short, but significantly expressive of very great spoliation on the part of two servitors, viz., Essex and Bagenall. He stated, in substance, as follows:—"1. Soon after the death of Sir Brian McPhelim, father to the said Shane, the island Magie, adjoining to Carrickfergus, being time out of mind his proper inheritance, was taken from him by the Earl of Essex, and has ever since been kept to his [Essex's] use, contrary to equity and justice (59).

(57). *As a football.*—This account of the wicked doings of these officers is not overdrawn. Captain Lee, one of their own class, who knew them well, expresses his indignation, in the following terms, that Fitzwilliam should have employed such men:—"His [Fitzwilliam's] greedy desire at that time in respect of his own gain, made him careless of these offers, and of those good servitors who would freely offer themselves; he esteemed best of the baser sort, as of one Willis, and such as he was, whom he made captains and officers in the Irish countries, who, with their great troops of base rascals, behaved themselves so disorderly, as made the whole country to rise in an uproar, and to drive them out, which advantage given by those bad and lewd fellows to the ill-disposed Irishry, hath emboldened them ever since to stand in no fear or subjection of your highness's state or forces there. These, and many the like services, as bad or worse, did Sir William Fitzwilliam, whilst he had authority in that place." Two other infamous officers with Wallis were men named Conell and Fuller, "whose behaviour," says Lee, "being such as a well advised captain of that kingdom would not admit into any office of that company."

(58). *Out of the country.*—Captain Lee recommended to the Queen the remedial treatment for Fermanagh he describes as follows:—"For Maguire's country, called Fermanohan, Sir Dudley Loftus with his 25 horse (whereof he also wanteth five, taken as aforesaid is mentioned, to be restored to him), and he to be sent seneschal of that country; Henry Warren, his brother-in-law, to be sent as sheriff and assistant unto him, and to have 100 footmen under his charge. Your Majesty to bestow on those two gentlemen (to be inhabited by them and their friends) all those islands upon the lough [Erne], and that one abbey which is in the country [Lisgoole], and the lands belonging to it, and the castle of Enniskillen, lately taken from Maguire; and the rest of that country, to remain to the chief men inhabiting there, so as they defray the seneschal's fee and charge of the 25 horse, to be levied in butter, meal, and beef, both for the diet and wages of the horsemen, and their horse-meat, in such sort as the Irishry themselves shall set

down, which will be a greater proportion than your Majesty would demand." The Maguires would have had a popular seneschal and sheriff, but at a very great cost, by the surrender of Lisgoole, Enniskillen, and all the islands. No opportunity, however, was afforded of testing Lee's plan, which, to say the least, was well intended towards the natives.

(59). *Equity and justice.*—This well-known island on the Antrim coast, so called from the Magees who occupied it, formed one of the most attractive and valuable portions of lower or northern Clannaboy. It was unceremoniously seized by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, on his arrival at Carrickfergus, in 1572, as governor of Ulster. The following notices of this place were written about the year 1680, by Richard Dobbs, a gentleman, who resided in its vicinity:—"This island once belonged to the Earl of Essex, who was beheaded in the time of Queen Elizabeth [Robert Devereux, son of Walter above named]; his patent was once in my hands; and after (by what means I know not) enjoyed by Lord Arthur Chichester, lord deputy of Ireland, who set a lease of it to Sir Moses Hill, and the inheritance is now in the same family, and the Lease in the Hills. . . . This Island Magee is really a Peninsula, being encompassed by the sea and Loughlarn, which ebbs and flows within less than a mile round, and where the sea comes not, is parted from Broad Island by only a ditch. It is about five miles long, and the narrowest place about a mile broad, in some two. I have heard Colonel Hill of Hillsborough say it contained near 5,500 acres, whereof 5,000, I am sure, is fit for fork and scythe, nor did I ever see better ground for so much together, whether for grain or cattle; much Limestone ground—the upper end clay, the middle mixt, the lower end next the north, sandy; no lough nor mill-pond in it (though two mills) but what is fed by springs. . . . The yearly rent of this Island was once £1000 per ann., the tithe now set at £110 per ann., and may contain about 300 men." See Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*, pp. 378, 379.

"2. Soon afterwards Sir Henry Bagenall took from him the barony of Mawghrye Morne, and finding him on a time in the Newrye, did there imprison him, and would not deliver him until he had passed unto him [Bagenall] what assurance he would have on said barony (60)—[i.e., until Shane had signed away and surrendered his right in the lands, now mentioned, to Bagenall].

"3. He sustained many other griefs by the hands of her Majesty's officers at Carrickfergus, to the great losses of his followers and goods, and the hazard of his own life." *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 155.

But the last and worst in this series of cases was that which occurred in Monaghan, and which, indeed, was so appalling as to frighten the whole province into armed resistance. This bloody business has already been slightly referred to in the Earl of Tyrone's explanation of his grievances, but the following statement of two Macmahon gentlemen reveals the several circumstances connected with the murder of their chief lord more fully. Their statement is headed 'Grievances of Brian McHugh Oge McMahoune, and Ewer McCollo [Ever Mac Cu Uladh Macmahon]'—"First. The said Brian McHugh Oge saith that Hugh Roe McMahowne, named [The] McMahowne by Sir William Fitzwilliam, and so confirmed and allowed to succeed by virtue of his brother's [Sir Rosse Macmahon's] letters patents, and coming into the state [going to Dublin] upon the word of a nobleman, and the word of Henry More, of Mellifont, deceased, was afterwards most unjustly and treacherously executed by the said Sir William at his [Hugh Roe Macmahon's] own house of Monaghan. Which allowance of succession, as this McMahowne doth imagine [rather as all parties well knew], was granted him, the said Hugh, purposely to draw an interest unto him and his heirs, contrary to the custom of the country, and then by his execution to draw the country into her majesty's hands, as the sequel sheweth. After whose execution a garrison was placed in Monaghan, the name of McMahowne extinguished, and the substance of the country divided by the said Sir William Fitzwilliam, between Sir Henry Bagnall, Baron Elliott, Mr. Solicitor Wilbraham, Captain Henshawe, Captain Wallis, the Parson O'Connolan, Hugh Strowbridge, Thomas Asshe, Charles Fleming, and divers other strangers (61); and so the native country people for the most

(60). *On said barony.*—This scurvy trick at Newry was quite in keeping with Henry Bagenall's general doings when the natives were concerned. It appears to have been specially shabby, however, in this instance, for Shane MacBrian had proved a faithful ally to Bagenall and Sir John Perrott when they were engaged in a sort of death-grapple with Sorley Boy, on the Antrim coast. (See Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*, pp. 167, 168.) Bagenall appears to have done more at reconnoitering on other peoples' lands than fighting the Scots, on the occasion referred to, for it was soon after that date (1584) that he took forcible possession of the very valuable fragment of Shane MacBrian's property known as Magheramorne. The Shanescastle estate is *minus* Magheramorne to the present day. The early subdivisions of Magheramorne were Ballinehowlane, Ballyedward, Ballyhone, Ballinlugg, Ballimullaghfeneroe, Ballyregneconvoy, Ballinenowlane, Ballimulnemossagh, Ballyrollowe, Ballirickard, Balliliasitladdy, Ballicuggelie, Ballifollard, and Balliglinn. See Erck's *Reperitury*, p. 434.

(61). *Divers other strangers.*—These worthies got the

several lands undermentioned, viz., Sir Henry Bagenall, "in respecte of his habilitie to builde and inhabite for the defence of the country, beinge upon a most dangerous border," got all the lands of Mucknoe, being three ballybetaghs, or about 3,000 acres Irish measure. Sir John Elliot, "thirde baron of her Majesty's Exchequer," got Ballivolan, containing eight tates [about 60 acres in each tate]; Aghnemollen and Annyc, ten tates; and Dromsnott, six tates. It does not appear that any of MacMahon's lands fell into the possession of Mr. Solicitor Wilbraham. Captain Henshawe, as seneschal of Monaghan, got possession of MacMahon's principal residence or castle, with all its adjoining lands. Captain Wallis, or, as his name is sometimes written, Captain Humphry Willies, got lands called Kilmore, containing six tates; and Ballemorohie, one ballybetagh, or 1,000 Irish acres. John Connolan, parson of Monaltie, got lands called Tedannat, consisting of two sub-divisions named Ballymacmurray and Ballekenan, and containing 16 tates. Thomas Asshe, of Trym, gent., got the lands known as Rammallys, three tates; Donagh, one tate; Greghlin and the Grange, six tates. Hugh Strowbridge, of Dublin,

part disinherited, and some of those that had portions allotted to them were afterwards murdered, namely, Patrick McCollo [Mac-Cu-Uladh] McBryen [MacMahon] coming upon safe conduct to the Parson O'Connolan, then a justice of the peace, and chief man in authority for her Majesty in that country, was intercepted by an ambush appointed by the said parson and Captain Wallis, and there slain (62).

"*Item.* The said McMahowne [Brian McHugh Oge] (63) saith that the late McMahowne was indicted for taking a distress according to the wonted custom of his country [*i.e.*, according to the Brehon law, and before the introduction of English law in the country] for certain duties belonging unto him, having, by direction from the State, Captain Wallis's and Captain Plunkett's companies in his company. Also, a grand jury of soldiers, very base and corrupt people, were sworn and empannelled to indict him, and not gentlemen or freeholders of the country. Also, in the jury for his trial there were four soldiers, and nine gentlemen and kerne of the country. Whiles they chaunted they were guarded with a band of soldiers, who suffered the soldiers of the jury to depart from them at pleasure, and the nine of the country were so strictly kept as they were not permitted to take any relief, or part asunder during 24 hours, until they were forced by threatenings and to condemn him. Also, Ewer M'Collo saith that Rosse Connor came to him from the lord deputy, willing him to persuade his son, being one of the jury, to agree to the condemnation of McMahowne, and that he should be pardoned for all offences.

"Also, he saith that the said Hugh Roe McMahowne, for obtaining Sir William Fitzwilliam's consent [to succeed his brother, Sir Rosse McMahowne], promised and paid him 500 cows, the lady his wife 100, and John Fitzwilliam his son 100; and that also he paid to divers others in reward, and for charges while he attended the State, to the number of 800 cows (64).

gent., got Tullocarbet, containing 12 tates. *Charles Fleming's* name does not appear on the list as a partaker of these lands. The divers other strangers were Roger Carlon of Strabanan, in the county of Louth, gent.; Thomas Clinton of Dowdeston, in the county of Louth, gent.; William Garvey, gent., son to the Lord Primate; and Gerrot Dillon of Ardbraccan, gent. See *Ulster Inquisitions*, p. xxx., Introduction.

(62). *And there slain.*—The object of this foul murder is not stated, but there is little doubt that it was simply to share the victim's lands between the two persons chiefly concerned, O'Connolan and Wallis. Patrick McCollo Macmahon, unfortunately for himself, had got a large parcel of the lands belonging to the clan, because of his high rank as a member of one of its leading families. He had got in demesne or fee-simple the lands called Ballyvicklewlie, Ballenecrevie, Ballileckie, Balle-skeaghan, and Balleglanka, containing in all about 5000 Irish acres. See *Ulster Inquisitions*, Introduction, p. xxvii.

(63). *Brian McHugh Oge.*—"Brian, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh, son of John Boy, lord of Dartry-Oriel, *i.e.*, the barony of Dartry in the west of the county of Monaghan. It is more usually called Dartry-Coininnssi, from the townland of Coninish, now divided into several sub-denominations." (See the *Four Masters*, vol. vi., p. 1876.) In the distribution of the Monaghan lands,

this gentleman, known as Brian McHugh Oge, got five ballybetaghs in demesne, or about 5000 Irish acres; whilst his younger brother, Rorie, got three ballybetaghs "in respect of his great dependance in the country, and hope of his loyalty to her Majesty." The freeholders under Brian McHugh Oge had allotted to them thirteen ballybetaghs, 13,000 acres, they paying to him a small chief rent. (See *Ulster Inquisitions*, Introduction, pp. xxi., xxvii., xxviii.) Brian McHugh Oge, afterwards known as Sir Brian Macmahon, married the Lady Mary O'Neill, a daughter of the Earl of Tyrone, and the widow of his kinsman, Sir Rosse MacMahon. In a letter from Sir Henry Dillon, written in April, 1608, there is the following notice of this gentleman:—"As for Sir Bryen McMahowne, who has been an ancient rebel, he is grown to be every day heavy with surfeit, and albeit he be married to the Lady Mary, daughter of Tyrone, yet if his son be still restrained he will not stir unless there be a general revolt. . . . He is best followed of any man in the country, and it were well he were not discontented." See Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells*, p. 222.

(64). *Number of 800 cows.*—Cattle had then to represent coin, even in the matter of bribes. Fitzwilliam's friends, such as they were, endeavoured to palliate his grossly corrupt conduct by representing that he had applied to the Queen for more liberal means in his office

"Also, the said Ewer McCollo saith that after the said McMahowne was executed, the said Ewer was forced by the said Earl of Tyrone to pay about 200*l.* ster. to Captain St. Leger, as agent for the Earl of Essex (65), who claimeth interest in Farney, parcel of McMahowne's country, from her Majesty; since which time the said Ewer went into England to procure the earl's favour and allowance that he might enjoy his country, in regard the Queen hath no interest therein; which the earl refused to yield unto, but purposed to supplant the said Ewer, and thereupon leased the same to John Talbott, who not only expelled the said Ewer out of the country, but also spoiled him of all his corn and goods, to the value of at least 1,000*l.*, and so turned him a begging, utterly refusing to let him have so much as one village in the country for rent, upon which he might dwell.

"Also, the said Ewer McMahowne saith that he and his country have endured and sustained many other injuries and oppressions, too tedious to be repeated, but are well known to divers of the council." *Ibid.*, pp. 156-158.

Camden lived at this time, and had probably copies of the several foregoing statements of grievances put forward by the Ulster lords, but he has given, in his *Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth*, only a very meagre and prejudiced account of the grounds of their complaints. When referring to the Earl of Tyrone's case he says:—"But the greatest provocation was given him [Tyrone] by the lord deputy's having suppressed the name of M'Mahon in the district next to him, and parcelling the country among several persons, which he feared might be his own case, and that of the other lords." Exactly so; and in the case of O'Neill himself, the preliminary steps to the same end had been undoubtedly taken, when the government constituted him chief lord to the exclusion of

of deputy, but was told, in answer to his application, "that the government of Ireland was a preferment, and not a service, and he ever after endeavoured to make his profit of the post"—a course which he most scrupulously and at the same time most unscrupulously—followed out. His wife, apparently a faithful helpmate, at least in taking bribes, was the third daughter of Sir William Sydney of Penshurst in Kent, and sister to Sir Henry Sydney, whose name is too well known as having also, like Fitzwilliam, been three several times deputy here. Sydney, in a letter to Robert Cecil the secretary, in 1566, specially recommends Fitzwilliam, by mentioning among other matters, his signal services in some one day of which we can find no trace. "He hath deserved well," says Sydney, "which is not to be forgotten, if it weare but one daye's service in which he saved the honour of our nation in this lande, and the lyves of as many Englishmen as weare on foot that daye in the field. I pray you, Sir, friende him, for in trothe he is honest." See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 174-176.

(65). *Essex*.—For an account of Essex's grant of lands in Monaghan, see E. P. Shirley's interesting history of the territory anciently known as *Farney*. This Ever Macmahon was son of Collo, or Cu Uladh, lord of Farney, and a younger brother of Hugh Roe Macmahon, who had been treacherously executed by Fitzwilliam. (See *Four Masters*, vol. vi., pp. 1877, 1879). By the report of a survey made in Monaghan in 1591, Ever McCollo is represented as getting five ballybetaghs of land in the

barony of Cremorne, or about 5,000 acres in demesne, whilst his tenants occupied eleven ballybetaghs, paying him a small chiefry. Although the Earl of Tyrone was thus called on and required to assist in getting rents for the Earl of Essex, he could not get his own claims on certain lands in Monaghan maintained. The commissioners of survey settled that whole affair in 1591, thus:—"Wee fynde also a towne or ballebetagh conteignynge sixteen tates, called Porterlare, lyenge in the barony of Trough, within this county of Monochan: nevertheless, the erle of Tyrone doth clayme yt by his letters patents of Tyrone, and hee and his ancestors seme to have helde yt longe in mortgage from some of the Macmahons: and yet, to prove that yt lyeth in Monochan before the lorde deputye, counsell, and us the commissioners, in the presence of the erle, the chief gent [gentry] of this county did avouche that the said towne is within this county, and that in respecte of some freedome thereof, the reste of the barony of Trough did alwayes beare the chardge of yt: and not by the erle denyed to have sometymes beyne belonging to the Macmahons, so as beinge of this countye of Monochan, yt is not enclosed within the erle's letters patents of Tyrone; and John Connolan, parson of Monaltie, knowinge her Majesty to be intituled thereunto, hath desyred to have yt at her Majesty's hands for a rent; therefore, wee have allotted yt unto him, paying tenn shillings currant money of England for every of the said tates, which in the whole amounteth to eight poundes currant money of England." See *Ulster Inquisitions*, Introduction, p. xxx.

Turlough Luineach, and summoned him to Dublin to seize and try him for taking the law into his own hands in the case of Hugh Gaveloc. Had O'Neill not slipped through Fitzwilliam's fingers as above described, his head would have very soon occupied a conspicuous position over some gate of the castle; and his lands (as all interests in them had been drawn to, or centred in himself by the late arrangement) would not have belonged to the clan at his death, but, according to English or feudal law, would have been vested in the crown. No wonder Macmahon's fate was the "*greatest provocation*," as Camden expresses it, to O'Neill! That fate naturally precipitated the fierce war which ensued, and which postponed the consummation so devoutly wished for by the English—but only for a very few years. Among the many deep stains that attach to the rule of the English in Ireland, this one survives in the most vivid colouring; it is, indeed, one of those stains that cannot be rubbed out, or covered up. It is one which even Camden and Cox cannot overlook; and which Fynes Moryson himself, who was specially retained to furnish an account of the war suitable for English palates, is compelled to notice in the following terms:—

"About this time MacMahon, chieftain of Monaghan [Sir Rosse Macmahon], died, who in his life-time had surrendered this his country, held by tanistry, the Irish law, into her Majesty's hands, and received a re-grant thereof under the broad seal of England, to him and his heirs males, and for default of such, to his brother Hugh Roe MacMahown, with other remainders. And this man [Sir Rosse] dying without heirs males, his said brother came up to the State [*i.e.*, visited Dublin] that he might be settled in his inheritance, hoping to be countenanced and cherished as her Majesty's patentee; but he found, as the Irish say [Moryson mitigates, as he thinks, the terrible tale, by the occasional parenthetical phrase—'as the Irish say'] that he could not be admitted till he had promised to give about 600 [700] cows, for such and no other are the Irish bribes [*i.e.*, their cattle were the only property of the natives]. Afterwards, he was imprisoned, the Irish say, for failing in part of this payment, and within a few days again enlarged; with promise that the lord deputy himself would go settle him in his country of Monaghan, whither his lordship took his journey shortly after, with him [Hugh Roe Macmahon] in his company. At their first arrival, the gentleman was clapped in bolts, and within two days after, indicted, arraigned, and executed at his own house; all done, as the Irish said, by such officers as the lord deputy carried with him for that purpose. The Irish said he was found guilty by a jury of soldiers, but no gentlemen or freeholders; and that of them four English soldiers were suffered to go and come at pleasure, but the others being Irish kerne, were kept straight [strait], and starved till they found him guilty. The treason for which he was condemned was because, some two years before, he, pretending a rent due unto him out of the Ferney, upon that pretence levied forces, and so marching into the Ferney in a warlike manner, made a distress of the same (which by the English law may perhaps be treason, but in that country, never before subject to law, it was thought no rare thing nor great offence). The greater part of the country was divided between four gentlemen of that name (66), under a yearly rent to the

(66). *Of that name*—*i.e.*, the name of Macmahon. Instead of four, there were six gentlemen of the clan constituted the chief landed proprietors in the county of Monaghan. The commissioners of survey, in 1591, say:

—"Wee have nomynated and appointed to divers gentlemen and inhabitants of that contrey, certain portions of her Maties said landes and hereditaments, and have sett downe what rentes and services everie one shall aunswere

Queen, and, as they said, not without payment of a good fine underhand. The marshal, Sir Henry Bagnol, had part of the country; Captain Henshawe was made seneschal of the country, and had the gentleman's [Hugh Roe Macmahon's] chief house, with a portion of land; and to divers others smaller portions of land were assigned; and the Irish spared not to say that these men were all the contrivers of his [Hugh Roe Macmahon's] death, and that every one paid something [to the lord deputy] for his share. Hereupon the Irish of that name, besides the former allegations, exclaimed that their kinsman was treacherously executed to entitle the Queen to his land, and to extinguish the name of MacMahown, and that his substance was divided between the lord deputy and the marshal; yea, that a pardon was offered to one of the jury for his son, being in danger of the law, upon condition that he would consent to find this his kinsman guilty."

"Great part of these exclamations were contained in a complaint exhibited against the lord deputy, after his return into England, to the lords of her Majesty's council, about the end of the year 1595 (67), in the name of MacGuire and Ever MacCooley" [one of the MacMahons, and chief over the Irish in the Ferney]. See Fynes Moryson's *History*, vol. i., pp. 24, 25.

for the same, viz., first, wee do lymite and appointe that the chiefe gentlemen named in her Maties letters, viz., Ever McCowlie [McCu Uladh] McMahowne, Brien McHugh Oge McMahowne, Rosse bane McMahowne, Patrick McArte moile McMahowne, Patrick duff McMahowne, and Patrick McKena, shall holde their demayne landes severally to them and the heirs males of their bodies, with remainders of like estate to such as they shall name, to descende accordinge to the course of common lawes; and eche of them to hold by knight service in capite, and to paie yearelie to her Matie for every tathe or tate, beinge estemed threescore acres, seaven shillings six pence, currant money of England, which is after the rate of one peny half peny the acre, and to yield the rysing out of horsemen and footmen, as hereafter followeth—

Brien McHugh Oge McMahowne, fower horsemen, eighte ffootmen.

Rosse bane McMahowne, three horsemen, sixe ffootmen.

Patrick McArte moile McMahowne, two horsemen, fflowre ffootmen.

Ever McCollo McMahowne, fflower horsemen, eight ffootmen.

Patrick duff McMahowne, one horseman, two ffootmen.

Patrick McKena, two horsemen, fflowre ffootmen.

Brien Oge McMahowne [brother to Hugh Roe], one horseman, two ffootmen.

"And wee doe likewise appointe the inferior freeholders shall holde their landes allotted to them in fee symple, in free and common soccage, and not in capite, as of her Maties castle of Monaghan; and pay yearelie twentie shillings sterling for every tate, and to bee paid to the superior lord under whom wee doe assigne them their portions, twelve shillings sixe pence sterling." (See *Ulster Inquisitions*, Introduction, p. xxi). The foregoing arrangements were liberal on the part of the government, even although the extensive church lands of various classes were distributed among strangers to the county, but they were arrangements which probably those who conceded them to the natives had not much fear would be permanent. Neither were they of long standing; for this very distribution of the murdered chieftain's estates had

thoroughly combined the other Ulster lords in self-defence, and in a very few years the above arrangements were utterly broken up—but for a much longer period than the dominant party had calculated—to be succeeded by others more permanent but much less favourable to the freeholders or fee-simple people of 1591.

(67). *The year 1595.*—This complaint was permitted to be exhibited against Fitzwilliam as a mere matter of form, but the lords of the council in London took good care that Fitzwilliam should be not only scathless but honoured for his long career of spoliation in Ireland of forty years' duration. He came in 1554, and went in 1594. Whilst this complaint was being brought forward, Captain Lee had presented a copy of his Tract to the Queen, referring to the fact that Fitzwilliam was to be arraigned, and also to the tactics he would probably employ in his defence. "It may be," says Lee, "that he will frame answers to all objections, or else be persuaded by some of his friends not to esteem them worth answering, in respect of the inequality of my estate to his, chiefly for the place which he held. For this I appeal to your majesty, how much it importeth. And I do further affirm, that until he can disprove these many allegations, or some of them, I ought to be credited as well or better than he; because he hath avouched to your highness's most honourable council monstrous and apparent untruth, which I can as well prove as any of these aforesaid articles, namely, about the buying and getting of imprest bills into his hands, which he hath sworn and forsworn he never did; but for the proof hereof, if it be your highness's pleasure that Sir Henry Wallop and his men be called, they can testify what great sums of money they had paid him for imprest bills in the time of his government, whereof most of them came to him better cheap than buying; for some were given him for cows, which he took in bribes, upon base conditions, of the Irishry; other for placing men in sundry offices. And he that will make no conscience to forswear such a thing before so honourable personages, is hardly to be credited in excusing greater matters."

On this narrative, O'Donovan has the following comment:—"The guilt of Fitzwilliam is rendered still darker by the fact lately published from the State papers by Mr. Shirley (*Account of Farney*, pp. 88, 91, 92, 98), that in his correspondence with Burghley, he expressed his anxiety for a speedy resolution of MacMahon's case—"that either the olde MacMahon *maie be pardoned* and sett at libertie, or a new one made, or that title extinguished and the territory divided.' The reader will at once perceive the wickedness of Fitzwilliam's proposal to make a new MacMahon, when he considers that Hugh Roe was his brother's heir, according to the law of England, and that large bribes had been offered to corrupt the chief governor [Fitzwilliam] to raise 'one Brien McHugh Oge' to the chieftainship. On the 2nd of March, 1589, Fitzwilliam wrote to Burghley and the lords of the council a long letter, in which he mentions this fact as follows:—"Some indeede *attempted me* for him [Brien McHugh Oge] with large offers; but as I *never* benefitted myself by the admission of him that is now in durance, so did I meane to convert his fall wholie to the profit of her Majesty and good of this State, *nothing regarding mine owne private*; I speak it in the presence of God, by whom I hope to be saved!" See Shirley's *Account of Farney*, p. 89; see also *Annals of Four Masters*, vol. vi., pp. 1878, 1879.

Had the Queen and her government wanted peace instead of Ulster spoils for English servitors, they might have had it at the eleventh hour, for O'Neill and O'Donnell kept preaching patience to their principal adherents even after there had been collisions at certain points, of the opposing forces. O'Neill wrote to Elizabeth so late as the middle of October, 1595. "Calling to mind," said he, "the great benefits and the place of honour I have received from your Majesty, I confess forgetting my duty and obedience contrary to your peace and laws, which I cannot justify; yet I protest the same proceeded not of malice or ambition, but from being unjustly and wickedly charged by my enemies, who sought to deprive me of my life. These ungodly practices being known to my kinsmen, allies, and followers, they, in revenge, entered into some traitorous actions without my privity or consent. As this has been my first offence, and I have before served your highness with loss of my blood, extend upon me and my followers your gracious pardon. I did not take the name of *The O'Neill* upon me in respect of any greater dignity than I have, but mistrusting some other might take that name on him, and so thereby breed trouble to my tenants and followers. I am now desirous to renounce it. My enemies have published abroad that I practised with foreign princes to draw strangers into this kingdom; but I did not go about any such matter before the 20th August last, other than the retaining of some Scots for my own defence. Before that date, I never practised with, or received letter or message from the king of Spain, or other potentate, for the disturbance of the quiet of your Majesty's realm, neither will henceforward." This was, indeed, sufficiently humble language, when it is considered that the Queen had very recently issued a proclamation in which she denounced him as a *bastard* and a *murderer* of her subjects. Of his enemies in Ireland, and their slandering of his motives, Captain Lee speaks thus:—"Let those devices of theirs take effect or otherwise, to have him cut off, your Majesty's whole kingdom there would moan it most pitifully; for there was never man bred in those parts who hath done your Majesty greater service than he, with often loss of his blood upon notable enemies of

your Majesty's; yea, more often than all the other nobles of Ireland. And what quietness your Majesty had there many years past in the northern parts of that kingdom [from 1567 to 1594], it is neither your forces there placed (which have been but small), nor their great service who commended them, but only the honest disposition and carriage of the earl hath made them obedient in those parts to your Majesty. And what pity it is that a man of his worth and worthiness shall be thus dealt withal by his adversaries (who are men who have had great places of commandment), and neither they, nor their friends for them, are able to set down they ever did your Majesty one good day's service, I humbly leave to your Majesty. If he were so bad as they would fain enforce (as many as know him and the strength of his country will witness thus much with me), he might very easily cut off many of your Majesty's forces, which are laid in garrisons in small troops in divers parts bordering on his country; yea, and overrun all your English Pale, to the utter ruin thereof; yea, and camp as long as should please him under the walls of Dublin, for any strength your Majesty yet hath in that kingdom to remove him. These things being considered, and how unwilling he is to be otherwise to your Majesty than he ought, let him be somewhat hearkened unto, and recovered to come in unto your Majesty, to impart his own knowledge to your Majesty, how far he hath offended you; and besides he will, if it so stand with your Majesty's pleasure, offer himself to the marshal (who hath been the chiefest instrument against him), to prove with his sword that he hath most wrongfully accused him. And because it is no conquest for him to overthrow a man ever held in the world to be of most cowardly behaviour, he will, in defence of his innocency, allow his adversary [Bagenall] to come armed against him naked, to encourage him the rather to accept of his challenge." O'Neill offered, in hose and jerkin only, to meet Bagenall armed in mail from head to foot, but the latter shrunk from the contest.

In the earl's petition forwarded three months afterwards he only asked as conditions of peace —

- "1. The Queen's pardon for himself and all the inhabitants of Tyrone, and that they may be restored to their blood, and that the benefit of her Majesty's letters patents may be renewed unto him.
2. That all the inhabitants of Tyrone may have free liberty of conscience [*i.e.*, the privilege of religious worship according to their own forms].
3. That the marshal pay him the 1,000*l.* sterling left this wife, lately deceased, by her father (68).
4. That no garrison, sheriff, or other officer may be placed in Tyrone for a time, because he cannot draw the inhabitants thereof as yet to consent thereunto, in regard of the bad dealings they have seen used by like officers against the bordering neighbours.
5. That her Majesty restore to him the 50 horsemen he formerly had in her pay.
6. That if any of the earl's bordering neighbours do commit any stealth or outrage against him, or any of his, he may have redress."

(68). *By her father.*—Mabel Bagenall married the Earl of Tyrone in 1591, and died, without leaving children, in 1596. During her married life she often, in company with her husband, visited their well-known and attractive residence of Castleroe, on the western bank of the Bann, at a little distance southward from Coleraine. In a declaration by one Thadie Nolan, a pursuivant, on the 13th of June, 1593, there is the following curious reference to a conversation of the earl and countess in that place in the year now named:—"Moreover, he [the earl]

said openly, in the audience of the countesse, Harry McShane O'Neill, O'Chainne's son, and divers others, at the howse of Castlerowe, that there was no man in the worlde that he hated so much as the Knight Marshal." [Sir Henry Bagenall]. (See *Kilkenny Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., new series, p. 308.) The feud between the earl and Bagenall only ended with the fall of the latter at the battle of the Yellow Ford; but Mabel had died at least two years before that event.

Sir Hugh Roe O'Donnell wrote to Elizabeth at the same time, in the following terms :—" I confess to have offended your Majesty contrary to your peace and laws, which I cannot justify, though proceeding not of any malice against your Majesty, but chiefly from the bad usage of me by Sir John Perrott, in the unlawful apprehension of me, with many other abuses. As this has been my first offence, extend upon me and mine your gracious pardon. Protesting hereafter faithfully to serve you, I do renounce to join with any foreign prince or potentate." O'Donnell only asked as conditions of peace—" 1. Pardon for himself and his followers. 2. Free liberty of conscience. 3. That all the castles, manors, and lands in the county of Sligo, belonging to his family may be continued in possession of the O'Donnells, all which lands he will give Donough McCale Oge O'Connor, upon condition that he yield to O'Donnell such services, rights, and duties as his ancestors have given out of the same to all O'Donnell's predecessors. 4. That no garrisons, wards, or officers whatsoever be placed in Tyreconnell or Sligo until the fear they [the inhabitants] have conceived by the hard dealing of such officers shall be somewhat lessened; but that it will please her Majesty to appoint commissioners for the ending of all controversies that shall arise, whose orders we will put in execution. 5. A remittal of all arrearages past, and a year's freedom yet to come, in regard of the several great sums that his father paid as well to the Earl of Tyrone and Sir Edward Moore, knight, as to others sent from the State to receive the same for her Majesty's use."

Sir Hugh Maguire "protests that his disloyalty proceeded not from any conspiracy with any domestic or foreign enemy, or of malice towards her Majesty, but through hard usages, yet he craves pardon for himself and his country. 1. 'He will yield the usual rents and services. 2. He craves that himself and all the inhabitants of his country may have free liberty of conscience. 3. That no garrison may be placed in Fermanagh, but that for the government thereof the like course may be taken as shall be for McMahon's country or other parts of the Irishry.'"

Shane M'Brian O'Neill's conditions (which did not even include the restoration of Island-Magee and Magheramorne) were—" 1. Pardon for himself, his country, and followers. 2. That all may have free liberty of conscience. 3. That no garrison be placed in his country. 4. That he will yield her Majesty such rents and services as his predecessors did. 5. He claims a year's remittal of rent, in respect of the waste of his country."

Brian M'Hugh Oge and *Ever M'Collo Macmahon* protest that their disloyalty proceeded through their hard usages, and their conditions of surrender and peace are—" 1. Pardon for themselves, their people, and goods, with all lands spiritual and temporal within MacMahon's country. They will yearly pay 100 good beoves, or in lieu of every beofe 20s. sterling, and rising out as formerly. 2. In respect of the waste of the country by reason of wars, they crave one year without rent; and liberty of conscience for themselves and the inhabitants of their countrys. 3. They desire they may be no longer charged or governed by seneschals, sheriffs, or garrisons, until their fear be lessened, but that commissioners may be appointed for all controversies (69)." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, third series, pp. 125, 151-158.

(69). *Controversies*.—The following was Captain Lee's opinion as to what should be done in Monaghan :—" For the county of Monaghan, called Macmahon's country, in respect of the great dislike which the Irishry have to

These foregoing requests or conditions were surely very moderate under the circumstances ; and, one would suppose, they might have been easily granted by a Queen to her outraged subjects, if for no other motive than to have a few years' peace before the actual close of her own earthly career. But not so ; she considered she had done enough, in the meantime, by the withdrawal of Fitzwilliam, although her conscience told her that much more should be done. Writing to Russell, Fitzwilliam's successor, in May, 1596, she gives words to her perplexity and repentance, thus :— " Considering the monstrous accusations brought against our ministers that have lived amongst these people, we cannot turn our faces against their complaints. We have determined on a course of pacification, and shall hold it a weakness in you, if you require to be daily directed in all particulars, especially as your advices are bare and barren." But, for all that, the Queen *would* and must carry out two measures which did more to rouse up disloyalty and rebellion than all other causes together. She insisted on continuing to demoralise and oppress the people by placing garrisons in great numbers amongst them ; and also to prohibit them from the free exercise of their religious worship, according to the rites and ceremonies required by their own Church. So, not being prepared to atone properly for the oppressions perpetrated in her name, the 'good Queen Bess' permitted this unhappy country to drift into another bloody war of seven years' duration, during which her poor Irish subjects fought gallantly for their 'liberty of conscience.' In the progress of this struggle, the natives of Ulster gained several victories over Elizabeth's best generals and choicest troops, defeating Sir John Norris at Clontibret, Bagenall at the great battle of the Blackwater, and Clifford in the passes of the Curlew mountains, not to mention other smaller successes. But the English succeeded, principally by playing off one of a family or sept against another, and holding out bright prospects to their Irish adherents, which were soon to be clouded. The war was drawing to a close just as the Queen's life was closing also, and when she understood that the exigencies of the time would compel her to accept Tyrone's submission, the unpalatable news, it was said, operated as much, even as the death of Essex, to bring upon her that utter dejection of which she died, or which immediately preceded her death. Sir Robert Naunton, who knew her well, referring to her last days, says :—" And this also I present as a knowne observation, that she was, though very capable of counsell, absolute enough in her owne resolution, which was ever apparent even to the last ; and in that of her still aversion to grant Tyrone the least drop of her mercy, though earnestly and frequently advised thereto, yea, wrought onely by her owne counsell of State, with very many reasons, and, as the state of her kingdom then stood, I may speak it with assurance, necessitated arguments. . . . The Irish action we may call a mallady, a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to the end ; and it was of so profuse and vast

the new seneschal there [Henshawe], it may please your Majesty to let him be removed, and in his place (for that it is next to the Earl of Tyrone's county, and the chief place of the earl's abode) that Sir George Bouchier may be sent thither as seneschal, because of the companies of horse and foot which are under his charge, and for that he is a gentleman of good worth, who will with some good show live in the place, which will be a good comfort to the earl to have such a neighbour ; and to assist

Sir George in that service to send Sir Henry Duke as sheriff of that country, to be placed in the abbey of Clones (which is your Majesty's, and himself your farmer there) with his own company of light foot, and a band of 100 foot more to be there in garrison." The abbey of Clones was afterwards let to Sir Francis Rush, but ultimately restored to the Irish proprietor, Sir Brian McHugh Oge Macmahon.

expenche that it drew neare unto a distemperature of State, and of passion in herselfe ; for towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please with her armies, being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectation, and her wonted success ; for it was a good while an unthrifty and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment ; and the more, for that it was a precedent taken out of her owne patterne. For, as the Queene, by way of division, had, at her coming to the crowne, supported the revolted states of Holland, so did the King of Spaine turne the tricke upon herselfe towards her going out [dying], by cherishing the Irish rebellion." (See Lord Somer's *Tracts*, vol. i, p. 254.) After the long struggle, however, which cost the Queen so dearly, and desolated so much of this country, especially its northern province, Tyrone and the other Ulster leaders were restored to their estates, at least ostensibly, and almost on the same terms they had held them previously to the war.

But it was too late. All the English servitors in Ireland, civilians and soldiers, had laboured and fought throughout the seven years' war against O'Neill under the impression that his lands were to be at last divided amongst them. Words could hardly, therefore, express their dismay and disgust when it was known that O'Neill had been received by the new king, James I., at Hampton Court, and that re-grants were about to be made to the Ulster leaders of nearly all their patrimonial estates. The sentiments, indeed, of the whole servitor class in reference to this affair may be imagined from the words of Sir John Harrington, whose prospects had evidently suffered a serious—although as it happened—only a temporary eclipse. "I have lived," says he, "to see that damnable rebel Tyrone brought to England, honoured, and well liked. Oh, what is there that does not prove inconstancy in worldly matters ! How I did labour after that knave's destruction ! I adventured perils by sea and land, was near starving, eat horse flesh in Munster, and all to quell that man, who now smileth in peace at those who did hazard their lives to destroy him ; and now doth Tyrone dare us old commanders with his presence and protection." It was felt deeply throughout the ranks of these disappointed gentlemen that, whilst the captains, who had rooted out the great Desmond family in Munster, were then quietly enjoying their victims' lands, the equally if not more valiant captains who had defeated the O'Neills, should be excluded, if only for a time, from the glens, and straths, and green fields of Ulster.

But there was consolation in store, not only for the servitors in Ireland, but for many English and Scottish speculators who had been wistfully indulging plantation designs on this province. For, very soon after the formal pardon of O'Neill, O'Donnell, and other Ulster lords, Sir Arthur Chichester was appointed deputy of Ireland, and this appointment at once rendered their restoration a merely nominal affair. Chichester, who was himself a servitor, first in a military and afterwards in a civil capacity, sympathised very sincerely in servitors' hopes and disappointments. He was known to be an able and unscrupulous advocate for the rooting out of the native population of Ulster by the introduction of English and Scottish settlers. His appointment, therefore, at that crisis, was hailed by the servitors and speculators generally as an act of rare political sagacity. His ability and zeal were admitted on all hands, by enemies as well as friends. He was surrounded, it is true, by a very able band of assistants, whose Ulster-loving instincts must

have been born with them ; but to himself more than to any, or to all of them together, must be ascribed that vigorous plantation movement throughout this province, of which we shall have to speak in detail. "If my poor endeavours," says he, when writing to the king, "may give any help and furtherance to so glorious and worthy a design, besides my duty and obedience to your Majesty, my heart is so well affected unto it, that I had rather labour with my hands in the plantation of Ulster, than dance or play in that of Virginia." This announcement of his loyalty and patriotism was made in the autumn of 1610, and just after he had received royal grants of very extensive lands—hundreds of thousands of acres—that had belonged to O'Neills and O'Doghertys. He was perfectly sincere, therefore, in his preference of Ulster to Virginia, or indeed to any other region in the world besides.

No sooner had Chichester mounted the vice-regal chair than his revolutionary policy in Ulster began to produce its natural fruits. He was not long in teaching the natives that although they had laid down their arms and were formally taken under the protection of law, there still existed a grand controversy between them and their subjugators, which would be fought to the bitter end, if not on the tented field, at least in the courts of law. The Ulster leaders had been restored, no doubt, to their estates, but their patents had hardly been made out and presented to them when 'discoverers' were able to find fatal flaws therein, and State lawyers were employed to strip them of all but the merest shreds of their ancestral properties. Immense sweeps of their estates also were claimed by the protestant bishops as tithes and herenagh lands, from which the Ulster lords paid the preceding bishops small chiefries, but which lands the protestant bishops claimed in demesne, and had their claim eventually allowed. In addition to these dire discouragements, all their (the Irish leaders') movements were watched, and any unguarded words, spoken at times of provocation, were reported in glowing colours to the authorities in Dublin. In the short interval between the restoration of the northern earls and their flight, Chichester himself publicly insulted the youthful Earl of Tyrconnell on at least two occasions, and even permitted Davys, the attorney-general, to insult the old Earl of Tyrone before the council-table. The indignities and litigations to which these northern earls were exposed must have rendered them more or less discontented ; and if they were not the conspirators they are said to have been, it was not, truly, from lack of sufficient provocation on the part of their enemies. It was reported in Ulster, however, on what appeared to be the best authority, that the government intended to seize the Earl of Tyrconnell in Dublin, when passing to see his wife at Maynooth ; and to seize the Earl of Tyrone in London, which he was about to visit, for the purpose of having a dispute with O'Cahan settled in presence of the King ; but before these contemplated seizures could be made, the two earls, with several of their connexions and friends, had sailed away from Lough Swilly, on the 3rd of September, 1607, never to return.

These unhappy fugitives were not charged with conspiracy until after their flight, and even then only on the evidence of two men, St. Lawrence and Nugent (Lords Howth and Delvin), whom the authorities in London and Dublin did not believe, and whose corrupt motives in telling their several stories were sufficiently apparent. It is remarkable, indeed, that although Tyrone might reasonably be supposed to take the central place in any such conspiracy, had it really existed, there was

no charge of previous combination made against him either before or after the "flight." They fled simply from fear of arrest, and because their seizure might have been followed either by execution or a life-long imprisonment in the Tower of London. Because they had escaped without the deputy's knowledge or permission, and had taken refuge among friends on the continent supposed to be hostile, as a matter of course, to the policy of England, they were denounced as traitors, and their lands confiscated. But although Davys was able to indict them at Lifford and Strabane, so as to obtain a decree of outlawry, not a particle of the evidence by which that indictment was sustained can be found among the State papers. A copy of the indictment itself now re-appears, but only because it had been secretly, and against rule, sent by Davys for Salisbury's private perusal! By their outlawry all their estates escheated to the crown, and were soon made available for plantation purposes. These estates comprised all the temporal lands in the county of Tyrone, including the barony of Loughinshollin; all in the county of Armagh, excepting the barony of Orior; all in the county of Donegal, excepting the barony of Inishowen; and more than the half of the county Fermanagh, for Cuconnaght Maguire who owned this territory had gone into voluntary exile with the earls. Certain other great fragments of Ulster were soon to be added to the field for plantation.



CHAPTER II.—THE ORDERS AND CONDITIONS OF PLANTATION.

I.



HE broad lands, thus quietly abandoned to the planters by the flight of the northern earls, were soon to receive vast additions, as mentioned at the close of the preceding chapter. These additions included Cavan, the 'country' of the O'Reillys; Fermanagh, the 'country' of the Maguires; Coleraine, the 'country' of the O'Cahans; the barony of Inishowen, which had belonged to Sir Cahir O'Dogherty; the estates of Sir Niall Garve O'Donnell, stretching from Lifford westward along the two banks of the Finn, and including the beautiful Lough Esk; the territory of Clogher, which belonged to Sir Cormac O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone's brother; and last though not least in fertility or picturesque beauty, the 'country' of Orior, reaching from Armagh to the vicinity of Dundalk, and owned by the gallant old Sir Oghie O'Hanlon.

How had all these magnificent sweeps of Ulster territory become available for plantation purposes, so soon after the departure of the fugitives from Lough Swilly? The answer is not difficult, nor need it be lengthened. 1. Sir John O'Reilly had been induced to surrender his 'country,' and to take out a grant of it from the crown in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who created him a knight. The lands of Cavan, by the Celtic law, strictly belonged to the whole clan, of whom Sir John O'Reilly had only been the elected trustee; but the grant, on feudal terms from the crown, constituted him the owner in demesne,—the interest being thus drawn to and centred in himself; so that, according to English law, should he become a traitor, the clansmen had no longer any right in the lands, and were to be regarded from that moment as simply intruders thereon. Sir John, as a matter of course, joined the Earl of Tyrone and other Ulster lords in 1595, but died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by his brother, and, on the death of the latter, an uncle became the representative of the clan. Both these leaders were slain in the progress of the war. Sir John O'Reilly, however, left a son named Mulmorie, who took his stand on the side of the government, and was slain at the battle of the Yellow Ford, leaving a son also named Mulmorie, who was a mere youth, at the time of the plantation. But Sir John himself, and his brother and uncle who succeeded, all died during the war, and accordingly the lands vested in the crown without even the necessity of investigation—the fact of their having died whilst in rebellion being enough to justify the confiscation of their estates without further delay. The youthful Mulmorie O'Reilly, whose father had died fighting on the side of the English at the Blackwater, and whose mother was a niece of the Duke of Ormonde, presented a very considerable difficulty for a time to Chichester's arrangements; but the scruples thus occasioned soon gave way under the plantation pressure, and young O'Reilly was obliged to accept a 'proportion' of his own lands, like any other English or Scottish undertaker.

2. Sir Hugh Maguire, the chief lord of Fermanagh, was a son-in-law of the Earl of Tyrone, and joined the latter in 1595. He was slain during the progress of the war, and his whole estates were

granted to his cousin, Connor Roe Maguire, who had taken the side of the government. But this arrangement was afterwards considered unjustifiable in some respects, and soon after the accession of James I. the county of Fermanagh was divided almost into two equal parts between Connor Roe and his cousin, Cuconnaght Maguire, the latter, as the brother and representative of Sir Hugh, considering himself rightfully entitled to all the family estates. He was, in fact, so dissatisfied with this division of his lands that he went with the earls into exile, and died soon afterwards at Genoa. Connor Roe, according to the arrangement above-mentioned, had three baronies, which Chichester represented as over-much; he was induced, therefore, to surrender his grant, and to accept *one* barony, which the king promised he should certainly have. But, even with this modification Chichester was not satisfied, and the matter ended in Connor Roe having to accept a small portion of what he regarded as his own, and on the same terms as the other undertakers.

3. Sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan, another son-in-law of the Earl of Tyrone, also espoused the quarrel of the latter in 1595, and was his most efficient ally for a time. But soon after Sir Henry Docwra landed at Derry, in the spring of the year 1600, O'Cahan surrendered to the government, and united his forces with those of Docwra, on condition that he should have a grant from the crown of the lands which his family had hitherto held under the O'Neills. This condition, with one or two reservations, was gladly accepted by the crown, and O'Cahan was granted a custodiam of his 'country' until the regular grant could be made out. But, after O'Cahan had most efficiently assisted the government in defeating O'Neill on the field, and afterwards in worrying him at the council table and in the courts of law, he could not get his grant as promised. His lands had become much more acceptable than any services he could then possibly render; and, indeed, it came out at last that he, and all the O'Cahans together, were simply intruders on their own lands, from the date of the act known as the 11th of Elizabeth, which had never been repealed, and which vested in the crown the estates of Shane O'Neill, and of all such Ulster lords as had joined in his rebellion against the state,—although the government, on making peace with Shane previously, had put all the Ulster uriahts or sub-chiefs again under his sway. Sir Donnell O'Cahan, under these circumstances, naturally enough became sulky, and even perhaps rebelliously disposed. At all events, Chichester had him seized when he went to Dublin, in 1609, to complain of his grievances; and soon afterwards, he was sent to the Tower in London, where he was doomed to suffer a life-long imprisonment, being finally released by death in the year 1628.

4. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, the youngest of these Ulster knights, had probably the happiest fate, although apparently the most cruel at the time of its occurrence. On the death of his father, Sir John O'Dogherty, the clan elected Felim, the younger brother of the latter, to succeed him, which so enraged Sir Cahir's foster-brethren, the MacDavitts, that they agreed with Sir Henry Docwra, in 1601, to desert their own standards, and join the government on condition that Sir Cahir might have a grant of his father's estates from the crown. This offer was gladly accepted by Sir Henry Docwra, on the part of the government, and the matter was to be certainly arranged at the close of the war with O'Neill and O'Donnell. But it soon afterwards appeared that the best portion of the whole barony of Inishowen, namely, the island of Inch, with its valuable fishings, had

been granted to Sir Ralph Bingley. Although Docwra did his best to have his engagement to Sir Cahir made good, he failed in doing so, from the amount of powerful opposition against him. O'Dogherty naturally became discontented ; and, in the meantime, Docwra felt so indignant, on account of certain treatment received from the government by himself, that he sold out his property in and around Derry to an Englishman named Pawlett, who was wholly unfitted (even according to the expressed opinion of Chichester himself), both from his arrogance and inexperience, for the duties of deputy-governor of Derry, which he required to discharge in Sir Henry Docwra's absence. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, having lost his fishings, which were then the readiest and most valuable sources of revenue on his estates, was compelled to sell certain lands to Sir Richard Hansard ; and, for this purpose, he required to visit Derry, and even to enter Pawlett's office, to await the arrival of the purchaser, and of Captain Hart, who was to witness the sale. Whilst there, an altercation arose between himself and Pawlett, during which the latter brutally struck him with his clenched fist in the face ! O'Dogherty not wishing, perhaps, to try conclusions with Pawlett in the same vulgar style, or afraid lest the official bully might summon other equally unscrupulous parties to his aid, rushed from the office, and, unfortunately, before his rage had time to cool, met his two foster-brothers, the MacDavitts, in the street. On hearing the cause of his excitement, they replied, in furious terms, that there was only one way of meeting such an insult, pledging themselves that they would be ready to march on Derry at the head of all the fighting men of the clan at a given hour ! They but too faithfully kept to their determination, slaying Pawlett, sacking Derry, and summoning sympathisers far and near to arise and avenge their wrongs. The revolt attracted many Irish, especially from the county of Armagh ; and its suppression required the services of picked troops, under the command of the best officers, including such men as Lambert and Wingfield. The struggle lasted only about three months, commencing early in the May of 1608, and going on to the 5th of July—on which day O'Dogherty was slain whilst skirmishing at a place called Duinn, or Doone, in Killmacrenan. The king had, previously to the commencement of the revolt, written a very decided letter to Chichester, requiring that Sir Cahir should receive an immediate grant of all his family estates, including the island of Inch with its fishing. There was ample time to have communicated the contents of this letter to Sir Cahir, and thus to have prevented the revolt ; but, unfortunately, the letter was entrusted to one of Chichester's servants in London, and, *perhaps*, did not reach the deputy until after O'Dogherty had taken the field. At all events, O'Dogherty's body had hardly time to blacken in the sun on the spikes where its severed fragments were exposed, when Chichester's application for the barony of Inishowen reached the council in London through this same servant, John Strowd, and another named Francis Annesley. Although there were other and powerful applicants for Inishowen, the deputy outstripped or out-manceuvred them all, and secured the whole large spoil to himself.

5. Sir Niall Garve O'Donnell represented the main family of the Clann-Dalaigh, and he kept "nursing his wrath" because his cousin, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, was elected by the clan as its chief and representative. On the landing of the English at Derry under the command of Sir Henry Docwra, Sir Niall Garve offered to join the latter with one thousand chosen men, on condition

that the government, if successful in defeating the Earl of Tyrone and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, would restore him (Niall Garve) to the headship of the clan by giving him a grant of all Tyrconnell. To this proposal the government, through Sir Henry Docwra, most willingly acceded, Docwra afterwards admitting that Sir Niall's assistance had been most important—indeed indispensable. When the war closed, however, the government thinking Sir Niall arrogant and unmanageable, adopted Hugh Roe's younger brother, Rory O'Donnell, conferring the estates on him, and creating him Earl of Tyrconnell. Sir Niall retired to his own lands on the banks of the Finn; but on the flight of his rival with O'Neill, he (Sir Niall) came forward again to press upon the government the fulfilment of the original promise made to him through Sir Henry Docwra. The government, through Chichester, parleyed with him, pretending to accede to his demands from a fear that he might join O'Dogherty. He did actually, and, as he supposed, secretly, join O'Dogherty; but on the collapse of the revolt, Sir Niall was seized and tried for his life. The government, however, could not get a jury to convict him; so he was sent to the Tower, with Sir Donnell O'Cahan, under the charge of Francis Annesley. He was there doomed to a life-long imprisonment, and died about the year 1626.

6. Sir Cormac O'Neill, unfortunately for himself, was mentioned as a remainder man in the will of his brother, the Earl of Tyrone. At the time of the latter's flight from Ulster, Cormac had met him at Dunnaalong the evening before the earl sailed from Lough Swilly, and the brothers spent the night together in the old castle of the O'Neills at Newtownstewart. There is no doubt some arrangement had been come to between them by which Cormac, if possible, was to obtain a custodiam from the government of Tyrone's estates, and thus have the power to hold them until the latter could return in more peaceful times. Cormac pretended to disapprove highly of the earl's proceedings generally, and of his departure without the knowledge and sanction of the government in particular. He (Cormac) was one of the first to inform Chichester of his brother's flight, having travelled to Dublin with all haste to communicate the intelligence. At his first interview with the deputy he introduced the matter of the custodiam, endeavouring to obtain it as if for himself, and promising, in return, his best services to discover the motives of the flight, and the destination of the fugitives on the continent. The authorities appear to have seen through his motives at a glance, and they acted accordingly. As an important preliminary, they seized him, and shut him up in a dungeon of the castle, Davys at the same time writing facetiously to Salisbury, that Sir Cormac wanted a custodiam of the O'Neill estates, but that they (the authorities) had taken a custodiam of him! Chichester, however, writing to the council in London, took care to describe for their edification the serious aspect of the affair—which simply was, that Sir Cormac O'Neill was to be carefully looked after, being a remainder man in Tyrone's will, and the only heir to the O'Neill estates, except Tyrone's little son of six years old, who was fostering somewhere in Tyrone, and whom the parents could not find, in time, to take with them in their flight. But the deputy soon found him also, placing him under the immediate care of Sir Toby Caulfield, and paying the latter for the child's board and lodging from certain household effects left by the child's mother, the Countess Catharina O'Neill. Sir Cormac O'Neill was taken from his wife and family and sent

to the Tower, where he also was doomed to imprisonment for life. The earl's little son, named Con, began soon to be a source of uneasiness to the authorities, who had reason to fear that the Irish of Ulster were contemplating his rescue; so he, too, was sent to the Tower, where he pined many years, and probably therein found an early grave, as no trace of him afterwards, so far as we are aware, has been found in any State paper relating to Ulster. We shall hear of him again, however, in 1615, and previously to his being sent for a time to Eton, from which he was very soon removed to the Tower.

7. Sir Oghie O'Hanlon was very old and infirm at the time of the plantation, and, therefore, more easily set aside than any of the other Ulster knights above-named. His barony of Orior was, among other territories, vested in the crown by the 11th of Elizabeth, and the O'Hanlons, according to English law, were thereafter simply intruders on their own lands; but the government were then wholly unable, in this and the numerous other similar cases, to enforce its own Act. Orior, however, being a very attractive region in the eyes of English speculators, was granted by the Queen to a Captain Chatterton, who engaged to plant therein a certain number of English settlers in a certain time. But so soon as this arrangement became known, Chatterton was slain among the O'Hanlons of Orior, and his heirs were so frightened that they never seem to have taken any means to carry out the terms of agreement with the Queen. The grant to Chatterton, however, had never been formerly declared void, and indeed was not known to have been regularly inrolled, so that when Sir Oghie afterwards was restored to the family estates the alleged restoration had no force in law. He surrendered the deceptive deed, however, when its character became known, and was promised a real grant so soon as Chatterton's could be set aside. This new grant was made out, but contained certain reservations which he (Sir Oghie) did not like, and which made him slow, if not careless, in accepting. One of its provisions was that should he or any of his heirs or assigns enter into rebellion, the doing so would make void the grant. It so happened that, although this deed was not claimed by Sir Oghie, the lands conveyed therein were forfeited by his son, Oghie Oge O'Hanlon, who took part in O'Dogherty's revolt. The old knight was adjudged to be directly compromised by the fact of having given his son shelter at some time during the revolt. Chichester held the father accountable, but magnanimously proposed to grant him a pension of £80 a year in lieu of his barony of Orior! A grant for this pension was actually made, but old Sir Oghie did not live to enjoy it even one year. His grey hairs were literally brought in sorrow to the grave. His son was sent to Sweden to assist in fighting the battles of Gustavus Adolphus, the protestant champion of the north; his son's wife, who was a sister of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, was stripped in the woods by soldiers in the government service, and perished there, after having given birth to a child.

Thus did Chichester remove all these Irish landowners, through one pretext or other, making their lands available for plantation, and extending the field for British settlers in Ulster beyond what he had at first even ventured to imagine.

II.

The summer of 1608 was a memorable time throughout this northern province. The excitement and consternation created by the flight of the earls in the preceding autumn had not subsided

when the revolt of O'Dogherty and the removal of Sir Niall Garve and others added immensely to the tumult. The legitimate heads of all the principal clans had been thus violently swept away, and the whole population of the north surged like an angry sea. But Chichester did not, for a day, lose sight of his plantation scheme; indeed, how could he, when almost every other topic now touched on it more or less directly; and almost every act of his administration was being done with a view to the immediate commencement of that fascinating business. He literally took that tide in the affairs of Ulster at the very flood, and so promptly too, that it led not only himself, but a host of his associates and sympathisers 'on to fortune.' Before he had even heard of O'Dogherty's defeat, (although hourly expected), he had set out northward with his fellow-commissioners and a large military force, for the survey of all the rebels' lands in Ulster. This cavalcade started on the 5th of July from Dublin, and the next day, whilst the deputy reviewed his troops, at a place called Lurgan Green, by the seaside, a little southward from Dundalk, he heard the joyous news of O'Dogherty's death. This event had occurred just at the time Chichester was about leaving Dublin on the preceding day, and whilst the tidings of other events almost equally gratifying were coming hourly into the camp.

Indeed, the work then went on so swimmingly with the 'civilisers' that even Davys, although he had such a ready pen, could not snatch a moment to write, until, on the 5th of August, he had reached a quiet encampment near Coleraine, where he collected his thoughts, and sketched for Salisbury an outline of their triumphs, as follows:—"The departure of this bearer is so sudden that he will omit many things fit to be advertised: Touching the prosecution of the rebels, the messengers of ill news came not so quick to Job; as those of good news have come to them [the deputy and commissioners]. The day after they began their journey, they received news of O'Dogherty's death, which happened not only on the 5th day of the month, but on a Tuesday [esteemed a fortunate day by the English on their mission of subjugation in Ireland], but the Tuesday eleven weeks, that is 77 days after the burning of the Derry, which is an ominous number, being seven elevens and eleven sevens; besides, it [O'Dogherty's death] happened at the very hour, if not at the same instant, that the Lord Deputy took horse to go against him. Within two days, news came of the taking of Shane Carragh O'Cahan (brother to Sir Donnell O'Cahan, now prisoner in Dublin Castle), by Hugh McShane O'Neale and others, the inhabitants of the Glynnnes of Glanconkeyn. . . . Within two days after that, Oghy Oge O'Hanlon, who, having married O'Dogherty's sister, drew 100 men with him into this rebellion, having after his brother-in-law's death, retired out of Tyrconnell, and come over the Blackwater with Phelim Reagh McDavid, the deputy sent out several companies of light men to pursue them, one of which companies fell upon them in the woods, killed some of them, and took others prisoners; the rest escaping by flight, scattered every one by himself. Among the rest, Oghy O'Hanlon's wife was found alone by an Irish soldier, who knew her not; and being stripped of her apparel, she was so left in the woods, where she died next day of cold and famine, being lately delivered of a child (1). The next day, Sir Oliver Lambert came to their camp, and brought assurance of

(1). *Ofa child*.—This cruel and dastardly act is ascribed to an Irish soldier. It is not credible, however, that the wife of an Irish leader would have suffered the indignity

mentioned, from her countrymen, without making known her name and position as a means of protecting herself against outrage.

the rendering [surrender] of Castle Doe, in Tyrconnell, the strongest hold in all this province, which endured 100 blows of the demi-cannon before it yielded. Shortly after this, word came that O'Dogherty's bastard brother was taken in Tyrconnell, with divers others, whereof some were executed by martial law, and others referred to be tried by common law, when they came with their commission of gaol delivery into that county. Briefly, there scarce passed one day wherein they heard not of the killing or taking of some of the rebels." In a subsequent portion of this letter, Davys states that at Dungannon Shane Carragh O'Cahan was found guilty and executed in the camp, his head being set on the castle of Dungannon. At that place, also, he tells of a monk who had been one of O'Dogherty's principal counsellors, and was taken at Birt Castle. This monk, voluntarily, and in the sight of all the people, renounced his obedience to the Pope, "whereupon the deputy gave him his life and liberty." At Coleraine, "they found no extraordinary business, but that O'Cahane's priest and ghostly father, being taken in action of rebellion with Shane Carragh O'Cahane, was executed for treason, and so taught the people better doctrine by the example of his death than he had ever done in all his life before. He excepted to their jurisdiction, affirming that the secular power could not condemn a priest for any offence whatsoever, but the country saw that point of doctrine falsified, both by his judgment and execution."

During this northern journey, the deputy actually combined the working of three several commissions, one of which made a survey (after a fashion) of the escheated lands, another held an assize for the trial of traitors, whilst the object of the third was to find that O'Dogherty had died in actual rebellion, thus securing his attainder, and superseding the slower process by outlawry, which had consumed some precious time in the case of the earls. Chichester, on this occasion, took credit to himself and his associates for driving the State machine with all becoming firmness and rapidity, hoping at the same time that the king and council in London "would be pleased to allow their proceedings, and give them means at all times hereafter to take time by the forelock." These three commissions had actually done their work between the 5th of July and the 2nd of September. In that brief space, O'Dogherty was duly attainted (although it required longer time to wither away the quarters of his body from the spikes on which they had been placed); a general gaol delivery had set some prisoners free but sent many others to the gallows; and a nominal survey at least of the escheated lands in each county had been made. On the deputy's return to Dublin, with his attendant commissioners, he and they were employed for a time in making out their several statements and reports for the use of the council in London. Davys, in the letter to Salisbury already mentioned, had stated that "before Michaelmas they hoped to present a perfect survey of six several counties, which the king has now in demesne and actual possession in this province; which is a greater extent of land than any prince of Europe has to dispose of." The deputy, for himself, made no distinct promise as to what special aid he would provide in the interval for the guidance of his English patrons; but he found time to do much—perhaps more than all the others—for the enlightenment of the king and his ministers, on the extent and condition generally of the lands to be planted. His varied and intimate knowledge of

Ulster now stood him in good stead, enabling him to supply, at short notice and without much trouble, certain sketches of the six several counties specially practical for the occasion. Although these sketches were drawn up ostensibly as 'instructions' for the two commissioners sent by Chichester to London, they were really intended to instruct the king and his council in the preparation of some available scheme of plantation. The deputy's statements or instructions on this occasion, from which we shall frequently quote, are modestly put forward under the title of—*"Certain notes of remembrances touching the plantation and settlement of the escheated lands in Ulster, September 1608."*

Of the hasty and imperfect survey then made there is no return to be found among the State Papers, nor does it appear to have ever been enrolled. A second survey, made in the following autumn, was supposed to have better answered the purposes in hand, and therefore, this first one appears to have been entirely laid aside. In one important respect, however, it was made available. The commissioners, on their return to Dublin, had been steadily at work, from the 2nd of September until the middle of October, arranging such materials as they had collected in Ulster, and these materials must have been largely, if not exclusively, the results of this otherwise abortive survey. No sooner were reports from the three sets of commissioners prepared, and other important documents, (including the deputy's 'Notes of remembrances') placed in order, than the whole precious collection was forwarded to London, in the keeping of Sir James Ley (2) the chief justice, and Sir John Davys, whose attendance on the deputy in his northern journey had made them well acquainted with the various intricacies of the work now to be commenced. Indeed, the former had been specially designated as the most likely person to be serviceable on this mission so early as the month of November, 1607. "As there will shortly," say the council in London, "be occasion to enter into his [Chichester's] scheme for disposing of the escheated lands in the north, they think it will be necessary that they [the council in Dublin] should send over some person fully informed of the state of those countries, with whom they [the council in London] may have further intercourse than is possible by letters." They suggest that "Sir James Ley, the chief justice, who is already desirous to come over, might come, furnished with the necessary information. His Majesty thinks that between this [the 17th of November, 1607] and Candlemas, he might be supplied with this information, and he has been informed by Sir Oliver Lambert that he [Chichester] intends to draw near to those parts [the northern counties] in person. Nevertheless, if Sir James's health be such, or there be any other cause as to make his lordship [the deputy] prefer any other person for that purpose, it is left to his discretion." Davys virtually invited himself to accompany Ley; and Chichester knew well that no more competent person

(2). *Sir James Ley*.—On the 20th of December, 1608, the King wrote to Chichester, in reference to this personage as follows:—"Having had proof of the service of Sir James Ley, late Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, and now of late having had speech with him concerning the affairs of that State, the King has taken such a liking to him and such an opinion of his ability to do him service, that he has made choice of him to

serve in a place of great charge in his kingdom of England, which is the place of Attorney of the Court of Wards. He has accordingly discharged him of his place of Chief Justice of the King's Bench of Ireland, and has appointed thereto Sir Humphrey Winch, now Baron of the Court of Exchequer there, who is to have the King's letters patent for the appointment."

than the attorney-general could be found, to supply clear and graphic explanations for the use of the King and his council. Davys had written to Salisbury about this matter, on the 11th of December, 1607, as follows:—"In the mean time, understanding that the Lord Chief Justice here is sent for over to inform his Lordship [Salisbury], and to receive direction touching the disposing and settling of that province [Ulster], ventures to beg that he himself may have license to come over with him; as well because he has taken some pains to understand the state of that province, so as to give light in the business, as also because he has some private business of his own in England, which he might withal despatch the next vacation."

So, Davys was added to Ley; and no sooner had Chichester sent them off, than he penned two letters, the first of which, from himself and his council, was designed to show forth the rare fitness of Davys and Ley for their mission; and the second, from himself only, to impress on all in high quarters a due sense of the magnitude of the trust now committed to them. These letters are both dated Oct. 14, 1608. The first is as follows:—"Sir James Ley and Sir John Davys, being now dispatched thither, according to his Majesty's pleasure signified, are fully and thoroughly instructed, both by writing and otherwise, touching every particular concerning the service here for the settlement of the north, and what else concerneth the kingdom. They were, besides, usually present at council, at the hammering of all those [particulars] of greatest hardness and difficulty, the one of them [Ley] being of the society trusted with those weightiest affairs; and the other (both for the convenience of his office and to strengthen a memory otherwise single) often called thereunto; so that scarce anything has here passed unknown to one of them at the least, over and above their sundry employments in commission, which cannot but have added much to their particular knowledge. They [the deputy and his council] think it, therefore, very meet to leave to their care only, the relation of all the business committed to their several trusts, without troubling their lordships with iteration by dead letter of that which so fitly may, and no doubt so sufficiently will, be delivered *viva voce* to their better contentment. They pray that their return may be as speedy as the weightiness of the service will fitly permit."

The deputy's second letter on this occasion is perhaps even more interesting as referring to the subject specially to be discussed. Although every important question, arising from or connected therewith, was now about to be made plain by the persons so highly commended, yet Chichester was of opinion that there might be no harm, at least, in adding a few remarks on one or two points specially requiring attention. "What he conceives touching the state of Ulster," says he, "together with his opinion for settlement of every part thereof, he has at large set down [in his "Notes of Remembrances"], leaving the rest to their relation and further discourse. Only this they [the council in London] should observe, that this great territory is with great felicity escheated to his Majesty, who is now sole proprietor of the most part of it, as the native lords thereof were formerly accounted and known to be. His Majesty may retain and keep the same by a firm establishment in his crown for ever, for his honour and increase of his revenues, which, once perfected, will reduce the whole kingdom to more civility and obedience (3). As the

(3). *Obedience*.—These were mere words of course with the deputy, for he had no idea of recommending the King to retain the escheated lands in his own possession so as that they might be let out directly to occupying tenants

disparity or inequality of estates in Ulster (which drew the dependence of all the rest of the subjects upon the great ones), has been that which overswayed and overthrew their chieftains, and troubled the whole land from time to time, he wishes that the escheated lands should not be granted away in gross, or by whole countries, to one man, but rather that the division should be amongst many, and by reasonable portions, yet such as may encourage the particular undertakers to lay their fortunes upon the plantation and improvement thereof. Consideration must be had of the natives, who are many, that either the principal gentlemen, or else the honester sort and best deserving may be so satisfied in this division as may quench envy, *quæ serpit ad habentem*; also, where they shall be assigned their portions and places of abode, whether in woods or plains, indifferently and as it may casually fall out, or else in the open fields and plains only,—a matter though seeming difficult, yet in his opinion worth consideration; for in the plains (besides that they may be there overlooked), they shall be invited or constrained to labour and painstaking; whereas in the woods and places of strength, they will be more given to creaghting [living exclusively by cattle], or idleness; also they will be able to issue out of these dens continually, and to annoy the civil inhabitants that should otherwise be settled in the plains."

These, it will be admitted, are very practical remarks on the questions to which they refer; and they are certainly of a more liberal character towards the natives than many of the deputy's after-thoughts on exactly the same points. To be sure, he would have been well inclined to have given nothing to the natives at all, but the impolicy of this course was too obvious. He would have been strongly disposed, also, to have denied any portions of the plains in the north to such natives as might be admitted to a share in the distribution, but the impolicy of this exclusion had been already but too clearly proved in other and earlier plantations, and it would have been singularly unwise in such a region of natural fastnesses as Ulster. As a general rule, the 'civilisers' approached their work timidly (and no wonder), feeling their way, groping occasionally in the dark, and therefore not at first so disposed to be domineering; but they gathered courage as they advanced, and eventually divested themselves of any scruples of conscience in their treatment of the natives. The chief justice, Sir James Ley, has not left, so far as we know, any statement of his ideas on the subject of the plantation, being perhaps of a taciturn disposition, or made silent by his feeble health, or by the superabundance of the talking and writing of those around him. Davys, however, was not slow in giving out his opinions without stint. The first difficulty that impressed itself on his mind, he describes, as follows, in a letter to Salisbury, on the 5th of August, 1608:—"The

from the crown. Sir Oliver St. John, writing to Salisbury, Oct. 9, 1607, has the following highly interesting remarks in reference to this subject:—"The other consideration is the disposition of the northern Lords' lands in Ulster, when they shall be brought to his Majesty's Crown. Advises that no part be given away to any Irish or English [landlords or undertakers], but by worthy and careful commissioners *let to the natives of the country* at high and dear rates [compared with those they have been previously paying]. The reason of his opinion is grounded upon the natural disposition of the poor Irish, who esteem more their landlord whom they know, than

their King whom they seldom hear of; and when they shall be inured to know that they hold their lands immediately of the King, they will neglect their wonted tyrants, whom naturally they love not, and turn their affections and loyalties so to the King under whom they will serve, and know how happy it is for them to live. . . . By this course the poor people's hearts will be made the King's, and his revenues exceedingly increased; for the Irish people, so they be freed from cuttings and cesse, willingly yield large rents; and those wild parts will be the more likely to be brought to a true and permanent subjection."

disposition whereof [of the six counties] by plantation of colonies is a matter of great consideration, wherein it is not easy to lay down a good and sure project. There have been sundry plantations in this kingdom, whereof the first plantation of the English pale was the best (4), and the last plantation of the undertakers in Munster was the worst (5). The plantations in Ulster, on the sea coast, by Sir John Courcy (see p. 21), the Lacyes, and the Bourks [De Burgos]; the plantation in Connaught by the Bourks and Geraldines [Fitzgeralds]; in Thomond by Sir Thomas de Clare; in Munster by the Geraldines, Butlers, Barrys, Roches, and other English families, are in part rooted out (6) by the Irish; and such as remain are much degenerated; which will happen to this plantation within a few years if the number of civil persons to be planted do not exceed the number of the natives, who will quickly overgrow them, as weeds overgrow the good corn."

III.

On the arrival of Ley and Davys in London, they found that the authorities there, although anxious for their coming, were not idle in the meantime. The King had become extremely fussy in the business from the moment he heard of the actual flight of the earls, and before the end of the month in which that event occurred, he demanded that information should be furnished without delay "respecting the lands to be divided; what countries are most meet to be inhabited; what Irish fit to be trusted; what English meet for that plantation in Ireland; what offers are or will be made there; and what is to be done for the conviction of the fugitives, because there is no possession or estate to be given before their attainder." The King thus became quite

(4). *The best*.—This was the original English colony in Ireland, planted in the reign of Henry II., and although at first a mere private adventure headed by Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald, it attracted other adventurers from time to time, until at length the colonists obtained a permanent footing. The two adventurers already named, who brought with them 390 men, were followed by Earl Strongbow with 1200 more; their success soon brought the King, who came with a train of 500 knights. Other bands followed from time to time, and the numerous relays of men from England when required, sufficiently account for the superior stability of the colony in the Pale.

(5). *Was the worst*.—This attempt at colonising a portion of Munster was the latest that had been undertaken prior to the time of the plantation in Ulster now about to be commenced. The object of the movement in Munster was to place English settlers on the extensive lands left comparatively desolate during the war with the great Earl of Desmond. By the articles of 1586 between Queen Elizabeth and the undertakers of escheated lands in Munster, the latter received quantities varying from 6,000 to 24,000 acres each. One part of the county of Limerick, with portions of Cork, Tipperary, and Waterford, were thus set out to Christopher Hatton, Edward Fitton, and Rowland Stanley, knights, from Cheshire and Lancashire; the remaining part of the county of Cork, and parts of the county of Waterford adjoining, were let to Walter Raleigh, John Stowell, and John Clifton, knights, from Devonshire and Somersetshire.

Sir William Courtney, Edward Hutton, and Henry Outred, esquires, were undertakers for the remaining lands in the county of Limerick. The county of Kerry also was included in that plantation, and several other undertakers, in addition to those above-named, obtained grants of the Munster lands. The lands conveyed in these grants were generally too extensive to be properly managed; and this whole plantation was swept away in the year 1596—just ten years after its commencement. The Irish, when they assailed it, did not adopt any slow or halting process in rooting it out; but, during the one year above-named, they burned everything, even the deserted house,—permitting the settlers, however, to decamp with their lives.

(6). *Rooted out*.—Davys, when writing of these ruined English colonies, closes up an account of their disasters in these words:—"Thus, in that space of time which was between the 10th year of Edward II. and the 30th year of Edward III. (I speak within compass), by the concurrence of the mischiefs before recited, all the old English colonies in Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, and more than a third part of Leinster, became degenerate, and fell away from the crown of England; so as only the four shires of the English Pale remained under the obedience of the law; and yet the borders of the marches thereof were grown unruly, and out of order too, being subject to black rents and tributes of the Irish; which was a greater defection than when ten or twelve tribes departed and fell away from the kings of Judah." See Davys's *Historical Tracts*, p. 150.

interested in the project, and employed himself actively in urging on the necessary arrangements. Indeed, the monarch and his ministers appear to have expected the events then transpiring one after another in Ulster, so that they were able to proceed, as they really did, very coolly and systematically with their work. They began to suspect that even Chichester himself might become too merciful in granting pardons to traitors, for the King had now become jealous lest any portion—even the smallest—of the vast spoil should be appropriated otherwise than by or through himself. Chichester was, therefore, duly cautioned, forsooth, to beware of too readily or leniently accepting submissions from, or granting pardons to, any rebels, with the view of restoring to them such lands as had previously belonged, time immemorial, to their families. This caution is conveyed to the deputy in a letter from the council of London, dated July 20, 1608, as follows:—"And now that all Ulster, or the most part, has fallen into his Majesty's power, he intends to order it so as it may redound to his honour and profit. And as a fair opportunity is given by the absence of the fugitive earls, the death of the traitor O'Dogherty, and the imprisonment of Sir Neale Garvey, and some others of the disturbers of the peace [principally Sir Cormack O'Neill and Sir Donnell O'Cahan], of those northern parts. Now in order to prevent for the future that it shall be in the power (as it heretofore has been) of any rebellious companion that chooseth to make himself head of any sept by presuming on a rabble of his base followers, to disturb the peace, and put his Majesty to the cost and trouble of prosecuting a vagrant company of wood kerne, there must not be so great a facility for granting pardons and taking submissions. He [Chichester] is to abstain from making promises of any of the escheated lands, and to assure himself that *not an acre* will be disposed of till the survey and certificate of the lands be returned over to them [the council in London], at the coming of the chief justice and attorney."

When the deputy's agents presented themselves, the King talked in his usually pedantic style on the subject of the contemplated doings in Ulster, and as if indeed wishing to impress on all around that he had received some sort of commission from on high in connection with the matter in hand. Davys had already led him to believe that he was destined to do a greater work for Ireland than even what had been done by St. Patrick himself; but, in the meantime, there had appeared on the scene a still more fulsome flatterer, in the person of that ponderous statesman and philosopher, known as Francis Bacon. This great English chancellor, who believed he could treat any subject in a peculiarly oracular way, forthwith wrote his *Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland [Ulster]*, but his performance was tawdry and commonplace, when compared with the graphic sketches of Chichester and Davys. Bacon's treatise, which, of course, is addressed to the King, opens as follows:—"It seemeth God hath reserved to your Majesty's times two works, which among the acts of Kings have the supreme pre-eminence—the union and plantation of kingdoms. . . . For, as in the works of God, the creation is greater than the preservation; and as in the works of nature, the birth and nativity is more than the continuance; so in kingdoms the first foundation or plantation is of more noble dignity and merit than all that followeth. . . . Your Majesty hath yet a fortune extraordinary, and differing from former examples of the same kind. For most part of the unions and plantations of kingdoms have been founded in the effusion of blood, but your

Majesty shall build in *solo puro et in area pura*, that shall need no sacrifices expiatory for blood ; and therefore, no doubt, under a higher and more assured blessing." This abject flatterer thus commences by utterly ignoring the past of Ireland, and especially of Ulster, if indeed he knew anything impartially, or as he ought to have known, of Ireland's history.

But let us hear Bacon's account of the *honour* which was to be the reward of the King for his taking advantage of that lamentable crisis in Ulster. "The first of the noble consequences," says the philosopher, "is honour, whereof I have spoken enough already, were it not that the Harp of Ireland puts me in mind of that glorious emblem or allegory wherein the wisdom of antiquity did figure and shadow out works of this nature. For the poets feigned that Orpheus, by the virtue and sweetness of his harp, did call and assemble the beasts and birds, of their nature wild and savage, to stand about him as in a theatre ; forgetting their affections of fierceness, of lust, and of prey, and soon after called likewise the stones, and the woods to remove, and stand in order about him ; which fable was anciently interpreted of the reducing and plantation of kingdoms ; when the people of barbarous manners are brought to give over and discontinue their customs of revenge and blood, and of dissolute life, of theft and rapine, and to give ear to the wisdom of laws and government ; whereupon immediately followeth the calling of stones for building and habitation, and of trees for the seats of houses, orchards, and the like. The work, therefore, of all others most memorable and honourable, your Majesty hath now in hand ; specially if your Majesty join the harp of David, in casting out the evil spirit of superstition, with the harp of Orpheus, in casting out desolation and barbarism." See *Bacon's Life and Letters*, edited by Spedding, vol. iv., pp. 117, 118.

Our readers will admit that, in the foregoing passage, Bacon has been *harping* to little purpose so far as any practical remarks on the plantation of Ulster are concerned. The harp of Ireland suggests to him the harp of Orpheus, and this latter reminds him in turn of the harp of David ! But, if Ireland had a harp, and a thoroughly ancient and sweet-toned instrument, too, was *it* not also 'that glorious emblem or allegory' of her civilization at a time when the Saxons were but serfs and savages ? But the philosopher sadly desecrated the Irish harp in thus mentioning it solely as a source of flattery to the heartless King, and in connection with a project of which he and the King ought to have been thoroughly ashamed. The 'harp of David' was also rudely dragged in by Bacon, with the intention of ministering to the vanity of his royal master. The latter had been persuaded by a brood of surrounding sycophants that he was both pious and poetical, and he actually commenced under this false impression to work at a metrical version of the Psalms of David. He abandoned the task, however, when he had only got so far as the thirty-first psalm. The notorious Dr. Williams, who afterwards preached a funeral sermon on the occasion of the King's death, referred to this work, in which the latter had been engaged, in the following terms :—"Hee was in hand (when God called him to sing psalms with the angels), with the translation of our church psalmes, which hee intended to have finished, and dedicated withall to the only saint of his devotion, the church of Great Britaine and that of Ireland. *This work was staid* in the one and thirtie psalme." Williams thus intended to produce the impression that death literally found

the King employed in this pious labour ; but the truth was that the latter had long previously handed over the task to a court poet named Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. Spotswood, the historian of the Scottish church, refers to that arrangement as follows :—"The revising of the psalmes he [the King] made his own labour ; and at such hours as he might spare from the public cares, went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majesty's expectations." (See Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, edited by Carlyle, pp. 511, 512). Bacon's 'harp of David' is thus explained, and easily 'joined with the harp of Orpheus.'

Before the survey and other documents were forwarded to London, rumours had reached the deputy, which seemed to him seriously to impeach both the wisdom and ability of his royal master in reference to this business of plantation. Chichester heard that the King was about to show his generosity in an especial manner to certain Scottish noblemen, to whom immense grants, it was said, were to be made, and who intended to bring into Ulster large numbers of Islesmen and Highlanders, as settlers. This naturally appeared to the deputy a very questionable proceeding, for he had no special affection for Scotchmen high or low, gentle or simple, and besides he had expended much of his time and ingenuity ever since his coming to Ireland, in the work of repelling and expelling Islesmen and other northern Scots from the coasts of Ulster. He felt, however, that his hands were now comparatively tied up by the accession of the Scottish king to the English throne, and especially in view of an act to be passed at the meeting of the first Parliament in reference to this matter. (7). His opposition, therefore, to the northern Scots whom he so much dreaded (8), could assume no more tangible form than a strongly expressed remonstrance, which he conveyed in a letter to Salisbury, dated Oct. 18, and of which the following is an extract :—"To quicken his Majesty's

(7). *This matter.*—In the third and fourth years of the reign of Philip and Mary, an act was passed against bringing in of Scots to Ireland, retaining them here, or intermarrying with them. None of these arrangements could be legally made without the leave of the lord deputy for the time being, "sealed with the great Seal of this Realme." This Act remained in force or form on the statute book, but was practically a dead letter, until the year 1612, when it was repealed by the Parliament which then met in Dublin, "forasmuch as the cause of the making of the said Act is utterly taken away by the happy uniting of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland under one Imperiall Crowne." See *Statutes of Ireland*, from 3rd of Edward II. to the 11th of James I., p. 329.

(8). *Much dreaded.*—The State papers contain many records of Chichester's hostility to the northern Scots. When Sir Randal Macdonnell, in 1603, obtained a grant of the Route and Glynn's in the county of Antrim, as a matter of course, many of his kinsmen kept coming and going across the channel, as their affairs required ; but Chichester could only see in this natural and friendly intercourse the concocting of conspiracies against the State. On the 8th of June, 1604, he wrote to Cecil, recommending that Phillips (afterwards Sir Thomas

Phillips) should have a custodiam of the abbey of Coleraine and the lands thereto belonging, assigning as his principal reason for so doing that Phillips would "hinder the unlawful excursions of our neighbouring islanders, who come and go at their will and pleasure, leaving ever behind them some note of their incivility and disobedience. As of late Angus M'Connell, lord of Kentyre, pursuing one of his sons that had offended him at home, lighted upon him at the Roote, where he tried and hung some of his men ; and charging his son with sundry treasons, after a few cups, were soon reconciled, and returned in company before he [Chichester] could apprehend them." He does not seem to have cared for this sudden reconciliation among a distinguished family of Scots, which so quickly carried them away across the channel, and might have been supposed to have been the very thing that Chichester would rejoice to witness. They appear to have settled their quarrel in a very simple style and according to their own code. If they hanged one another in the Route as if it had been their own soil, they felt they could take that liberty in their kinsman's (Sir Randal's) 'country' ; and, at all events, they saved Chichester from apprehending and executing a lot of probably notorious malefactors of some description.—See Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*, p. 205.

care and dispatch for the settlement of Ulster, the book of survey which he sent [and which has not been yet found in any collections of maps] by the chief justice and attorney has not the values of the lands, for which he has given a reason in the note he delivers to them; and it is omitted the rather because it was said here that the King, through importunity of suitors, made promise of a great part to be given according to the surveys, by 100*l.* rents to one and 200*l.* to another. This course, if it should be so, will altogether overthrow the expected plantation and reformation of that province; which, well settled, peace is like to be continued there, and so in other parts of the kingdom, from whence civility and plenty may follow. Whereby the King's charge of sending money from thence will be in time greatly eased, for he sees no reason but that Ireland may be brought to keep itself, if the people could be made to affect peace, and to take pains in husbanding and manuring the land, and had care to make the best of the commodities which it brings forth in their several kinds. But if the nobility and subjects of Scotland, having part of the escheated land passed to them, be permitted to bring over the islanders, or their neighbours of those northern parts, he thinks more trouble and less profit will arise from thence, than if the Irish themselves held it as they now do. Delivers his opinion herein plainly, not, he takes God to witness, with a mind to cross or hinder any noble or other civil gentlemen that have a desire to settle and plant there, but in order that the inconvenience may be prevented and the best course thought on and embraced." The deputy had need to use this solemn disclaimer, as his opposition to the parties named was a well established and generally known fact (9).

No sooner had Ley and Davys got to work in London, under the eyes of the council there, and in immediate communication with the commissioners for Irish causes, than letters began to pour upon them from Ireland, generally urging claims for land in Ulster on the part of the writers, and not a few of them deprecating any further delay in commencing the actual work. Chichester, who knew better than any other what could, and could not be done, in a given time, referred to this point in a letter to the council at London, dated Oct. 14, as follows:—"Although nothing can be done in the division and settlement [of the lands] until the next summer [*i.e.*, of 1609], yet he desires to understand their resolution in the mean time; because all men are in expectation thereof." Among others, who urged dispatch, was Sir Thomas Ridgeway, the treasurer at war and a most efficient public functionary. He wrote to Salisbury, on the 30th of November, and his

(9). *Known fact.*—The deputy must naturally have had serious fears for his plantation if northern Scottish nobles, such as he supposed Sir Randal Macdonnell to be—with endless pedigrees and fierce Celtic traditions—should be permitted to lead over and settle their redshank friends on the shores of Lough Neagh and Lough Erne. When expressing his doubts and fears to Salisbury about Scots having much to do in the settlement of Ulster, he fancied no doubt that the Macdonnells, his old enemies, might be brought to confront and trouble him once more. His sentiments had not then [1608] changed towards them, if it ever changed. Four years previously, on his return to Carrickfergus from a trip he had made southward, he informs Cecil that he had heard of "the arrival of seven score of islanders at the Roote, to Sir Randall McDonnell, under the command of Donnell Gorm, with

such arms as they usually beare. The number and fashion of them has caused him to send for Sir Randall, charging him to bring that gentleman and his people with him. Is suspicious of these assemblies and conferences, and therefore has kept together Captain Phillips's company of soldiers, who hath spent the two years past at Toom, keeping in quietness those parts which lie on the Bann side to the mouth of that river, and so along the coast which borders on Scotland. Knows no country that better requires looking after, nor a better man for the business than Captain Phillips." (*Ibid.*, p. 205.) Sir Randal had been then endeavouring to bring people to settle on his desolated lands, and to rent his several fishings on the coast; but Chichester, and his friend Phillips, sometimes seriously impeded his progress by their jealousies and unworthy fears.

words were always welcomed, for no one knew the temper of the natives, especially in northern Ulster, better than he. "The protraction," says he, "of the northern plantation (which country was so long left to the natural lords of it, and the survey whereof was also long since [six weeks before] sent over), will become so prejudicial to his Majesty's rents or duties there, especially in Tirconnell, that he cannot but mention it to him. Suggests also the danger that may arise by distraction of the mind of a rude and savage people when they are not subject to the control of any near hand."

The first scrap of intelligence from London indicating that the work had at last commenced, was the copy of a plan sent to the deputy for inspection, and having reference only to the one county of Tyrone. This had been drawn up as a sort of tentative project before the one for all the counties was finally prepared, its authors [chiefly Ley and Davys] reporting it to the council there on Dec. 20, 1608, and stating simply their recommendations as to rents and tenures, the persons desirable as undertakers, and the conditions on which they should be permitted to have lands in the plantation. Among the State papers is preserved a document in Salisbury's handwriting, and dated Dec. 16, only a few days previously to the report above-named. This document probably contains most of the committee's report, and is an evidence that the great minister himself had shaped out herein his own ideas in connection with one or two points of the all-absorbing work. The contents are headed—*Lottery Suggested for Proportions in the Ulster Plantation*, and are as follows:—"A course for division of that which is surveyed, in which these things may be avoided. First, there must be several sorts of proportions. Next, some course would be taken that English and Scottish may be placed both near and woven one within another. Thirdly, that the English and Scottish be next to rivers. The Irish on the plains. The captains and servitors on the borders, and near the Irish. The manner [of distribution] to be by lottery, viz., all the lands proportioned [*i.e.*, divided into proportions of three sizes] to be put in several scrolls. Those scrolls to be wrapped in wax balls of three bigness [sizes]. In the big [the largest] the best proportion, and so on in order. All these balls to be put into one box. In Tyrone there are nine great proportions of 2,000 acres each; 12 middle, of 1,500 acres each; and 38 small, of 1,000 acres each; in all 59 proportions. Of ecclesiastical lands to the bishops [in Tyrone] 13,200 acres. Proportions 37. Of these 37 proportions, 5,040 [acres] allotted to incumbents [in Tyrone]. The bishops say this last portion is taken from them, and therefore moved that a petition may be deposited till that be cleared"—in other words until it could be arranged how the bishops were to be compensated for the loss thus incurred of lands for incumbents or working clergy. This must have been considered one of the important questions mooted in the foregoing plan, as the paper is endorsed—"Memorial for Ireland concerning the plantation. Bishops' alienation." There is also another document preserved in the same collection, dated after the 20th of December, and containing objections to the assignment of lands by lottery, except under certain circumstances. These objections are headed—*A View of Irish Plantation*, and are supposed to have been drawn up by Sir John Davys. But the writer, whoever he may have been, whilst suggesting the best method, in his opinion, of locating the several classes of undertakers, and the best policy to be

carried out in reference to the whole scheme, proposed also to extend the plantation to the entire province of Ulster. This proposal could hardly have been made by Davys, for no one knew better than he that three of the counties, namely, Antrim, Down, and Monaghan had already been settled, and could not, therefore, be included in the plantation then to be commenced (10).

No time was lost, however, in submitting to Chichester the miniature project for the plantation of Tyrone, for on the 17th January, 1608-9, the council in London wrote to him as follows:—"The King has lately attended in person two meetings of the council for the further consideration of the plantation of the fugitives' lands, and other escheated lands in Ulster, the work being of great importance, and fraught with expected benefit to the kingdom. The project for the settlement of Tyrone, of which a copy was lately sent to him [Chichester], by the Attorney for Ireland [Davys, then in London]; and the proportion allotted for servitors was so highly approved of that it was resolved to follow the same in the other escheated lands. He is directed to make an estimate of the number of servitors to be provided for, not doubting but that, recollecting the place is large and fertile, it is likely to attract many suitors." The servitors, with few exceptions, were military officers, and were already quite alive to their own interests in this important business, claiming favourable terms from the government in return for their own generally lengthened and useful services. Many of the leading servitors had long since besought Chichester for licenses to go to London, that they might there personally urge their several claims, but for so far, he took credit to himself for being able to quiet them by the assurance that their interests would not be overlooked. Writing to the council in London, the deputy entreats that body to enable him fully and faithfully "to perform towards them [the servitors] according to this assurance." His good opinion of these applicants as undertakers he conveys generally by the assertion that "they are good and deserving men," and "the fittest and best assured men to make the plantation good (11)." In the meantime, Chichester

(10). *To be commenced.*—The county of Antrim was divided principally among a few proprietors, namely, Sir Randal Macdonnell, Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Fulke Conway, the O'Neills of Shane's Castle, the Clotworthys of Massereene, the McQuillens of Clanagherty, the Hills of Island Magee, the Langfords of Muckamore, and a few other smaller holders. The county of Down had already been settled by the Bagenalls of Newry, the Montgomerys of the Ards, the Hamiltons of Killileagh and Bangor, and the Hills of Hill-Hall and Hillsborough. The settlement of the county of Monaghan has been already referred to at pp. 51, 52. It may be, however, observed that the writer of *A View of Irish Plantation*, when urging the extension of the scheme to all Ulster, only recommended the adoption throughout the whole nine counties of one uniform plan of measurement, rents, tenures, letting, and general management of land.

(11). *To make the plantation good.*—The names of these choice servitors, and of the places they wished to settle, were forwarded some months afterwards by the deputy, through Sir Thomas Ridgeway, the treasurer at war. The following is a copy of the document sent on that occasion, which indicates the several persons of whom he had already spoken so warmly above:—"Re-

membrances in the behalf of persons of quality to be recommended to his Majesty and the Lords of the Council, in such suits as they have to propound, which they would have done in person, had he [Chichester] not stayed them from troubling his Majesty, upon promise to be a mediator for them. That such men of quality here as will undertake the planting a barony of the escheated lands in Ulster may be thereto admitted; for if they can draw friends unto them out of England or Scotland, they are the most likely men to perform the conditions. *Sir Gerritt [Gerald?] Moore*, for Upper Orior, or part of O'Nealan. *Sir Oliver St. John*, *Sir James Perrott*, *Sir Thomas Williams*, and others that they will draw unto them, for the county of Lower Orior; *Sir Oliver Lambert*, for the barony of _____ in Fermanagh, who offers good conditions; for a strong and defensible town, erected in a fit and convenient place within the barony, and two or three castles built upon the straights and passages, are more available for the service and defence of the country than twenty elsewhere for pleasure or profit. *Sir Ralph Bingley* and friends, for the barony of Kilmacrenan, which is a very remote and barren country; he offers good conditions for the plantation thereof . . . and few others will undertake it upon the like consideration, for a stranger will be hardly

was allowed to remain under the uncomfortable impression that his 'Notes of remembrances,' which he had drawn up with so much care, and of which he was evidently proud, had gone for nothing in the hands of those to whom they were specially sent. In a letter to the Earl of Northampton, a leading member of the council, the deputy states that he had sent "by Sir James Ley and Sir John Davys, a brief account of the escheated lands, but either it was not perused or not understood, for he hears that their lordships [the members of council] complained that no scheme was sent to guide them in the form of the plantation. If he were thoroughly informed of their wishes as to the ordering of the plantation, no one would be more zealous, nor have better power to give them furtherance." To Salisbury, he mentions in a letter sent about the same time, that he had forwarded a "discourse, giving an account of the Ulster lands in each county, and explaining the reason why he did not send an exact project." This complaint on the part of the council was, in truth, most unreasonable, the deputy having amply performed his part by supplying an abundance of materials, together with an admirable outline of a project (see pp. 68, 69), leaving it free to the council to fill up his outline, or put forward an original plan of their own with the assistance of those master-hands, Ley and Davys. Had Chichester ventured further in the first instance, he might probably have had to endure an infliction in the shape of snubbing more disagreeable than this complaint of the council, which was evidently expressed in the most general or indefinite terms. He did not fail afterwards, as we shall see, to return the compliment, in the shape of practical criticisms on certain of the council's orders and conditions for plantation.

The letters, of which the foregoing are extracts, were written by Chichester early in February, 1608-9, and before he had as yet received a copy of the 'orders and conditions' sent to him at some date about the end of January or beginning of the following month. This well-known document, the materials of which had been for some time arranged and in readiness for use, was simply an expansion of the plantation committee's report, of December 20, relative to the division and distribution of lands in the county Tyrone. It is curious that the copy of these 'orders and conditions' preserved among the State papers is without date; but, from a letter written by Chichester, on the 12th of February, it is evident that the copy must have been printed later than the 17th of January. In that letter, he acknowledged the council's communication of the date last mentioned, which informed him, as already stated, that the King had so decidedly approved of the trial project relating to Tyrone; and he further stated in reply to the council that "until the project [including the other counties] come over in print, which is here generally noised to be

drawn thither. *Sir Henry Folliott* having lately purchased the abbey of Assheroe of Mr. Auditor Golton, and Bellicke of some other patentee, was suitor for the castle of Ballyshannon and Bundrowes, with their adjoining lands, which generally lie between the two castles now named, and which, with the castles, he [Chichester] recommends to be granted in fee farm to Folliott. *Sir Foulke Conway* will undertake Braslowe (see p. 8), which borders upon his lands of Killultagh; those two countries are a strong fastness, and have been a den of rebels, and as thievish a country as any in Ulster. He [Chichester] would have *Sir Toby Canfield* undertake Clanacan [on the southern shore

of Lough Neagh], and *Sir Francis Roe* Munterdevlin, and such other lands adjoining to their forts as is convenient for them. These gentlemen are of ability, and can give good furtherance to the plantation, if they may be encouraged to undertake those fast countries upon reasonable conditions. *Captain Henry Skipwith* is an humble suitor for Cullmactrean and the 18 quarters of land thereto belonging; and *Sir Farr Lane* desires to be his neighbour there; and so does *Sir Thomas Chichester*, and others, seek for lands about those parts, because it joins so near his [Chichester's] lands of Enishowen, more than for the goodness of the soil."

prepared for that purpose, few will resolve what to do, albeit the most part of the servitors and others here have heretofore earnestly importuned to have shares there, but doubting, as they say that their purses will not answer their minds for planting those lands according to the 'conditions' to be laid down, they will see the printed copy before they will resolve further, after which he will hasten the names of those that intend to set up their fortunes in the plantation and settlement of that country." In this extract, it will be observed that Chichester speaks of the 'project' and 'conditions' of plantation as if both were to be included in the same document, and probably such was the case in the rough drafts originally made. But these documents assumed new and more imposing forms, for whilst the deputy was expecting some embodiment of both, he received, on the 6th of March, 1608-9, a copy, not of the Project, but of its precursor, carefully drawn up and entitled *Collection of such Orders and Conditions as are to be observed by the Undertakers upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster*. The receipt of this most important document was acknowledged by the deputy on the 10th of March. In doing so, he states that he had "received with other letters that arrived on the 6th instant, the printed books formerly promised by their lordships [the council] containing the orders and conditions for the intended plantation of Ulster, much amended in some points and in many respects, compared with that other first project drawn by some of the privy council of this realm [especially by Ley and Davys, prominent members of the plantation committee] for the plantation of the county of Tyrone only." On receiving his copy of this Tract, Chichester, among other matters, informed the council in London that he had "published it everywhere, to as many as may best impart his Majesty's intentions therein, and to all others to whom it may appertain. What this will work in the minds of many here is not yet known; but the other manuscript [containing the project relating to Tyrone only] introduced only two men likely to undertake lands and to perform the conditions. Though this other is more to be approved, being more large as to the manner it is set down, yet he foresees great difficulties likely to arise to hinder this plantation."

IV.

The following is a true copy of the 'Collection' above-named, the text of which is printed in Harris's *Hibernica*, 1770, pp. 123-130:—

Whereas the greatest part of six counties in the province of Ulster, within the Realme of Ireland, named Ardmagh, Tyrone, Colrane, Donegall, Fermanagh, and Cavan, being escheated and come to the crown, hath lately been surveyed, and the survey thereof transmitted to his Majesty: upon view whereof his Majesty of his princely Bounty, not respecting his own Profit, but the publick Peace and Welfare of that Kingdom, by the civil Plantation of those unreformed and waste countries, is graciously pleased to distribute the said Lands to such of his Subjects, as well of Great Britain as of Ireland, as being of Merit and Ability shall seek the same, with a mind not only to benefit themselves but to do service to the crown and commonwealth.

And forasmuch as many persons, being ignorant of the conditions whereupon his Majesty is pleased to grant the said Land, are importunate suitors for greater portions than they are able to

plant (12), intending their private Profit only, and not the Advancement of the Publick Service: it is thought convenient to declare and publish to all his Majesty's subjects the several Quantities of the Proportions which shall be distributed, the several sorts of undertakers, the manner of Allotment, the Estates, the Rents, the Tenures, with other Articles to be observed as well on his Majesty's behalf, as on the behalf of the undertakers, in manner and form following:—

First. The Proportions of Land to be distributed to Undertakers shall be of three different Quantities, consisting of sundry parcels or precincts (13) of Land, called by certain Irish names known in the several Counties, viz., Ballibetags, Quarters, Ballyboes, Tathes, and Polles (14); the first or least Proportion to contain such or so many of the said Parcels as shall make up a thousand English Acres at the least; the second or middle Proportion to contain such or so many of the Parcels as shall make up fifteen hundred English Acres at the least; and the last or greatest Proportion to contain such or so many of the Parcels as shall make up two thousand English Acres at the least (15); to every of which Proportions shall be allowed such Quantity of Bog and Wood, as the country shall conveniently afford.

(12). *Able to plant.*—Although Lord Audley was not perhaps among those here referred to, as he had not then made any formal offer for lands, yet he was a good illustration of the class who were ready, if permitted, to undertake much more than they could have possibly managed. Lord Audley's proposal, dated July 10, 1609, was addressed to the commissioners for Irish causes, and stipulates for a grant of 100,000 acres, which he was willing to undertake on the following conditions:—"1. The 100,000 acres to be in Tyrone, or the adjoining parts of Armagh, excepting lands allotted to forts, college, free schools, hospitals, and natives. 2. He will divide the 100,000 acres into 33 parts, on which he will build 33 castles and as many towns. To each castle he will assign 600 acres, and to each town 2,400 acres, which town shall consist of at least 30 families, comprising foot soldiers, artificers, and cottagers, with allotments of land to each. 3. He will pay the rent expressed in the articles, 533*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for 100,000 acres, the first half-year to be paid Michaelmas come four years. 4. He will perform the building within four years. 5. He prays that of the 33 towns, six may be market towns, and one incorporate, with two fairs yearly, and one fair yearly in each market town. 6. He is content to have only the advowsons within his own territories. 7. He desires, within five manors, felons' goods, outlaws' and fugitives' [goods], felons of themselves, waifs and strays, court leet, and court baron. 8. He desires license freely to erect iron mills, to make iron and glass, and sow woad within his own land, for 41 years. 9. Lord Audley and his son are content jointly to assure land of 1000*l.* value on recognizance to his Majesty for the performance of the conditions; the bond to be cancelled at the end of five years on the lord deputy's certificate of the fulfilment of the conditions. Lastly, the great woods of Glanconkeyne, Killeto, and Slutart, and others, are reserved to his Majesty. All these, together with all the printed articles not repugnant to these, he undertakes to perform, and he desires that they be transmitted to the lord deputy for his consideration and approval, or dis-

approval. Signed, *G. Audelay.*"

(13). *Precincts.*—In plantation speech, the term *Precinct* will be found, in almost every instance, to denote a large sweep of land corresponding in size to our modern barony. The precinct, as thus understood, was composed of several proportions, and the latter in turn were each made up of very many parcels, or small measures of land, bearing different names throughout nearly, if not all, the six several counties.

(14). *And Polles.*—These several Irish land-measures will be explained in connexion with the counties where they most generally prevailed.

(15). *At the least.*—Although in his first advice on plantation matters, Chichester warned the King and his council against giving away the escheated lands too liberally to any applicants, lest some might be found too much to 'overtop' others, he afterwards felt, on seeing these 'Orders and Conditions,' that his recommendation had been misunderstood, or at least too literally interpreted. His ideas had probably undergone a change when he began to find out the class of persons who were eagerly pressing for the possession of lands as undertakers; and he afterwards recommended that these lands should be distributed in baronies to a smaller number of great and distinguished servitors, with the addition perhaps of a few English and Scottish noblemen. Whilst deprecating at first the plan of the Munster plantation, which was too lavish in the distribution of lands, and too careless in locating the Irish, he thought that by duly preventing the recurrence of the latter evil, he might adopt the system of large grants with safety and greater success in Ulster. In his criticisms on the 'Orders and Conditions,' this point was introduced before any other. "First," says he, in a communication dated March 10, 1608-9, concerning the quantities of the proportions to be distributed, "it is true that by former letters he had generally advised and wished that the lands might be divided and passed to as many particular persons, and into as many small parcels (to be held in free estates)

Secondly. The Persons of the Undertakers of the several Proportions shall be of three sorts, viz., 1. English or Scottish, as well servitors as others, who are to plant their portions with English, or inland Scottish inhabitants (16). 2. Servitors of the kingdom of Ireland, who may take meer Irish, English, or inland Scottish Tenants at their Choice. 3. Natives of Ireland who are to be made freeholders.

Thirdly. His Majesty will reserve unto himself the appointment in what county every Undertaker shall have his Portion. But to avoid Emulation and Controversy, which would arise among them, if every Man should choose his Place where he would be planted, his Majesty's Pleasure is that the Scites or Places of their Portions in every county shall be distributed by Lot (17).

Lastly. The Several Articles ensuing are to be observed, as well on behalf of his Majesty, as of the Several Undertakers respectively.

ARTICLES concerning the English and Scottish Undertakers, who are to plant their portions with English and Scottish Tenants.

1. His Majesty is pleased to grant Estates in Fee-Farm to them and their Heirs.
2. They shall yearly yield unto his Majesty, for every Proportion of a thousand Acres, Five Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence English, and so rateably for the greater Proportions, which is after the rate of Six Shillings and Eight Pence for every three score English Acres. But none of the said Undertakers shall pay any Rent, until the Expiration of the first two years (18), except the Natives of Ireland who are not subject to the Charge of Transportation.

as conveniently might suffice every man; the which he has found in some sort to be observed in this project; yet he prays their lordships to understand that he meant it not to be in the arithmetical proportion or popular equality, which is here laid, but rather to have held much more of that other proportion of distributive justice which was anciently held in the partition of common treasure and lands conquered, and which always respected every man's particular well-doings, merits, and quality, as duly appertaining to every one in terms of right. The wisdom and good discretion to be used in the well mixing and tempering of these two proportions, is the only thing which can produce that content and harmony which is to be wished in this plantation."

(16). *Inhabitants.*—These inland Scots were supposed to be a more desirable race for plantation purposes than the inhabitants of the northern and western coasts of Scotland, who had been kept, from their position, as restless as the waves around them. The term *inland* has since given place to the more appropriate one of *lowland*, as descriptive of those 'cannie' Scots who came principally from the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, and Dumbarton.

(17). *By lot.*—This arrangement was adopted simply on the suggestion of Chichester, as expressed in his 'Notes.' He at first, however, recommended this method of distribution only in general terms, and soon saw reason to modify his original idea. When criticising the 'Orders and Conditions' afterwards,—on the 10th of March, 1608-9,—he notices this contemplated arrangement at much length, giving, among other reasons for its modification, the following:—"Another notable incon-

venience, which he has lately found and considered of in this manner of allotment, is, that kindred, friends, and acquaintance, who otherwise for their mutual comfort and supportation shall affect and purpose to dwell near together, will by this means [distribution by lot] be far separated asunder. These considerations, and many others, do, in his judgment, make this manner of division at large very improper for them. But if his Majesty and their Lordships shall hold it convenient to stand as a public act, it should then be considered what places in each county are fittest to be inhabited by the new undertakers; and therein the principal seats ought to be well chosen, for the two first sorts of them [the undertakers], both in consideration of State and for their private satisfactions, that none may be justly displeased with the lot of their inheritance in the county where they shall affect to dwell, which he must conceive to be their Lordships' intention; as this was his meaning when he first gave that advice." Chichester's later and more matured view of this matter was finally adopted. In each county certain baronies were set apart for the English alone, and others for the Scotch alone. Lots were then cast by English for proportions in an English barony, and by Scotch for proportions in a Scotch barony;—so that friends and neighbours who came from the same districts in England and Scotland would thus dwell near each other in the same baronies; the lot-casting having reference only to the lands of individual baronies.

(18). *Two years.*—Thus, the Crown rents charged to English and Scottish undertakers, and also, as we shall see, to such servitors as would plant English and Scottish tenants on their lands, was fixed at six shillings and

3. Every Undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the greatest Proportion of two thousand Acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same by knight's service *in capite* (19); and every Undertaker of so much Land as shall amount to the middle Proportion of fifteen hundred Acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same by knight's service, as of the Castle of Dublin (20). And every Undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the least Proportion of a thousand Acres or thereabouts, shall hold the same in Common Soccage (21); And there shall be no Wardships upon the two first descents of that land (22).

eightpence for every 60 acres, or less than three halfpence per acre. But every acre even at this nominal rent was choice land ready for immediate cropping, whilst muirlands, grounds covered with underwood, and even upland pastures, were marked off as 'unprofitable,' and handed over to each proportion or estate gratuitously—rent free. Well might Chichester, in his strictures, admit that "the rents are not justly to be excepted against, for it appears plainly, as his Majesty graciously professes, that of his princely bounty, he does not respect his own profit therein, but the public peace and welfare of his kingdoms and subjects; only the time of freedom is generally thought to be too short." But the time of freedom from rent-paying was eventually lengthened from two to four years, so that the cause of complaint in this matter was soon removed.

(19). *In capite*.—Chichester, who was himself so deeply interested in securing his immense lands by the simplest and most advantageous tenure, entirely sympathised with the objections of the undertakers against the oppressive feudal tenure known as 'knight's service,' which would have imposed duties and exactions compared with which even the 'cuttings' of Irish chiefs were but as 'child's play.' The tenure known as knight's service, although once considered the most honourable, had, before Chichester's time, become very unpopular even among the representatives of those Norman nobles by whom it was originally introduced into these kingdoms. For by it the grantee was bound to perform 'the service of a knight to the king,' an obligation which, in most cases, was impracticable; and when so, the conditions of this tenure imposed a ruinous expense in providing substitutes. But what was even worse, and more oppressive, the grantee was subjected to various other impositions and indignities, amongst which were *wardship* and *marriage*. Wardship was simply a power vested in the King to plunder minors, which power the King had the right to sell to others, who performed their work of enriching themselves at the expense of their wards without scruple. Marriage meant the right of the King to provide wives or husbands for his wards, as the case might be, if under age. This privilege, also, the King invariably sold to favourites, and the latter, in their own interests, most generally practised deceptions in providing matches for those thus cruelly handed over to their keeping. The Ulster undertakers, however, were eventually exempt from the evils threatened by the proposal of this tenure, and they were so exempted, no doubt, on account of the powerful intervention of Chichester. In his criticism on this point, in the 'Orders and Conditions,' he says:—"But as to the tenure by knight's service *in capite* and of the Castle of

Dublin, every man regards that as the hardest and most unfit condition that may be; for which reason they cast off all thoughts of acceptance of such portions. And this the rather, because all grants of lands in Leinster ever since his Majesty's time have been passed in free and common soccage. Moreover, the undertakers in Munster, who have greater benefits of sun, sea, and land, and who there found castles and houses in great numbers ready built, hold by no other tenure. Of these two, men make a precedent in this; as also concerning the right of transporting all commodities growing and rising out of the lands, as the undertakers of Munster may, by their letters patent, do."

(20). *Castle of Dublin*.—This class of undertakers, it was arranged, were not to be so heavily taxed in virtue of their tenure, as those who were able to undertake for a greater portion of land. The latter were to hold *in capite*, or from the head, meaning from the King himself, which was the kind of tenure supposed to be the most honourable of all, as it certainly entailed the greatest burdens; whilst the second class of undertakers were to hold not of the King, but as of Dublin Castle, which belonged to the King, but not being so immediately the source of honour as his crown, was a less expensive symbol from which to hold; or, in other words, it did not impose the same oppressive conditions on the grantee, and was equally valid as a form of tenure. It also, however, was very objectionable, often implying knight's service, although not coupled with the other grievous adjuncts.

(21). *Common Soccage*.—The tenure known as soccage—from *Soc*, the French word for the coulter or share of a plough—implied originally certain services in husbandry to be rendered by the tenant to the lord of the fee. These services included not only ploughing, but making hedges, and carrying out manure to the fields. But soccage is now considered the most desirable tenure, because it secures the grantee against oppressive exactions. The more honourable but grievous system of knight's service has been swept away, and the laws providing for its abolition have done more, according to Blackstone, for the freedom of property than *Magna Charta* itself. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 63; Amos, *English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.*, pp. 209-211.

(22). *Of that land*.—It must have been thus considered by the framers of these 'Orders and Conditions' a very great boon or favour for a family to be relieved from the oppression of Wardship, even for the space of two descents. Queen Elizabeth's well-known Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Smith, has the following reference, in one of his

4. Every Undertaker of the greatest Proportion of two thousand Acres shall, within two years after the Date of his Letters Patents, build thereupon a Castle, with a strong Court or Bawne about it (23). And Every Undertaker of the Second or middle Proportion of fifteen hundred Acres shall, within the Same time, build a Stone or brick House thereupon, with a Strong Court or Bawne about it. And every Undertaker of the least Proportion of a thousand Acres, shall, within the Same time, make thereupon a Strong Court or Bawne at least. And all the said Undertakers shall draw their Tenants to build Houses for themselves and their Families near the principal Castle, House, or Bawne, for their mutual Defence or Strength. And they shall have Sufficient Timber, by the Assignation of such Officers as the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland shall appoint, out of his Majesty's Woods in that Province, for the same Buildings, without paying anything for the same, during the said two Years; and to that End there shall be a present Inhibition to restrain the felling or destruction of said Woods in the meantime for what cause soever.

5. The said Undertakers, their Heirs and Assignes, shall have ready in their Houses at all Times a convenient Store of Arms, wherewith they may furnish a competent number of able Men for their Defence (24), which may be viewed and mustered every half-year, according to the manner of England.

books, to this great evil of feudal law:—"Many men do esteem wardship by knight's service contrary to nature, that a freeman and gentleman should be bought and sold like a horse or an ox, and so change guardians at first, second, or third hand, as masters and lords. The King having so many wards, must needs give or sell them, and the buyer has no natural care for the infant [minor], but only for his [the warder's] gain; thus he will not suffer a ward to take any great pains, either in study, or any other hardness, lest he should be sick and die before he hath married the buyer's daughter, sister, or cousin, for whose sake he bought him, and then all the money which he paid for him would be lost. The guardian doth but seek to make the most of his ward as of an ox or other beast."

(23). *Bawne about it.*—The word bawn is the anglicised form of the Irish *bo-dhaingan*, or *bàdhùn*, a 'cattle-fortress.' It was customary among the ancient Irish to construct their bawns or cattle-enclosures near their residences in times of peace, and adjoining their encampments in times of war. These enclosures were always formed on a certain well-recognised plan, of trenches and banks strengthened by stakes, or most frequently by growing hedges, to guard against the attacks of wolves and other ravenous animals, as well as the assaults of hostile tribes. The remains of these ancient Irish bawns or enclosures still exist numerous throughout Ulster, although vast numbers of them have been levelled by the farmers from year to year. The term *Boaghun* was invariably used in former times throughout the north and west of Scotland to designate the cattle-enclosure connected with each hamlet or village. The time granted at first to the Ulster undertakers for the building of their bawns and residences was considered too short, and Chichester gives expression to the general complaint on this point as follows:—"The

next thing that discourages, and will discourage men to engage in this plantation, is the short limitation of time wherein they are enjoined to build their castles, houses, and bawns, without distinction as to who may dwell within or near the woods, and who may dwell 20 miles off; nor yet of the workmen, who cannot be here found sufficient for so many and great works at once for any price or reward. Wherefore, this condition is to be respectively enlarged; for they must presume that every new undertaker will provide for his own security and that of his tenants with all expedition possible after his settling down upon the place of his habitation, for which there should be a certain time limited." Writing his impressions on this matter at a somewhat later date—January, 1609-10—the deputy adds:—"As for the castles, storehouses, and bawns projected to be built, such great works cannot possibly be erected within the limited time, especially in the inland parts of Ulster; in regard that if money were ever so plentiful, yet the materials, victuals, tools, artificers, workmen, and carriages, cannot possibly be supplied within so short a time, considering how many works are to be taken in hand at once; therefore four years for building a castle, storehouse, and bawn, is the least time that may be allowed them." Accordingly, the time was extended to four years instead of two years, for building as well as for commencing to pay rent.

(24). *Their Defence.*—On this regulation the deputy makes no comment, feeling well assured, no doubt, that the undertakers would not be likely to fail in adopting whatever measures were required to secure themselves. He took it for granted, as he had already stated, when referring to another subject, that they "would provide for their own and their tenants' security with all possible expedition." In this matter of arms, the servants who would become undertakers, were already *au fait*, being

6. Every of the said Undertakers, English or Scottish, before the ensealing of his Letters Patents, shall take the Oath of Supremacy (25), either in the Chancery of England or Ireland, or before the Commissioners to be appointed for establishing of the Plantation, and shall also conform themselves in Religion, according to his Majesty's Laws.

7. The said Undertakers, their Heirs and Assigns, shall not alien or demise their Portions, or any Part thereof to meer Irish (26), or to such Persons as will not take the Oath which the said Undertakers are bound to take in the former Article. And to that End a Proviso shall be inserted in their Letters Patent.

8. Every Undertaker shall, within two years, plant or place a competent number of English and Scottish Tenants upon his Portion, in such manner as by the Commissioners to be appointed for establishing of this Plantation, shall be prescribed (27).

9. Every of the said Undertakers for the space of five years next after the Date of his Letters Patents shall be resident in Person himself upon his Portion, or place some such other Person thereupon as shall be allowed by the State of England and Ireland, who shall be likewise resident there during the said five years, unless by reason of sickness, or other important cause, he be believed by the deputy and council of Ireland to absent himself for a time (28).

military officers, and having always been in the habit of having their dwellings well stored with weapons. The regulation, however, which was finally required on this important matter was, that each undertaker of 2,000 acres must have, in his house or castle, 12 muskets and 12 calivers (short guns, or blunderbusses), to arm 24 men for defence; each undertaker of 1,500 was required to have in store 9 muskets and 9 calivers; whilst the undertaker of 1,000 acres was supposed to be sufficiently provided, if he had six of each kind.

(25). *Supremacy*.—The imposition of this oath was intended to prevent the possibility of any English or Scottish papists getting into Ulster as undertakers. By this oath such persons would have been required to renounce the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. It was first imposed by Henry VIII., in 1537; then repealed in the third and fourth year of Philip and Mary; and re-enacted by the Parliament of Ireland in the 2nd year of Elizabeth (1560). Curiously enough, the majority of that Parliament were Roman Catholics; but they were induced to yield to this grand infiction upon themselves and their church at large by a guarantee from the Deputy Sussex that it would be kept in abeyance! During Elizabeth's reign the taking of this oath does not appear to have been enforced; but in the reign of James I., the supremacy oath was exacted pretty generally, in addition to other inflictions.

(26). *Meer Irish*.—This 'condition' was making 'surety doubly sure,' as from an early period of the English rule in Ireland, the 'meer Irish' were prohibited from purchasing, although the oppressive law had no practical existence anywhere beyond the Pale. It remained, however, on the Statute Book, to be used when and wherever it could be enforced. Though the English might take from the Irish, the latter could not, either by gift or purchase, take any from the English. The Rolls of Parliament are crowded with illustrations of this fact. In the year 1612,

Davys framed an act abolishing this distinction, but the prohibition against the Irish practically continued, for by these plantation 'orders and conditions' the English and Scotch were forbidden to convey any lands taken from the natives back to the native Irish. Thus, the Irish were always losing, and the English always gaining by every change. In the time of the Commonwealth this oppressive law was not only continued, but extended to the whole nation. After the war of 1690, the English Parliament further enacted that the Irish then were incapable of purchasing, or holding even as tenants, any quantity of land greater than two acres!

(27). *Prescribed*.—In Chichester's strictures, he did not hesitate to pronounce the time thus allowed too short for this process of transplanting, and particularly as it required to be undertaken in connection with other tedious and expensive operations. The time, in this instance, was also extended, so as to meet the wishes of undertakers.

(28). *For a time*.—The substitute for the undertaker, thus permitted on certain conditions, was in accordance with suggestions from Chichester and others. The deputy truly said that "to tie men of quality to be so long resident on the place [as five years], may rather overthrow than further the plantation, for no wise man will be bound to perform that article, and some may do it better by friends or substitutes than by themselves." Bacon, referring to this point, in the Tract already quoted, says:—"There is a clause wherein the undertakers are restrained that they shall execute the plantation in person; from which I must dissent, if I will consent with the grounds I have already taken. For, it is not probable that men of great means and plentiful estate will endure the travel, diseasements, and adventures of going thither in person; but rather, I suppose many will undertake portions as an advancement of their younger children or

10. The said Undertakers shall not alien their Portions during five years next after the Date of their Letters Patents, but in this manner, viz., one third part in Fee-Farm, another third part for forty years, or under, reserving to themselves the other third Part without Alienation during the said five years. But after the said five years they shall be at liberty to alien to all Persons, except the meer Irish, and such Persons as will not take the Oath, which the said Undertakers are to take as aforesaid.

11. The said Undertakers shall have power to erect Manors (29), to hold Courts Baron twice every year, to create Tenures to hold of themselves upon Alienation of any Part of their said Portions, so as the same do not exceed the Moiety thereof.

12. The said Undertakers shall not demise any part of their Lands at Will only, but shall make certain estates for years, for Life, in Taile, or in Fee-Simple (30).

13. No uncertain Rent shall be reserved by the Undertakers, but the same shall be expressly set down without reference to the Custom of the Country, and a Proviso shall be inserted in the Letters Patents against Cuttings, Cosheries, and other Irish Exactions upon their Tenants (31).

14. The said Undertakers, their Heirs and Assigns, during the space of seven years next ensuing, shall have power to transport all Commodities growing upon their own Lands, which they shall hold by those Letters Patents, without paying any Custom or Imposition for the same.

15. It shall be lawful for the said Undertakers, for the space of five years next ensuing, to send for, and bring into Ireland, out of Great Britain, victuals, and utensils for their Households,

kinsfolks, or for the sweetness of the expectation of a great bargain in the end, when it is overcome. And, therefore, it is like they will employ sons, kinsfolks, servants, or tenants, and yet be glad to have the estate in themselves. And it may be, some again, will join their purses together, and make, as it were, a partnership or joint adventure, and yet man forth some one person by consent for the executing the plantation." See Bacon's *Life and Letters*, edited by Spedding, vol. iv., pp. 123, 124.

(29). *Manors*.—This term is supposed to be derived from the Latin verb *maneo*, to 'remain,' because the manor is one of the results of long and well-established settlement. The power of erecting lands into manors often conveyed to the grantees other privileges besides those mentioned in the above clause. In England there used always to be a Court Leet as well as a Court Baron in connection with every manor. The former (so called from the Dutch *laet*, a peasant-tenant) was the court in which copyhold tenants—the lease being a servile tenure—had justice administered; whilst the Court Baron was that in which the freeholders of the manor sought justice and protection from wrong, when necessary. The Court Leet is now everywhere superseded by other arrangements, and the Court Baron, from the same cause, now only exists in name.

(30). *Fee-Simple*.—By this 'condition' tenancy at will was prohibited. It would appear that undertakers were prevented from letting their lands for less than 21 years and three lives because of their getting their grants on the very advantageous tenure of common socage instead of by knight's service, which latter would have imposed

upon them at intervals the payment of heriots and reliefs. Referring again to this point in a later communication to the council in London, Chichester writes:—"Instead of which tenure [knight's service], it were more for the King's avail, and more agreeable with the meaning and equity of the law, upon the first creation of those high tenures, that, in lieu thereof, some restraint and tie might be laid upon the undertakers, that they should make no estates [give no leases] for less than 21 years and three lives, and to keep them from alienating any of their possessions without license, and from marrying and fostering with the Irish."

(31). *Their Tenants*.—This 'article' was evidently intended to protect the tenants against rapacity and double-dealing on the part of undertakers or landlords. Besides the evils to the tenants now mentioned, Chichester had another in his mind's eye, against which he warned the council, as follows:—"It will avail for the security and contentment of the undertenant, that the rent out of the lands assigned may be distinguished and proportioned in the rent of the chief undertaker [or landlord], and that there be a *caveat* inserted in the King's grant, that the undertenant shall not be subject to pay the King more rent for the land he holds than his Majesty reserves for that proportion from the undertaker; who is to reserve from the undertenant a distinct rent to himself, besides that which the undertenant is also to pay to the King." This was simply to protect the tenant from the injuries which might arise to him in consequence of his having an improvident or insolvent landlord, who, in the absence of the necessary protection, might involve his tenants in his own difficulties.

Materials and Tools for Building and Husbandry, and cattle to stock and manure the Land as aforesaid, without paying any Custom for the same, which shall not extend to any Commodities by way of Merchandize.

ARTICLES concerning such servitors (32) in Ireland as shall be Undertakers in this Plantation, and shall have Power to inhabit their Portions with meer Irish Tenants. 1. They shall have estates in Fee-Farm. 2. They shall yield a yearly Rent to his Majesty of Eight Pounds English for every Proportion of a thousand Acres, and so rateably for the greater Proportions, which is after the rate of ten Shillings for sixty English Acres, or thereabouts, which they shall inhabit with meer Irish Tenants; but they shall pay only five Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence for every Proportion of a thousand Acres which they shall inhabit with English or Scottish Tenants as aforesaid; and so rateably for the other Proportions. And they shall pay no Rent for the first two years.

3. They shall hold their Portions by the same Tenures as the former Undertakers respectively.

4. They shall build their Castles, Houses, and Bawnes, and inhabit their Lands within two years, and have a competent store of Arms in readiness, as the former Undertakers (33).

(32). *Servitors*.—See pp. 76, 77. When the council in London wrote to Chichester informing him how cordially the King had approved of the project for plantation in the county of Tyrone, and especially of the recommendation therein as to locating the servitors, they concluded by requesting the Deputy to send them a list of such servitors as would be likely to ask for lands, and prove suitable undertakers. This list was forthwith supplied; but when the 'Orders and Conditions' arrived from London soon afterwards, the servitors criticised them in detail, perhaps more coolly and even bitterly than any other class of intending settlers. Chichester, when writing to Davys, then in London, informs him that "the farther they [the Irish government] search into men's affections touching the project, the more difficult does he find the performance of what is expected, for no one here once seeks to him for any part thereof, neither will they (as they both say and write) unless some of the conditions be altered; and unless they may make choice of their seats [places of settlement]. Such as command in forts and smaller wards desire that part which lies next them, albeit it be not of the best or most fertile land, as he [Chichester] knows; others that know the country and the natives, affect to seat themselves near the sea and upon portable rivers." Davys, writing to Salisbury, in May, 1609, expresses himself about the servitors somewhat bitterly, as if disappointed at their disapproval of the document he had so much to do in drawing up. "Their martial men," says he, "for the most part, take exceptions to the project for the plantation of Ulster, because they have not the privilege, every one to choose his own seat or portion. If this were granted to them, they do not now quarrel so much with the project as they would then quarrel with one another. But the Lord Deputy [himself a servitor] since he [Davys] showed him a copy of the instructions which are to be annexed to the

commission for plantation, is very well satisfied." Writing in the following month of June, Davys refers to this point in these terms:—"The martial men, though they refused to give their names to the Lord Deputy for portions to be assigned to them, yet expect and desire to be undertakers, but they thought that by their refusal to accept their portions by lot, they should have had their choice of the best places, wherein now they think their expectation deceived." The servitors objected also to the shortness of the time allowed at first for the erection of their castles, houses, and bawns; but their objections generally were met in a conciliatory spirit by the government, and after a little negotiation, the several points in dispute were amicably arranged. Davys at last rather exulted when it was found that many servitors who held back in the beginning had no lands left for them until the woods could be cleared from large patches of the soil.

(33). *Former undertakers*.—The servitors were thus to be dealt with in all respects as the other undertakers; but they succeeded eventually, at least several of them, in getting not only lands but 'entertainments,' or appointments, as commanders of forts and small wards throughout the six counties. At an early stage in the plantation movement, the council in London forwarded the following list of servitors who were considered as suitable persons to become undertakers, commencing with the deputy himself:—"The Lord Deputy, Lord Audley, Mr. Treasurer [Sir Thomas Ridgeway], Mr. Marshall [Sir Robert Wingfield], Master of the Ordnance [Sir Oliver St. John], Sir Oliver Lambert, Mr. Attorney-General of Ireland [Sir John Davys], Sir Foulke Conway, Sir Henry Folliott, Sir Edward Blaney, Sir Toby Caulfield, Sir Richard Hansard, Sir Francis Roe, Sir Francis Rushe, Sir Thomas Phillips, Sir James Perrott, Sir Thomas Chichester, Sir Josias Bodley, Sir Richard

5. They shall have power to create Manors and Tenures, as the former Undertakers.
6. They shall make certain Estates to the Tenants and reserve certain Rents, and forbear Irish Exactions, as the former Undertakers.
7. They shall be resident for five years, as the former Undertakers, and be restrained from Alienation within the same time, as the former Undertakers.
8. They shall take the Oath of Supremacy, and be conformable in religion, as the former Undertakers.
9. They shall not alien their Portions, or any Part thereof, to the meer Irish, or to any such Person or Persons as will not take the Oath as the said Undertakers are to take, as aforesaid; and to that end a *Proviso* shall be inserted in their Letters Patents.
10. They shall have Power or Liberty to transport, or bring in Commodities, as the former Undertakers.

ARTICLES concerning the Irish Natives, who shall be admitted to be Freeholders.

1. They shall have Estates in Fee-Farm.
2. They shall pay the yearly Rent of Ten Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence for every Portion of a thousand Acres, and so rateably for the greater Proportion, which is after the rate of thirteen Shillings and four Pence for every sixty Acres or thereabouts; and they shall pay no Rent for the first year (34).

Graham, Sir Thomas Coach, Sir Thomas Williams, Sir Edward Fettiplace, Sir Ralph Bingley, Sir Wm. Taaffe, Sir Geo. Graham his sons, Mr. Surveyor of Ireland [Wm. Parsons], Captains Bouchier, Cooke, Steward, Crawford, Hope, Atherton, John Vaughan, Trevelian, Brooke, Doddington, Richard Bingley, Gabriel Throgmorton, Francis Annesley, Cole, John Ridgeway, Eline [Ellis], John Leigh, and his brother Dan. Leigh, Anthony Smyth, Trevor, Atkinson, Fleming, Meeres, Pikeman, Southworth, Lackford, Baker, Hen. Vaughan, Hart, Gore, Larken, Neilson, Edney, Harrison, Higgins, Henry Moy, Hugh Culme, Archie Moore; Lieutenants Cowell, Brian, Ackland, Devereux, Bagnall, son to Sir Sam. Bagnall, Browne, Parkins, Atkins, Nich. Doubbeny." Several of the servitors above-named failed in getting lands as undertakers, being thought ineligible by the deputy; others did not covet the responsibilities which, as undertakers, they would have incurred. The above list was accompanied by the following note:—"Though there be more named in the list than there is land for, yet because some of them may not be desirous to be undertakers, and some peradventure will not be thought convenient by the deputy to plant, therefore he and the Commissioners may at their discretion omit such of them and limit out to the rest such proportions, and in such places as shall be most fit, according to the directions aforesaid. Nevertheless, if the Lord Deputy and Commissioners shall think it expedient, they may allow unto two or three of the principal servitors above-named 2000 acres apiece to be taken out of the middle proportions appointed for the better sort of servitors." The 'directions' here referred to were as follow:—"In the distribution of these lands, the Lord Deputy only to

have 3000 acres, if he will, not above. Councillors of State may have 2000 acres, and not above. Of the rest, there may be allotted six middle proportions for six of the best sort of servitors, and none of the others to have above 1000 acres each. And for such as shall be unable to plant 1000 acres, two, three, or four to be joined in the proportion."—See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, sixth series, 53, 54.

(34). *First year.*—The few native undertakers do not appear to have made any objection to the payment of a so much larger rent than had been laid on the others; but they complained at being obliged to commence paying so soon, to erect their buildings in so short a time, and to relinquish their long-cherished and much-loved custom of creaghting. Chichester, writing to Davys, in March, 1609, refers to these objections on the part of the Irish as follows:—"Many natives have answered that it is hard for them to alter their course of living by herds of cattle and creaghting; and as to the building of castles, or strong-houses and bawns, it is for them impossible; none of them, the Neales [O'Neills] and such principal surnames excepted, affect above a ballybetagh, and most of them will be content with two or three balliboes; and for others, he knows whole counties will not content the meanest of them, albeit now they have but their mantle and sword. The commissioners, therefore, who shall come or be appointed to settle this business, will have a tough piece of work of it, and the strangers that shall come for undertakers must resolve to abide some storms before they come to a profitable harvest." Although the deputy wrote in this tone, we shall hear him afterwards complaining of the small quantities of lands to natives in Armagh and Tyrone,

3. For their Tenures, they shall hold as the other Undertakers respectively, according to their Portions, with a Proviso of forfeiture of their estates, if they enter into actual rebellion.

4. They shall inhabit their Lands, and build their Castles, Houses, and Bawnes, within two years, as the former Undertakers (35).

5. They shall make certain estates for years, or for Lives, to their Under Tenants, and they shall take no Irish exactions.

6. They shall use Tillage and Husbandry after the manner of the English Pale (36).

General Propositions to be notified to the Undertakers of all Sorts.

1. There shall be Commissioners appointed for the setting forth of the several Proportions, and for the ordering and settling of the Plantation, according to such Instructions as shall be given unto them by his Majesty in that behalf.

2. That all the said Undertakers shall by themselves, or by such as the States of England or Ireland shall allow of, attend the said Commissioners in Ireland, at or before Midsummer next, to receive such Directions touching their Plantations as shall be thought fit.

3. That every Undertaker, before the ensealing of his Letters Patents, shall enter into Bond (37) or Recognizance, with good sureties, to his Majesty's use, in the Office of his Majesty's Chief

who, however, had rendered him good services during O'Dogherty's revolt and subsequently; nay, it will further appear, that the tenant-settlers from England and Scotland, instead of encountering 'storms' such as the deputy had predicted, were actually dependant on the natives for lodgings and provisions for a considerable time after their arrival! Chichester never appears to have contemplated the enforcement of any building injunctions on the native undertakers or freeholders, this clause being introduced into the *Articles* solely on the authority of the council in London. Chichester's idea was eventually adopted; the natives had to pay higher rents; but were relieved from the rule of building expensive houses, although they were required to build for themselves habitations like the English of the Pale. This injunction, however, had reference to the humble Irish who got small grants in several counties; but such nobles and gentry among the natives as obtained one or two ballybetaghs each, aspired to castles and bawnes like the other undertakers. Referring to the claims of those natives who had served the government during O'Dogherty's revolt, and had, in return, received promises of lands, the deputy states in his comments on the 'Orders and Conditions' that "it should be left in the power and discretion of the commissioners to provide so sufficiently for the natives as shall be then thought requisite. There are many more of them claiming and in expectation of freeholds than seems to have been considered of; specially those of the counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, and Donegal, who are still, as they allege, to be accounted freeholders, notwithstanding the offices taken, after the killing in rebellion of their several chieftains, or the attainder of any of them, the undertenants many of them being in possession of freeholds at this day, not escheated, as they affirm, notwithstanding the proceedings against their said chieftains."

(35). *Former Undertakers*.—See preceding note.

(36). *English Pale*.—This meant simply that the Irish were to turn their attention in a greater degree to cropping the lands, abandoning their old system of almost universal grazing and creaghting.

(37). *Into Bond*.—The undertaker of 2,000 was bound by the covenants in his *patent* to perform the following conditions, viz., he was to allow timber to his tenants and others for building purposes, for the space of two years, provided it grew on his proportion, and was not to be found on those adjoining; his fee-farmers were to build vicinatum; he was to have ready in his house or castle muskets, calivers, and hand-weapons sufficient to arm 24 men; he was to hold 660 acres in demesne, alienating or letting off all the remainder; he was to pay for his 2000 acres the yearly rent of 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; he was not to alienate or demise any lands to mere Irish, or to others who would not take the oath of supremacy either before such alienation or demise, or within one year after, upon pain of forfeiture of the parcels so alienated or demise.

In addition to the above covenants, the undertaker of 2,000 acres was required to enter into a *Bond* of 400*l.*, binding him to the following conditions, viz., that within three years he, or his heirs, would build one dwelling-house of brick or stone, with a strong court or bawn about the same, that within the said three years, reckoning from Easter, 1610, he was to plant on his proportion 48 able men of the age of eighteen years or upwards, born in England or the inward part of Scotland; he was to be resident himself in person, or by such other person as shall be allowed, during the space of five years after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, 1610; and he was not to alien the said proportion or any part thereof during the said five years, but unto his undertenants whom he was to plant. Thus the time for all these operations was lengthened to nearly four years. See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, sixth series, p. 54.

Remembrancer, in England or Ireland, or in his Majesty's Exchequer or Chancery in Scotland, or else before two of the Commissioners to be appointed for the Plantation, to perform the aforesaid Articles, according to their Several Distinctions, of Building, Planting, Residence, Alienation within five years, and making of certain estates to their Tenants in this manner, viz., the Undertaker of the greatest Proportion to become bound in four hundred Pounds, of the middle Proportion in three hundred Pounds, and of the least Proportion in two hundred Pounds (38).

4. That in every of the said Counties there shall be a convenient Number of Market Towns and Corporations erected for the Habitation and settling Tradesmen and Artificers; and that there shall be one Free School at least appointed in every County for the education of youth in Learning and Religion.

5. That there shall be a convenient number of Parishes and Parish Churches with sufficient Incumbents in every county; and that the Parishioners shall pay all their Tithes in kind to the Incumbents of the said Parish Churches (39). See Harris's *Hibernica*, pp. 123-130.

Such, then, were the 'Orders and Conditions' as originally promulgated; and such also, as explained in the notes to the last chapter, were the several modifications thereof recommended by Chichester, and finally adopted in the scheme. In concluding his critical examination of these articles and regulations, he begged to "add this one thing—that forasmuch as this plantation is of the nature of those things that are to be wished, rather than hopeful to be effected, their Lordships would be pleased to leave very much to the discretion of the commissioners. . . . Thus much he has thought fit to deliver to their Lordships, without any further protraction of time, as being agreeable to his duty and trust, with protestation that whatsoever he has said is only meant to give their Lordships whereof to think concerning the perfection of so good a work, and without any intention to prejudicate the noble and princely resolution and courses which have been taken or may be taken in that behalf; herein acknowledging his own weakness and ignorance in the inquisition and decision of these deep mysteries of State, what the truth may be and where it lies hidden, having observed that in all like human actions (besides all other difficulties hindering their perfections), truth and error, good and evil, are found to be so like and nearly joined together that many times the one has been simply mistaken for the other." Notwithstanding this affected simplicity, however, on the part of the deputy, he had very clear and practical views on the subject

(38). *Two hundred Pounds*.—See preceding note.

(39). *Parish Churches*.—Referring to this complicated question, the deputy contents himself with saying at that time that he hoped "their Lordships [the council in London] would be pleased to leave very much to the discretion of the commissioners to be appointed, for assignation of greater quantities of land to the ministers, since their glebe lands are like to be their principal maintenance. Likewise the bishops' lands may, perhaps, require some alteration in regard of convenience, or other circumstances concerning the Termon lands." On this subject, the deputy writing some months afterwards—in Jan. 1609-10—delivers his impressions in the following terms:—"For the bishops, he wishes the King would confirm to them all the lands found for them in demesne

and chiefry, where the said land have come to him [the King] by attainder, Act of Parliament, or other lawful means; for he holds the Corbs and Erenaghs that claim them to be unfit and unworthy of them, otherwise than as any other tenants allowed by the bishop at his will and pleasure; out of which lands he [Chichester] would have the parson or vicar have his proportion, be it 60 or 100 acres, to be laid out by the commissioners, together with a site for house and garden, &c., and with convenient wood and turbary. This will be but a small deduction out of the bishops' great scopes; for the parishes are very large and few, and without this provision the parsons and vicars cannot for the most part have any land within two or three miles of the church, and in some places farther off; which is a great inconvenience."

in hand, and knew very well the line of demarcation between truth and error so far as concerned the best interests of the plantation. Indeed, it is gratifying to observe that in a matter which directly touched his own interests he so easily caught up and asserted the popular feeling, especially as to the nature of the tenure by which the lands were to be granted to undertakers.

The undertakers would have neither act nor part in the plantation if required to hold their lands by the oppressive feudal tenure of knight's service, and they were consequently released therefrom ; but the benefit which they thus secured for themselves they were obliged to share with their tenants, by letting their lands on the most liberal terms—some in fee-farm, some by long leases, and none for shorter terms than 21 years. To secure this, the Crown in surrendering its peculiar and fondly cherished tenure of knight's service *in capite*, surrendered to the undertakers some of its important powers and prerogatives, to an extent which (in the matter of granting lands) had been almost unprecedented. But this was done to secure what was called 'a civil plantation,' or an arrangement which would work well in every particular for the peace and welfare of the settlement in Ulster. The division and allotment of the lands, therefore, were not made merely that the undertakers, who had been generally needy men, should become wealthy at the expense of their tenants ; nor were the latter brought here to live simply as feudal serfs, reclaiming the soil in which they had no permanent right or interest. On the contrary, all these conditions and articles imply a mutual interest between the undertakers and the settlers on their estates, and are now of extreme importance as explanatory of the scope and purpose of the grants then made by the Crown.



CHAPTER III.—THE PROJECT OF PLANTATION.



IN the organisation of the grand scheme, the printed 'Orders and Conditions' were soon followed by the 'Project of Plantation.' The details of this 'Project' were made public about a month subsequently to the appearance of the printed copy of the 'Orders and Conditions' (1), and in pursuance of a promise contained in the latter for "setting forth the several proportions," and for the "ordering and settling" of all important questions connected therewith. The following is a correct copy of the *Project*, the text of which was printed in Harris's *Hibernica*, pp. 105-120; and also in the sixth series of the *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, pp. 13-22 :—

A Project for the Division and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in six several counties of Ulster, namely, Tyrone, Colrairie, Donnegall, Fermanagh, Ardmagh, and Cavan, concluded by his Majesty's Commissioners, the Bishop of Derry, Sir James Ley, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir Henry Docwra, Sir Oliver St. John, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir John Davys.

In this *Project* we have first conceived four general Points to be observed in every County, viz. :—

I. That the Proportion of Land to be distributed to Undertakers may be of three different quantities. The first and least may consist of so many Parcels of Land as will make a thousand English Acres, or thereabouts. The second or middle Proportion of so many Parcels as will make fifteen hundred English Acres, or thereabouts. The third and greatest of so many Parcels as will make two thousand English Acres, or thereabouts (see p. 79).

II. That all the Lands escheated in every County may be divided into four Parts; whereof two parts may be divided into Proportions consisting of a thousand Acres a Piece, a third part into Proportions of fifteen hundred Acres [each], and the fourth part into Proportions of two thousand Acres (2).

(1). *Conditions*.—This copy was "Imprinted att London by Robert Barker, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, 1608."—See Nickoll's *History of the Company of Ironmongers*, p. 379.

(2). *Acres*.—In other words, the half of all the undertakable lands in each county was to be distributed among proportions of the smallest size, or of one thousand acres each, whilst only a fourth of such land was to be absorbed by proportions of the largest size. This arrangement was evidently intended to popularise the scheme as much as possible, and was perhaps the only one in connection therewith which the government resolved, notwithstanding Chichester's opposition, to retain. The latter appears to have been quite bent on having the land distributed in baronies to leading servitors and officers of State who might farm it out, in proportions, to others. In addition to what had been advanced by him on this point, (as quoted already at pp. 79, 80), his argu-

ment was still further pressed in the following terms :—
"He considers again that eminent persons and powerful must be the sinews or rather the cement to be applied to hold the rest of the parts together; without which it [the whole scheme of plantation] will be like a dry wall, subject to every injury, and in the end to separation and downfall in a very short time. Daily experience here teaches that the new comers will be undoubtedly robbed and oppressed by the natives, if they be not countenanced by the best, and for a long time supported with a strong hand. His advice, therefore, must be this—that this class of undertakers [the great ones among them] should have quantities of lands (though not entire and lying together, yet separate) as each will assume to settle and inhabit, some more, some less, as shall be thought meet; and that they again, if they shall undertake for much, shall be enjoined to make a certain number of freeholders under them." This doctrine was more deeply impressed on the deputy's mind as the time for actual planting ap-

III. That every Proportion be made a Parish, and a Parish Church erected therein; and the Incumbents be endowed with Glebes of Several Quantities, viz., an Incumbent of a Parish of a thousand Acres to have Sixty Acres [of glebe], an Incumbent of a Parish of fifteen hundred Acres to have ninety Acres, and an Incumbent of a Parish of two thousand Acres to have one hundred and twenty Acres; and that the whole Tithes and the Duties of every Parish be allotted to every Incumbent, besides the Glebes aforesaid (3).

IV. That the Undertakers of these Lands be of several sorts. 1. English and Scottish, who are to plant their Proportions with English and Scottish Tenants. 2. Servitors in Ireland, who

proached. In January 1609-10, we find him discussing it as follows:—"This great work of deducing inhabitants and making a plantation in such a barbarous and remote country [as Ulster] cannot be performed by men of mean condition and ability, for they will not adventure themselves and their fortunes unless they are encouraged and protected by some powerful man in chief. That persons of rank and quality must be those who are to effect this work is manifest; for that it is a matter more of honour and example than for any hope of gain for which this plantation must be undertaken, and few men will engage in such actions of charge and damage, except they are associated with such followers, friends, and neighbours as can give them comfort and bring them strength and assistance. Therefore wishes that the Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, and other persons of honour and power would each of them undertake a barony in different countries [counties], and that they would draw unto them fit men for the plantation, seeing that the strangers who will come here are more likely to undo themselves than effect a plantation, unless assisted by sufficient gentlemen experienced in this kingdom, and especially in Ulster."

(3). *Glebes aforesaid*.—This whole scheme of re-planting the church in Ulster, which had been literally swept away by long and furious commotions, owed its origin, and much of its success, to Bishop Montgomery. The King eventually adopted all his recommendations, ordaining that such ecclesiastical lands throughout Ulster as had been alienated by grants from the Crown should be restored to the Church, and that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical from which bishops had, in former times, received only chiefries and duties. Hence, the enormous possessions known as *erenagh* and *termon* lands became the property of the bishops in actual demesne. Thus amply provided with means to support their state and dignity, the bishops were enabled to surrender the third part of the tithes (which had been theirs by right) to the incumbents or working clergy. Each incumbent, in addition to his tithes and duties, had glebe lands assigned to him of 60, 90, or 120 acres, according to the size of the proportion, as indicated in the paragraph above. Harris, in his edition of *Ware's Works*, vol. i., p. 285, refers to this grand scheme of Montgomery, as follows:—"There is but one parish in the diocese [of Derry] that wants a glebe, which is Termonamungen, nor is there one sinecure in it; every rectory being intire with the cure annexed. This proceeded from the care and piety of the bishops succeeding the reformation, who were extraordinary men. Before the reformation, the bishop had one third of the tythes, a lay person who

was the bishop's farmer, called an *eirenach*, had another, and the third was allowed for the cure. [Harris, "having had access to the Inquisition of 1609, should have known that the bishop received no tithes, but that the rector, as well as the vicar, did." Reeves's *Colton's Visitation*, p. 119.] But Bishop Montgomery, who was the first bishop after the reformation, abolished all these, and gave the whole tithes to the cure [to pay the incumbent], King James I. supporting and forwarding him in it." Two radical changes effected by this arrangement are recommended by Montgomery, as follows:—"First, that all Church lands graunted unto patentees under the name of Abbey land, or Termon land, may be restored unto Byshops and Cathedrall Churches, to which they did aunciently belong, and a recompense given to the patentees owt of other temporall lands now in the King's hand to bestowe; and in especyall that the Termons of Monahon be restoared to the Bishoprick of Clougher, and no new grants made to patentees thereof, otherwise that Bishoprick must be dissolved, whose jurisdiction is extended through two great counties, Monahon and Fermanogh. Also that the Termons in Cavan be restoared to the Bishoprick of Killmore; and the Island of Derry with the Canons lands lying neere it may be restoared to the bishop of Derry, and to the Cathedrall Church there, and a recompense given to the heyre of Sr George Pawlet in som other place, and to Captayne Brookes for Clonluye, which also belongeth to the Byshop of Derry and is withheld by C. Brooks. Secondly, that all ecclesiasticall land now found for the King by this last office [of inquisition, 1609], and yet undisposed, may be restoared to the severall Bishopricks to which they did formerly belong; viz., the lands in Armagh and those in Tirone that pay rent to the Primat, that they may be restoared to the Primat. The rest in Tirone, Colrane, Inishowen to the Bishoprick of Derry. They in Tirconnell to the Bishoprick of Raphoe; and those in Fermanogh to the Bishoprick of Clougher. All is of the King his free gyft, and a new creation made of theise Bishopricks by the King's letters Patent, with the auncient liberties of the Church, the Bishops being limited what states to graunt of theise lands, and barred from letting the mensale lands, to which all those who formerly received these Bishopricks from the Pope, were strictly bound by oath in the Pope's grants, or (as the Irish call them) *apostolicis rescriptis*, whereof I have seene manye." See Montgomery's Tract on the *Ancient Estate of the Bishopricks of Derry, Rapho, and Clougher*, as quoted in the *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, pp. 49-51.

may take English or Irish Tenants at their choice. 3. Natives of those Counties, who are to be Freeholders (see p. 80).

V. That the King having made choice of such persons as shall be planted in Every County, to avoid emulation among them, the sites or places of the Proportions shall be distributed by lot (4).

These general grounds being first laid, the Lands in every particular County may be divided in this manner:—

COUNTY OF TYRONE.

The County of Tyrone is divided into certain Parcels of land called Ballyboes, a Ballyboe being a quantity of land containing Sixty Acres English, or thereabouts (5).

The whole County, including both the Temporal and Ecclesiastical Lands, by the Book of Survey, containeth 1571 Ballyboes, or 98,187 Acres (6), after the rate of a thousand Acres English, and so proportionably; whereof the one Moiety, or two parts, being 785 Ballyboes and a half, or 49,093 Acres and a half, will make of the least Proportion, consisting of Sixteen Ballyboes,

(4). *By lot.*—See p. 80. This fifth head does not appear in the copy of the 'Project' preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, and used by Harris in his *Hibernica*, but it is given, as quoted above, in the copy found among the *Carew MSS.* We here find that, originally, it was arranged the King should appoint persons to receive proportions in every county, and that the lands should then be distributed amongst them by lot. But even this comparatively circumscribed arrangement could not be enforced for the reason assigned by Chichester, who recommended that certain baronies should be set apart for English undertakers, and others for Scottish undertakers, in each county, and that the lot system might then be applied without much risk of separating companies of friends or neighbours very widely (see p. 80). When distribution by lot was first mooted as the method to be applied for the assignment of lands generally throughout the whole six counties, the deputy, in addition to his objection as already quoted, made the following somewhat novel statement against it:—"Now for the manner of allotment. It seems that for the avoiding of emulation and controversy, which otherwise might happen by choice, it must be decided by lot; which is an exceeding good course, he confesses, and practised with wonderful success by the wisest lawgiver that ever was; and he heartily wishes that the times and occasions were now such as might cause it to take effect in this intended plantation. But their case is very different. The Hebrews were mighty in numbers and rich in substance; compelled into the land of promise, by divine necessity, to extinguish the nations and to possess their vineyards, cities, and towns, already built where, and not elsewhere, they and their posterities were to remain. But in the present plantation they have no armies on foot, they are but few, without means of plantation (as being separated by sea), and every man having free will to take or leave. The country to be inhabited has no sign of plantation, and yet is full of people and subject, but of no faith nor truth in conversation, and yet hardly, or not at all, to be removed, though they be thorns in the sides of the English. The county of Tyrone, with Colrane only, has 5,000 able men

[native Irish], by which their lordships may likewise consider of the rest." This state of affairs required that the English and Scottish settlers should come in powerful companies, and that they should plant so near each other as to be able, on short notice, to rally for mutual defence.

(5). *Or thereabouts.*—The Irish land measure above-named varied in extent at different places or districts, even in the same county. A balliboe in the county of Armagh was 120 acres, or double the extent here represented. The planters accepted it in Tyrone as 60 acres, which was no doubt the general interpretation of its extent throughout that county. "The ballyboe or 'cowland,'" says Dr. Reeves, "appears analagous in meaning to the Latin *bovata*, or Saxon *oxgang*. This measure contained three sessiaghs, which are jointly represented in the modern townland survey." See *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., pp. 478, 483.

(6). *98,187 Acres.*—This quantity is only to be understood as including the arable portions of such lands as were escheated in the county of Tyrone—excluding not only such lands as had not been forfeited after the flight of the earls, but also all lands that were classed as 'unprofitable,' *i.e.*, muirlands, morasses, bogs, or covered with woods. Dr. Beaufort states that the county contains 467,175 Irish acres, or 751,387 acres of English measure. The writer in the *Parliamentary Gazetteer* affirms that there are at least 806,640 acres in Tyrone, of which 450,286 acres are arable; 311,867 acres uncultivated; 11,981 plantations; and the remainder water, excepting small portions around several towns in the county. The greatest length of Tyrone, from the summit of Croagh mountain to the town of Caledon, on the Blackwater, is a little over 38 miles, and its greatest breadth along the western border, over Strabane and Lough Derg, is 30 miles. The Book of Survey above referred to was that for which the materials had been hastily collected during the autumn of 1608. The surveyors on that occasion, and indeed in the survey afterwards made during the autumn of the following year, if they did not deliberately wish to mislead, had but a very indefinite idea of the real territorial extent of the six counties.

or a thousand Acres, or thereabouts, forty nine proportions, and ninety three Acres and a half to spare.

The half of the other Moiety, or third part, being 392 Ballyboes, and three fourths, or 24,547 Acres, will make of the middle quantity, consisting of twenty four Ballyboes, or fifteen hundred Acres, or thereabouts, sixteen proportions, and eight Ballyboes, and three fourths, or 547 Acres over.

The other half of this Moiety, or the fourth part, containing likewise 392 Ballyboes, and three fourths, or 24,547 Acres, will make of the greatest quantity, of 32 Ballyboes, or 2000 Acres, or thereabouts, twelve Proportions, and eight Ballyboes, and three fourths, or 547 Acres over.

So as the whole County, being thus divided, will make up seventy seven proportions of all kinds, and the odd Fractions do make one small proportion more, and three Ballyboes, or 188 Acres over to be added to the next Parish.

And to avoid confusion, and his Majesty's farther charge in measuring the whole County, every Ballyboe is to have the same bounds and quantity, as were known, set out, and used at the time of the departure of the late traitor Tyrone.

The whole County being thus divided unto several quantities, or proportions, before there be any Distribution made to Undertakers, we think convenient first to make a deduction out of the whole for the Church, or State of the Clergy in that County, which may be done in this manner:—

THE PORTION OF THE CHURCH.

The Termon Lands claimed partly by the Primate of Armagh (7), and partly by the bishop of Clogher and Derry (8) as the demesnes of their bishopricks (whereas they are now found by

(7). *Armagh*.—The termon lands in Tyrone claimed by the primate and conceded to him were the following, viz., in the barony of *Loughinsholin*, the termon of *Mallannight* and parcel of *Derrilowan*, including the towns and lands of *Donularan*, one balliboe; *Corchriga*, two balliboes; *Coulreagh*, two balliboes; *Keilnaman*, two balliboes; *Clare*, two balliboes; *Craughell*, *Claggan*, *Moyrosse*, *Ballymanagh*, *Balligilly*, or *Ballinagilly*, *Donmore*, *Moyboy*, *Dirrileigh*, *Lettirahan*, *Deriginard*, *Moycostobaran*, *Dirricanna*, *Ballinacrivy*, and all other lands in said termon, except a house, garden, and a half balliboe, being the rector's and vicar's glebe;—the termon or erenagh land of *Leisan*, viz., the towns and lands of *Forgarren*, *Clongony*, *Crinagh*, *Tannagan*, *Dromglasse*, *Tatenegeltagh*, *Neveheboy*, and all other lands in said termon, except a house, a garden, and two acres, being the rector's glebe; the termon or erenagh land of *Ballinderry*, containing the towns and lands of *Belledery*, *Derrichien*, and *Ballivolan*, and all other lands in said termon, except one acre, being the vicar's glebe; the termon or erenagh land of *Dromcaveetan*, containing *Tullaghatemple*, *Tollocarbad*, *Dromsey*, and *Tullaghdermgerit*; the termon or erenagh lands of *Towlagh-moylan*, one balliboe each; the termon or erenagh land of *killetra*, containing *Ballecuske*, *Towlaght*; and *Drum-of-Desertlyn*, containing *Ballinevallie*, *Laraghcarmucky*, *Morrascullen*, and *Carraghdarragh*, one balliboe each;—

the territory of *Leisan*, containing *Camys*, *Tullynure*, *Tireswine*, *Killnebaske*, *Tullenegarve*, *Moyagh*, *Knockadoc*, and *Ballindintagh*; the towns and lands of *Mallenagh*, *Anaghoulia*, and *Claggan*. In the barony of *Clogher*, the termon or erenagh lands of *Ernegalkeroge*, containing *Lissarogan*, *Tenille*, *Clonehagh*, *Lisneowlart*, *Tawnagarrough*, and *Tatekedagh*. In the barony of *Omey*—the territory of *Termonmaguirke*, containing *Anisaranan*, *Lignasmara*, *Mullin*, *Creguadenashy*, *Creggan*, *Aghmaharny*, *Aghnegregan*, *Ballynoolin*, *Tatekeile*, and all other lands in said territory, except a house, a garden, and one sessiagh, being the vicar's glebe. The following lands in *Derrilowran*, viz., *Cowlenehawlagh*, *Ballinecrosse*; the following lands in *Ballinelog*, viz., *Ballidolly* and *Crosspatrick*, one balliboe each; the lands of *Tollyniskin*, two sessiaghs; a parcel called *Drumsheale*, and *Noughee*, one balliboe." See *Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 274.

(8). *Derry*.—The lands in Tyrone claimed and obtained by the bishop were—in the barony of *Strabane*—the termon lands of *Cappy*, containing *Tawnamore*, *Golan*, *Kangarrowe*, *Sessioghtemple*, and *Donbrin*, except a house, a garden, and two acres of land, being the vicar's glebe; the termon lands of *Bodoony*, containing *Barnes*, *Canaghy*, *Castledough*, and *Dromsper*; the termon lands of *Ardsragh*, containing *Listrykillin*, *Coolereglasse*, *Kilshaglo*, *Lislaftertie*, *Carnekernan*, *Pra-*

inquisition to be escheated unto his Majesty) and that the bishops had only certain pensions and some other Duties issuing out of the same, do contain the number of three hundred and four Ballyboes, or nineteen thousand Acres, which his Majesty may be pleased to bestow upon the said archbishoprick and bishoprick, for the better maintenance of the archbishops, bishops, and their Dignitaries, and in lieu of their *Tertia Episcopalis*, or third part of the tithes of the county (9).

Out of the Residue his Majesty may be likewise pleased, out of his Princely Bounty, to grant to every Parsonage a new Endowment of certain Lands for the Glebe thereof, according to the third general point set down; which in this County will extend to ninety eight Ballyboes, or six thousand one hundred and twenty-five acres (10).

The Monastery Lands do contain only twenty one Ballyboes, or 1312 Acres; whereof four Ballyboes, or 250 acres, are in lease for twenty one years, and so many more granted in fee-farm (11); the other thirteen Ballyboes, or 813 acres in Possession, and the reversion of the four Ballyboes, which are in Lease, may be disposed to the College in Dublin (12) to fill up part of their Book granted by Queen Elizabeth, for which they shall pay only half as much as the English and Scottish Undertakers are to pay by the Articles in the printed conditions.

luske, Crossecoula, Burrinecreeny, Curranefarne, Coolegarr, Doonyenan, Cavanescrivy, Bernelad, Laragh, and Shanmullagh; the tithes lands of *Donoghchiddy*, containing Ardkenne, Tyremoylan, Leytrim, and Boynowen, except four acres, being the vicar's glebe; the tithes or erenagh land of *Urney*, containing Aghnedawnagh, Cogan, Nurnin, and Longford,—Camus two balliboes, and Clonekerry one balliboe. In *Omey barony*, the tithes or erenagh lands of *Dromragh*, containing Nahany, Killyfour, Drombenine, Clonachs, Nadun-Iny, Lavarine, Lissan, Ballintemple, Tolohmore, Cuilin, and Lisharune, except a house, a garden, and nine acres, the vicar's glebe; the tithes land of *Lamchiell*, containing Ballyanway, Ballycullin, Ballinecloggin, and Dromechintaramon. In *Strabane barony*, Ballinnelinny. *Patent Rolls*, pp. 279, 280.

(9). *Of the county*.—"In the dioceses of Derry and Rapho the tithes of each parish were divided into three equal parts, of which one was assigned to the rector, one to the vicar, and the third to the herenagh. The last was called the bishop's Third, and in former times was given directly to the diocesan; but as the tithes were paid in kind, and the collection, when so diffused, necessarily entailed much trouble and loss, the Bishop's Third [*Tertia Episcopalis*] was transferred to the parochial farmer, the herenagh, who in return paid the bishop by an annual pension or composition at the same time that he accounted for the rent of his church-land. The amount presently became fixed, and formed a stated portion of the Episcopal income." See Archbishop Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 66.

(10). *Twenty-five acres*.—In Tyrone, the incumbents got 5580 acres. There are thirty-five parishes in this county, of which twenty belong to the diocese of Armagh,

eleven to that of Derry, and four to Clogher. (See Beaufort's *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, p. 27). The barony of Dungannon contains twelve whole parishes, and parts of eight other parishes; the barony of Clogher contains two whole parishes, and parts of three other parishes; the barony of Omagh contains eight whole parishes, and parts of four other parishes; and the barony of Strabane contains seven whole parishes, and parts of three other parishes. See *Parliamentary Gazetteer*, vol. vi., p. 445.

(11). *Fee-farm*.—These lands had belonged to the religious house known as the Franciscan friary of Omey or Omagh, and were granted in fee-simple to Robert Leycester, on the 17th of May, 1604, but were soon afterwards held by Captain Edmund Leigh. In Leycester's grant the house is called a 'franciscan friary,' but Chichester speaks of it as a 'small abbey.' Among a number of places mentioned by the latter, in 1605, as requiring to be held and garrisoned, was "St. Omey, seated upon the river Omey, in Tyrone, 20 miles beneath Dungannon, in the way to the Liffer, from which it is 12 miles distant. Round about this place [St. Omey] there is a general desolation, by reason of which it happeneth that merchants and other passengers weakly guarded, travelling to and from the Derrie or Liffer to the Pale, are usually in their passage cut off and murdered. For remedy they intend to plant there an English servitor, . . . there being there a little abbey with a small quantity of land belonging to it, which is already passed upon some book given by his Majesty unto Captain Edmund Leigh, a gentleman of good experience in those parts, who hath lived there in this late rebellion."

(12). *In Dublin*.—These lands were not included among the extensive grants in Ulster finally made to Trinity College.

THE UNDERTAKERS' PORTION.

The Church being thus provided for, there will remain the number of eleven hundred and forty eight Ballyboes, or 71,750 Acres to be distributed among the Undertakers, who shall yield rents and other services to his Majesty (13).

Out of which there will rise thirty five proportions of the least quantity of sixteen Ballyboes or a thousand Acres a Piece, twelve proportions of the middle sort of twenty four Ballyboes, or one thousand five hundred Acres a Piece, and nine of the greatest of thirty two Ballyboes, or two thousand Acres a Piece; and twelve Ballyboes, or seven hundred and fifty Acres over the whole number of Proportions, being fifty six. We think it fit, that two of the Small proportions be assigned to the uses hereafter specified, and fifty four to be left for Undertakers, which may be thus disposed, viz:—

Thirty five [proportions] may be allotted to the English and Scottish Undertakers, who are to plant with English and Scottish Tenants (14); eleven [proportions] to the Servitors who may receive Irish tenants; and eight [proportions] to the Natives, who are to be made Freeholders (15).

Again to the English and Scottish Undertakers, who are to make a Plantation with English, or Inland Scottish Tenants, may be allotted six of the greatest proportions, eight of the middle sort [size], and twenty one of the least (16).

To the Servitors, who may take Irish Tenants, two of the greatest, two of the middle, and seven of the least (17).

To the Natives, who are to be made Freeholders, one of the greatest, two of the middle, and five of the least Proportions (18).

The Church and Undertakers being thus provided for, we hold it convenient that there be five Corporate Towns or Borrowes erected in that County, with Markets and Fairs, and other reasonable Liberties, and with Power to send Burgesses to Parliament, *videlicet*, First, at Dungannon; Second, at Clogher; Third, at Omagh; Fourth, at Loughensolin; and Fifth, at Mountjoy; and that there be a Levie or Prest of Tradesmen and Artificers out of England to people those Towns (19). And

(13). *To his Majesty.*—It would thus appear that the lands had decreased or disappeared somehow, during the short interval between the dates of the first and second projects of plantation in Tyrone. When the committee originally drew up a tentative or trial project for the county alone (p. 75), they found no fewer than 96 proportions in all,—59 for undertakers and 37 for the church, but the second 'Project' could only show 77 proportions in all, of which the undertakers were to appropriate 56, and the church the remainder.

(14). *Tenants.*—When the actual planting came, only 31 proportions instead of 35 could be found for the English and Scotch in Tyrone.

(15). *Freeholders.*—Instead of 19 proportions for the servitors and natives in Tyrone, only twelve could be found for them.

(16). *Of the least.*—The English and Scotch got 13 of the greatest, 5 of the middle size, and 13 of the smallest. A 'Note' is preserved among the State papers purporting to give the number of English undertakers of escheated

lands in Ulster, and stating that in the county of Tyrone there 'are 34 proportions allotted for English and Scottish, whereof the English are to have 17, viz., 10 of the least, 4 of the middle, and 3 of the great; for example, the undertakers of this county may be—Sir James Harrington, 2 great proportions; Sir Thomas Williams, one great proportion; Sir Oliver St. John, 2 middle; Sir William Smith of Essex, 2 middle. The other 10 small proportions are easily supplied out of the list of names remaining with Mr. Corbett. For English servitors, 12 proportions, 3 great, 2 middle, and 7 small.'

(17). *Of the least.*—The servitors only got two of the largest and three of the middle size.

(18). *Least Proportions.*—The natives only got about 4000 acres in Tyrone.

(19). *Those Towns.*—When Chichester drew up his 'Notes of remembrances' for the guidance of the commissioners, one passage in his remarks on this county is, in substance, as follows:—"In Tyrone, they hold the forts of Mountjoy, Omey, and the ruinous castle of Dun-

whereas the odd Ballyboes or Acres above mentioned, with the two small proportions abated from the Undertakers, do amount to the number of forty four Ballyboes, or two thousand seven hundred and fifty Acres, there may be thirty two Ballyboes, or two thousand Acres, allotted to the same Towns, *videlicet*, eight Ballyboes, or five hundred acres to Dungannon, and six Ballyboes, or three hundred and seventy-five Acres a Piece to the other Towns, which they are to hold in Fee-Farme, and pay such Rent as the English or Scottish Undertakers.

The other twelve Ballyboes, or seven hundred and fifty acres, may be assigned to the maintenance of a Free School to be erected at Mountjoy (20).

Touching the disposing of the Natives, some may be planted on the two thousand three hundred and twenty three Acres of Land (21), and the Glebes of the Parsons (22); others upon the Lands of Sir Arthur O'Neill's sons (23), and Sir Henry Oge O'Neill's sons (24), and of such other Irish as shall be thought fit to have any Freeholds there. Some others may be placed on the portions of such Servitors as are not able to inhabit their lands with English or Scottish Tenants, especially of such as know best how to rule and order the Irish (25).

But the Swordmen are to be transported into such other parts of the Kingdom, as by reason of the waste Lands therein are fittest to receive them, namely, into Conaght, and some parts of

gannon by King's garrisons and wards. Upon the division and settlement of the county, other places must be found out and strengthened for a time, as, namely, about the Clogher, where lies the country of Sir Cormocke O'Neale, another in the Glynnnes of Glanconkeyne, the Slute [sliocht] Artes country, and two or other places, which will require further consideration, and are to be kept either upon the King's or the undertakers' charge for a time. The place "in the Glynnnes" afterwards made wardable is called by the authors of the 'Project' Loughensolin, which is now the name of a barony in Londonderry, but which was then applied to one locality in Tyrone, and correctly written *Loch-inis-O'Lyn*. This place was strengthened and garrisoned for a time, but was never destined, at least for so far, to become a town, although the little village of Desertmartin grew up at a short distance from it. Chichester's suggestion about a town or fortified position in the Sliocht Arte country came to nought. The only towns in Tyrone that became corporate were Dungannon, Augher, and Strabane.

(20). *Mountjoy*.—For the two purposes here specified, of corporate towns and a Free Royal School, 2735 acres were set apart.

(21). *Acres of Land*.—This quantity, or something more, was over and above the number of proportions, and was supposed by the 'Project' makers to be a fitting place for a portion of the floating and now landless Irish population, although its fitness was yet to be decided.

(22). *Glebes of the Parsons*.—The glebe lands soon swarmed with the natives, who were willing to pay higher rents than either English or Scottish immigrants, and, in this respect, suited the incumbents better than their protestant flocks.

(23). *Sir Arthur O'Neale's sons*.—Chichester in his 'Notes' has the following reference to the lands of

this branch of the O'Neills:—"He has delivered the possession of the Newtowne with some three ballybetaghs of land [about 3000 Irish acres] to Tirlagh and Neal M'Arte, the children of Sir Arte O'Neale, in respect of the good services they did against the traitor O'Dogherty, and the relief they gave to the Liffer upon the burning of Derry. Thinks this sufficient for them, but they do not. If the King will be pleased to reserve the town of Straban, which stands within the lands now assigned to them, and give them a greater scope on the other side, he think it best for his service, for divers Scottish men will plant there, and make it a pretty town, albeit it was all burnt to the ground by O'Doghertie, which was the cause they [the O'Neals] were permitted to take it at this time."

(24). *Sir Henry Oge O'Neale's sons*.—These lands lay principally in Tyrone, on the north-western bank of the Blackwater, and were in possession of Sir Henry's sons and kinsmen.

(25). *Order the Irish*.—According to the 'Orders and Conditions' already discussed, the servitors were permitted to plant their proportions with Irish, if they so pleased; but, as a premium for the exclusion of the latter, the servitors were told that they could have all such lands as they would plant with British at a more reasonable rent. (See p. 85.) The servitors generally, however, greatly preferred the natives as tenants, not only because they freely received higher rents from the latter, but because also they could much more easily "rule and order them" than the cannie Scot or growling Sassanach. Some servitors were better known than others as rulers and orderers of the Irish, among whom may be specially mentioned Lambert, St. John, Ridgeway, and last though not least, Chichester himself.

Munster, where they are to be dispersed, and not planted together in one Place ; and such Sword-men as have not followers or cattle of their own, to be disposed of in his Majesty's service (26).

THE COUNTY OF COLERAIN.

The County of Colerain, otherwise called O'Cahan's County [country], is divided as Tyrone, by Ballyboes (27), and doth contain, as it appeareth by the Survey, five hundred and forty seven Ballyboes, or 34,187 Acres, every Ballyboe containing 60 acres, or thereabouts, as in Tyrone (28).

Out of which do arise 24 Proportions, and three Ballyboes, or 187 acres over, to be added to the next parish, viz., of the one Moiety there do arise 17 of the least Proportions ; and of the one half of the other Moiety, 6 of the middle sort ; and of the other half of this Moiety, 4 of the greatest ; every of which Proportions is to be made a Parish, and every Incumbent to have his Tithes, Glebe, and other Duties, as is before set down (29).

FOR THE PORTION OF THE CHURCH.

1. The Termon Lands claimed by the Bishop of Derry do contain 101 Ballyboes and a half, 6,343 Acres, and three-fourths, and may be assigned, if it please his Majesty, to the Bishop of

(26). *Service*.—In other words, any of the swordmen who happened to have some friends and cattle, must be banished to Connaught and Munster, whilst those who had neither one nor other were to be enlisted as soldiers.

(27). *By Ballyboes*.—See p. 92. Until the commencement of the seventeenth century, the balliboe was variable in extent throughout O'Cahan's country, and generally contained much more land than the measure so named by these commissioners of plantation. "The balliboe," says Dr. Reeves, "was one of the three components of a quarter, and was the commonest measure of land. Tirkeeran [one of the baronies in the county of Coleraine] contained 14 ballybetaghs, or 182 ballyboes, which gives an average of 13 balliboes for each ballybetagh, twelve being the exact number. In this barony there are 92,756 acres, which, being divided by 182, give about 509 as the average extent of a ballyboe. There are, according to the Ordnance Survey, 228 townlands, each containing an average of about 406 acres, so that the ancient ballyboe may be estimated as a fifth larger than our present townland." (See Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 130.) This great discrepancy between the commissioners' balliboe and the old Irish ballyboe may go far to account for the fact frequently stated, that the proportions of the undertakers contained vastly more land—stated by some to be tenfold more—than was represented at the time of plantation.

(28). *In Tyrone*.—The amount of acreage here assigned to the whole county of Colerain is little over a third of what is contained in the one barony of Tirkeeran ! Of the two other baronies with that of Tirkeeran then forming the county, Kenaght contains 128,692 acres, and Coleraine over 104,800 acres—showing thus an extraordinary discrepancy between the extent of lands actually contained in the old county of Coleraine and that which

the commissioners of plantation here represented. In his 'Notes,' Chichester describes this county "as of small circuit, containing only three baronies, two of which are not so large as the barony of Dungannon. It [Coleraine county] has been of long time attempted for parcel of Tyrone." It was not only 'attempted' in this respect, but was actually part and parcel of the principality of Tyrone, even until the commencement of the seventeenth century. When the whole region was surveyed in 1591, O'Cahan's country formed three baronies of Tyrone. (See p. 29). Davys, in his *Abstract of Titles*, states that "the country or territory called O'Cahan's country was reduced into a county [nominally in 1585], and called the county of Coleraine, so as the county had the same limits as that Irish country or precinct of land had, and no other, until of late part of O'Cahan's country was included within the peculiar county of the city of Derry."

(29). *Before set down*.—The reader will here observe a discrepancy among the numbers above stated. According to the numbers, there ought to be 27 proportions in all, whereas it is affirmed there were only 24 and three balliboes over. The barony of Coleraine now contains the parishes of Agivey, Aghadowey, Desertoghill, Dunboe, Errigal, Killowen, Macosquin, Ballyachran, and Coleraine, with parts of the parishes of Kilrea, Tamlaght O'Crilly, Balrashane, Ballywillen, Ballymoney, and Kildollagh ; the barony of Kenaght contains the parishes of Aghanloo, Balteagh, Bovevagh, Drumachose, Dugivin, Magilligan, and Tamlaghtfinlagan, with part of the parish of Banagher ; the barony of Tirkeeran contains the parishes of Clondermot, Lower Cumber, and Faughanvale, with parts of the parishes of Bannagher and Upper Cumber. Thus, the county of Coleraine now contains 19 whole parishes, with large portions of nine others.

Derry, for the better maintenance of the Bishop and Dignitaries, and in lieu of the *Tertia Episcopalis* (30).

2. The Dean of Derry's Land containing 6 Ballyboes, or 375 Acres to remain in himself (31).

(30). *Episcopalis*.—The termon lands claimed by Bishop Montgomery throughout this county, and handed over in demesne to the bishoprick of Derry, together with those in the barony of Loughinsholin soon afterwards annexed were:—1. In *Loughinsholin* barony, the termon or erenagh land of *Termenany*, containing four balliboes, called Ballycareighy, Knock-Ichilly, Lisdroghell, and Ballynetollagh; the termon land of *Tavolaght*, containing the five balliboes of Dromakanany, Dromagarnan, Dromeanne, Moniloghnan, and Dromlishey; the termon land of *Magheraveagh*, containing the 6½ balliboes of Ballymacreevy, Tawnymullen, Creggamore, Lagganagtaghy, Creggada, Tullaghartruy, and Ballyvonymore, except six acres of glebe belonging to the vicar; the termon land of *Killalaghy*, containing the four balliboes of Tyronony, Tollykeran, Ballymeanagh, and Tircheanna, except three acres being the vicar's glebe; the termon land of *Kilcrunighan*, containing the four balliboes of Ballintrossa, Derriskerdan, Derrigranagh, and Killenehawla; the termon land of *Bullineserine*, containing the six balliboes of Ballynetollabrick, Ballyvonachony, Ballychanan, Ballinwey, Donnarvan, and Ballinehoureagh, except three acres being the vicar's glebe; the termon land of *Desertmartin*, containing the four balliboes of Shra-Inishnagarilly, Moydrowne, Magherivalleyfarson, and Ballinecorrewe, except three acres being the vicar's glebe; the termon land of *Ballinacollin*, otherwise Inistide, being one balliboe, except one acre of the vicar's glebe. 2. Barony of *Coleraine*—the termon land of *Dunboe*, containing the six balliboes of Banreigh, Dromnegally, Nabury, and Ballymadigan, except a garden, being the vicar's glebe there; the termon land of *Grangeaghmore*, containing the twelve balliboes of Ballymullen, *Ardeynagh*, Nagraangeagh, Ballinevlackaghmore, Quilly, Grangeaghmore, Ballinevlackaghbegg, Ballyeany, Mosnegie, and Farnlesseserry, except all the lands belonging to the Archdeacon of Derry; the termon land of *Aghadowey*, containing one ballybetagh, known by the names of Lygowney, Ballycally, Balliquin, Monacarra, Creevelagh, Dromnedaragh, Ballybrittin, Lismaghan, Killin, Lisseemukkey, Givebegg, Ballydaly, and Ardes, except a garden, being the glebe of the vicar; the termon land of *Disert-Ioughill*, containing the four balliboes of Templedisert, Cloghtegall, Drom-Ifrin, and Moylatraghkill; the termon land of *Templearregall*, containing the four balliboes of Templearregall, Owter, Brackagh, and Gortneimoyagh, except a garden, being the vicar's glebe; Camus, one quarter with the castle of Castlerowe; Ballynas, one balliboe, with a weir there, in or near Ballynassee; the termon land of Killowen. 3. Londonderry County, barony of *Lymevaddy*; the termon land of *Tamlaghtard*, otherwise Termon-Magilligan, containing two ballybetaghs, known by the names of Bally-Imulfeadder, Dowaghmoy, Ballyvagallary, Ballymoregan, Gortmore, Ballynickwellan, Dromen, Ughtaghmore, Bally-Mlegghy, Bally-Imulchallan, Dromanally, Drownecrine, Ballyskellan, Tawlaghard, Dromon-

Ichagha, Ballyvickvoltime, Cloggan, Tolly, and Anearny, except a garden, being the vicar's glebe; the termon land of *Aghlowe*, containing the three balliboes of Ballishannagh, Cooleaghy, and Ballymanagh, except two gardens, being the vicar's glebe; the termon land of *Dromchoost* and Baldawgh, or Boydafeigh, both called by the common name of Termonconny, containing two quarters, called Trine-Cahary, Mullinedrenagh, Dromechome, Banalhy, Altenagh, Carrowmakilly, Triannagarke, Ballyvolly, and Dromges; the termon land of *Tavolaghtfinlagan*, containing two quarters, called Monintranan, Shanereagh, Tollyhill, Cloghonie, Moylekeragh, Tirenckerny, and Glaskard, except a garden, being the vicar's glebe; the termon land of *Boycenne*, containing half a quarter called Clonganabogh and Ardnanerine, except a garden, being the vicar's glebe; the termon land of *Bannachor*, containing two quarters, called Tyanan, Templemoyle, Carnaban, Derechrier, and Naghloske. 4. *Annagh* Barony, the termon land of *Faghenevale*, containing two quarters called Tullyvarry, Killywilly, Goolagh, and Kenneletter; the termon land of *Coommer*, containing the four balliboes of Claydagh, Owenbegg, Banknyderry, and Arran, except a garden, being the vicar's glebe; the termon land of *Clony*, containing four balliboes, out of which two are annually paid to the Archbishop of Armagh; two pooles in Loughfoile, wherein salmon were taken near Clony. 5. *Londonderry and Antrim counties*, two tide-waters' fishing in the river Bann, in the place for taking salmon, on Monday after St. John the Baptist's day; half of the tithes of all the fish and fishings in the Bann, except the tithes belonging to the Lord Chichester; and all the tithes of fish taken in Loughfoile, which were found by an Inquisition, taken at Dungannon, 22nd August, 1609, to belong of old to the See of Derry." *Patent Rolls*, p. 279.

(31). *In himself*.—The commissioners here speak decidedly as to the quantity of land belonging to the Dean of Derry, but the jurors, at the inquisition held afterwards, in 1609, could only say that the dean "ought to have, in right of his deanery, a small plot or parcel of land in the island of Derry, but the meres and bounds thereof the inquisition findeth not." It found, however, that the dean had "four quarters of land lying outside the island of Derry in O'Cahan's country." The quarter there contained about three plantation balliboes, of 60 acres each, which would amount to about 540 acres. The first reformed Dean of Derry was William McTaggart, who had also been the last Roman Catholic dean prior to the year 1603. "But though he had conformed to the Protestant faith, probably in the hope of retaining his deanery—as it appears that he actually did retain the lands then annexed to it till 1609—he was not continued therein, but in lieu thereof was preferred by the Lord Deputy to the small parishes of Termoneeny, and Kilcronaghan, of which he was incumbent as late as 1623." See *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, pp. 66, 67.

3. Out of the Residue, 34 Ballyboes, or 2,125 Acres, may be assigned to the Glebes of the Incumbents (32).

4. Out of the Monastery Lands (33), 18 Ballyboes, or 1,125 Acres, may be passed to the College of Dublin (34), and the other 6 Ballyboes, or 375 Acres to be allotted to the maintenance of a Free School to be erected at Lymevaddy (35).

PORTION OF THE UNDERTAKERS.

All which being deducted, there remain 382 Ballyboes, or 23,875 Acres to be divided amongst the Undertakers, which will make, according to the form of Division made of the Lands in Tyrone, 18 Proportions, viz., of the least 11, of the middle 4, and of the greatest 3, and fourteen Ballyboes, or 875 Acres; whereof may be allotted to the English and Scottish Undertakers 12 Proportions, viz., 8 of the least, 2 of the middle, and 2 of the greatest. To the Servitors, one of the middle sort; and to the Natives 5 Proportions, viz., 3 of the least, one of the middle, and one of the great (36).

The odd 14 Ballyboes, 875 Acres, may be equally allotted to two corporate Towns or Burrowes, to be erected, one at Lymevaddy, and the other at Dungevin, which are to have reasonable Liberties, to send Burgesses to Parliament, and to hold their Lands in Fee-farm as aforesaid (37).

The Natives to be placed or planted as in Tyrone (38).

(32). *Incumbents*.—Prior to this time, incumbents had only very small quantities of land as glebes, few of them, indeed, having more, or as much as half a dozen of acres. In ecclesiastical and other documents of the period, these glebes were generally designated gardens, or gorts, “the Irish *gort*, the Latin *hortus*, and the English *garden* being cognate terms. These gorts are now held by the rectors with the great glebes, which were allotted at the plantation of Ulster. They are very small,—generally a field or two close to the old church. Thus, in Tamlaghtard or Magilligan, there is a small denomination of five acres and four perches, near the ruined church, held by the rector, and set out on the Ordnance Map as a distinct townland called *Gort*. The gorts varied in size from one acre to a sessiagh, but five acres might be considered as the average.” (See Colton’s *Visitation*, edited by Reeves, p. 118). Davys, in his *Abstract of Titles*, states that throughout the county of Coleraine, “the glebe lands found to belong to parsons and vicars do contain eighteen garden plots, or thereabouts.”

(33). *Monastery lands*.—Davys, in his *Abstract of Titles*, states that these lands “contain 22 balliboes, all of which have been brought into charge since his Majesty came to the Crown, and not before, and have been passed upon divers books of fee-farm to sundry servitors, 18 of which the late Earl of Tyrone purchased of Sir John Sydney, do now again come to the Crown by the last attainer of the said earl; the other four are parcel of the possessions of the abbey of Anagh, and are passed to Sir Toby Calfield.” “But four leases,” adds Chichester, “were made by the first purchasers before they were sold over to that earl, which are yet in being.”

(34). *Of Dublin*.—No part of these abbey lands was appropriated as here recommended.

(35). *At Lymevaddy*.—No such school was ever erected at this place; but a Free School was afterwards established at Derry, in 1616, the origin and history of which will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

(36). *Of the great*.—The work of planting this county of Coleraine was soon afterwards handed over to a company of Londoners, and was by them conducted on a plan differing in several respects from the arrangement recommended above. The plantation of Londonderry will be afterwards noticed in detail.

(37). *As aforesaid*.—There were corporate privileges afterwards granted to Lymevaddy, but not to Dungevin.

(38). *In Tyrone*.—Among the regulations affecting such natives as should be permitted to have any homes in Ulster, one was regarded by the settlers as indispensable, to wit, that they [the Irish] should be forced to give up their *creaghting*. In Chichester’s “notes” occurs the following passage in reference to this point:—“Both the one kind and the other [Irish of high and humble rank alike] are to be drawn from their course of running up and down the country with their cattle, which they term *creaghinge*, and are to settle themselves in towns and villages.” It is curious that the custom here so decidedly condemned exists among the Gael of Scotland even to the present time, although of course in a modified form. It is described as existing there even so lately as the year 1830, and it still probably holds its place as an important agricultural arrangement. “The principal farmers,” says an eye-witness, “who reside in the straths or valleys, along the banks of the streams, have extensive grazings in the mountains where the cattle are

There are in this County divers fishings, touching the Disposition whereof his Majesty's pleasure is to be known (39).

The Moiety of the fishing of the Ban, unto which Moiety, as likewise unto the other Moiety, the Assignees of Sir William Godolphin (40) make claim, by a Lease for 21 years, made the 42nd of Elizabeth, which Lease hath been in question, and allowed by the State in Ireland; and the Assignees of John Wakeman do claim the Fee-Simple thereof by Letters Patents dated the third Jacobi (41).

driven in summer. When the crop is sown and the peats cut, the guidwife and her maids, with some of the male part of the family, occasionally set out with the milch cows and goats, and take up their residence in the sheiling or airie, which is a hut or bothy, with one apartment, perhaps 12 feet square, for the purpose of eating and sleeping in, another of a similar size for the milk vessels; and, in general there is a small fold, to keep the calves apart from the cows. Here they employ themselves industriously in making butter and cheese, living on the produce of their flocks, some oatmeal, and a little whisky, contented, happy, and healthy, dancing to the pipes or the melody of their voices, and singing their old native songs, not only in the interval of work, but in milking their flocks, who listen with pleasure and attention to the music, particularly to an air appropriate to their occupation, of which the animals even evince a fondness. Here they remain for about six weeks, the men occasionally returning to the homestead to collect their peats, when the pastures becoming exhausted, they all return to the farm, leaving the young cattle and horses to roam at freedom among the hills, until the severity of the winter drives them home. The practice was to rear a calf for every two cows, and after the family were served with the produce of the dairy, there were 24 or 30 pounds of butter, and as much cheese, from each cow." See Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii., p. 61.

(39). *Is to be known*.—This was an interesting problem which many were anxious to have solved without delay. When Chichester was sending Ley and Davys to London, the 'notes of remembrance' with which he supplied them contains the following injunction relating to the fisheries in this county of Coleraine:—"They," Ley and Davys, "must remember to declare the fishings of the river of Loughfoyle, the Ban, and other places which are in this county, and what claims are made to them, that the Lords [the council in London] may truly understand the state of them, and therein declare their pleasures."

(40). *Godolphin*.—This Sir Wm. Godolphin belonged to an ancient and distinguished family in Cornwall, and he came to Ireland with Robert the Second Devereux Earl of Essex, remaining after the return of that unfortunate nobleman, and becoming a prominent actor in securing the Earl of Tyrone's surrender in 1602. On the 14th July, 42nd of Elizabeth [1600], "the whole water or river of the Banne" was demised to him, "with the fishing and taking of salmon and all other kinds of fish, for 21 years—rent 10*l*. And if it shall happen that he shall in any year peaceably, quietly, and without interruption enjoy the fishing and taking of salmon in the water of the

Banne, then he shall pay 40*l*." (See Morrin's *Calendar*, reign of Elizabeth, p. 562). Godolphin appears to have returned to England on the close of the war, and probably disposed of his interest in the Bann to Mountjoy.

(41). *Third Jacobi*.—The year 1605. At the Inquisition held in Lymavaddy, 1609, there was no mention of Godolphin's lease, but Davys states that all the temporal lands in the county were found vested in the King "except the moiety of the fishing of the Bann, first granted by his Majesty to John Wakeman and his heirs in fee simple, who sold it to James Hamilton of Bangor, who, at the request and in the presence of the Lord Deputy that now is, made an absolute contract with the Earl of Tyrone, to convey to the said earl the said fishing for 200*l*., which was afterwards payed by the earl; but it doth not appear that any conveyance was made of the fishing by Hamilton to the earl before his departure [flight], but the earl took the profits thereof after the contract; and it was found by office [of inquisition], in August, 1608, that the earl at his departure was seized of the moiety of the fishing as of an estate in fee, and that the said estate was come to the Crown again by the attainder of the said earl." Chichester refers to this matter more in detail, when writing to the council in London, in Oct., 1609. "The said Tyrone," says he, "pretended title to the moiety of the fishing of the Bann, and he finding his title not good in law, and hearing that the whole river of the Bann was passed in fee by virtue of the King's letter to one Wakeman, who was in trust for the late Earl of Devonshire [Mountjoy], Tyrone desired him [Chichester] to be a means to the said earl that he might have one half of it for 200*l*., in regard he had some claim to it. Wrote accordingly in his behalf to the Earl of Devonshire, who at that time, seemed to be willing, at his entreaty, that Tyrone should have it, but died before anything was effected. After his death the said Wakeman (with consent of the Earl of Devonshire's executors) sold that whole fishing, and the rest of Wakeman's grant, to James Hamilton, his Majesty's servant, with whom also at Tyrone's request he [Chichester] had speech about the same, and who was content that Tyrone should have it." This John Wakeman is described as "of Beckford, in the county of Gloucester, Esq.," and as receiving his grant of the Bann fishery "in consideration of a sum of money paid by him at the King's command to an old and well-deserving subject in Scotland." His grant included the entire river of the Bann in Ulster from the Rock or Salmon-leap to the high sea; and also the whole of the fishings, weares, soil, and bottom, within the banks of the said river, together with the Salmon-leaps and all the fishings thereof."

And the Lord Bishop of Derry claimeth one Day's fishing, viz., the second Monday after Midsummer Day in the river of the Bann, and likewise the fishing of the Wear [weir] of Ballinasse, which, notwithstanding, was granted to Thomas Ireland, and by him assigned to Thomas Philips, who is now in Possession thereof (42).

A small Salmon fishing in the river of Roe (43), which is now in his Majesty's Possession.

A small Salmon fishing in the Creek of Foughan (44), falling into Loughfoile, in his Majesty's Possession.

Certain small Pools for fishing in the South side of Loughfoile, in the King's Possession. But the Lord Bishop of Derry doth claim a Pool called Clonye (45).

THE COUNTY OF DONEGALL.

The County of Donegall, called Tyrconnell, is divided by certain parcels of Land called Quarters (46), which Quarters, because they are not equal in Quantity, some containing a greater number of Acres, and some less, we are to make our Division by Acres.

(42). *Possession thereof*.—This claim the bishop, after much trouble succeeded in establishing. The difficulty arose from the grant made to Hamilton as assignee of Thomas Ireland, a London merchant, in consideration of the sum of £1678 6s. 8d., payed by the latter to meet some royal difficulty. Ireland's, or James Hamilton's grant in his name, was obtained from the Crown in the year 1605, and included, with other "old eel weares upon the Band," that of Ballinasse, near Bushmills. Soon afterwards, Hamilton sold to Thomas Phillips the lands belonging to the priory of Coleraine with the rights of fishing in the Bann formerly enjoyed by that religious house, but which rights came to be the property of the bishoprick. Phillips resisted the bishop's claim for a time, but was compelled to surrender the right of fishing and the tithes of fish in the Bann, as belonging to the bishoprick of Derry.

(43). *River of Roe*.—This small fishing is still in operation at the mouth of that river, or about the middle of the eastern side of Lough Foyle.

(44). *Creek of Foughan*.—The fishing station is still preserved at this point also, where the river falls into Lough Foyle, near Culmore.

(45). *Clonye*.—All these rights of fishing and tithes of fish in the Foyle and the Bann, together with a portion of land containing about 1,500 acres, became the causes of periodical quarrels between the Irish Society and the successive bishops of Derry, down to the year 1704, when an act of parliament was required to allay "the great heats and animosities" thus stirred up "among several of the inhabitants, in the counties of Londonderry, Antrim, Tyrone, and Donegall." This act handed over the lands and fisheries in dispute to the Irish Society, in consideration of a yearly rent to be paid to the bishoprick of Derry. The several possessions thus transferred from the bishops to the Society are mentioned as follows:—"All those quarters or parcels of land called or known by the names of Termonbacco, Mollenam, Ballygan *alias* Ballygowan, Ballyworry *alias* Ballyoughry, Creevagh, and Killeigh

alias Killeagh—and sometimes known by the name of the fifteen hundred acres, and by some called or known by the name of Termonderry, being in the county of Londonderry, in the county of the city of Londonderry, or one of them; and also all that fishing called the Gull or Gutt, near Ballynass, together with the wear and mill of Ballynass, with the appurtenances, and the small piece of land thereunto adjoining, and heretofore enjoyed with the same, containing by estimation two acres and a half more or less; and also all the fishings and rights of fishing, and all manner of tithes of fishing belonging to the said bishop, or see of Derry, of what nature or kind soever in the rivers of Bann and Loughfoile within the county of Londonderry, or of or in any other rivers, waters, or fishing places within the said county of Londonderry, or in the counties of Antrim, Tyrone, or Donegall, and which have at any time heretofore been claimed or enjoyed by the bishops of the said see of Derry." The yearly rent of £250 was to be paid by the Society quarterly "at four most usual feasts of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Saint Michael the Archangel, the birth of our Lord God, and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary." This enactment effectually shut the prelates off from the Foyle and the Bann, thus very materially contributing to the peace of northern Ulster. See *Concise View of the Origin of the Irish Society*, edit. of 1832, pp. 191, 192.

(46). *Called Quarters*.—The quarter of land was the fourth part of a ballybetagh, and generally supposed to contain three balliboes, but as the latter varied so much in extent it would be difficult to fix precisely the size of the former. The quarter was generally estimated to contain about 240 acres Irish, but in Donegall it was probably more than this. There is preserved among the State papers an account in Irish—evidently very ancient—of the *Quarters* in Tyrconnell, which account Sir Francis Shaen, a hawk-eyed Irish servitor, discovered when prowling about that region after the flight of the earls. As the document is valuable and curious in a topographical point

The whole County doth contain 110,700 Acres (47), which will produce, according to the former Division, 87 Proportions, viz., 55 of the least, 13 of the middle sort, and 14 of the greatest, and 700 Acres over, to be added to some Parish; every of which Proportions is to make a Parish as aforesaid, wherein the several Incumbents are to have several glebes, and all the tithes and duties as aforesaid (48).

THE CHURCH'S PORTION.

1. Termon Lands do contain 9,168, which may be assigned to the Bishoprick as before (49).

of view, it is here submitted to the reader:—

"This is the number of Tuaths [districts] that are in Tircconnell.

"1. The tuath of Glen-Ela [now Elagh in Inishowen], in which are 30 quarters paying rent, and 13 free, according to the usage of the Clann-Dalaigh [the tribe name of the O'Donnells]. 2. Tuath-Bladhach [now Tuath-Doe, in the northern part of Kilmacrenan] containing the bally of Glenswilly, the bally of Cosh-Lennain, the bally of Derryora, the bally of Lough Veagh [in Glenveagh], the bally of the Croagh, and the two ballys of the Rossans. 3. The tuath of Tir-Enna [so called from Enna, the sixth son of Conall Gulban] from the streamlet of Tambafada unto Bel-atha-trona; 46 quarters [in Raphoe, and lying between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly]. 4. The tuath of Lagan [anciently *Mugh-Iotha*, 'the Plain of Ith,'] in which are 9 quarters and two score [or 49 quarters, comprised in the beautiful and fertile tract still known as the Lagan, in Raphoe]. 5. The tuath of Ardmire [or *Ard-Miathair*, extending from Tir-Enna westward to Glen-Finn] and Tir-Breassail [not yet identified, but designated by O'Dugan 'land of Fruit']; and a half tuath that is in each of them; 18 quarters in each division. 6. The tuath of Glenn-Finne. 7. The tuath of Boylagh [anciently known as Ainmrech, now comprised in the barony of Boylagh]. 8. The half tuath of Cloghaneely [adjoining tuath-Bladhach or Doe]. 9. The tuath of Kilmacrenan [lying along the western marge of Lough Swilly]. 10. The three tuaths that are in McSwine Fanad's country, and four quarters in Fanad [extending from the sea southward to Ramelton]. 11. Three tuaths also in McSwine na-Doe's country [now comprised in the northern part of Kilmacrennan]. 12. Thirty-seven quarters that are in the country of McSwine Bannagh [anciently Tir-Baghaine, extending from the river Eany to the river Dolhar]. 13. A tricha-ced [cantred] that is in O'Dogherty's country" [Inis-Eoghan, or Inishowen].

The tuaths of Glen-Finn and Boylagh above named, and the half tuath of Cloghaneely, are described as "subject to perpetual cuttings from O'Donnell's *locum tenens*," the chief himself being absent at the time the foregoing document was drawn up. The districts here mentioned as being so unfortunately placed were no doubt portions of the extensive waste lands belonging to the *Clann-Dalaigh*, or O'Donnells, where the chief had the privilege of settling his *fuidhir*, or 'stranger-tenants,'—to him a very important class. These were the outlaws or 'broken' men from other tribes who came to him for protection, and who were only connected with the *Clann-Dalaigh* by their dependence on the chief, being groups of men

collected from other territories and calling themselves tribesmen, but in reality associations formed by contract among themselves chiefly for the purpose of pasturing cattle. This comparatively despised class were exposed to the perpetual exactions or cuttings of the chief, when his necessities became pressing. Sir Henry Maine considers that these *fuidhirs* were the first tenants-at-will known in Ireland, and were always at least *rack-rentable* when circumstances required. They were not, however, in other respects oppressively treated by the chief on whose lands they took up their abode, for it was really his interest to encourage them, as by their willingness to pay and work, they generally became a principal source of his wealth. The regular tribe or clann regarded these *fuidhirs* with jealousy, their interests, as they believed, always suffering in proportion to the curtailment of such waste lands as had been used by themselves for purposes of pasture. See Sir Henry Maine's *Early History of Institutions*, pp. 93, 173, 175.

(47). *Acres*.—This number of acres was only an approach to the extent even of the arable lands in the 'whole country.' Donegal contains 1,193,443 acres, nearly 400,000 of which are arable at the present time, and certainly more than the half of this extent at the commencement of the seventeenth century. There are still about 770,000 acres uncultivated; much of this, however, consisting of muirland pasture.

(48). *As aforesaid*.—At the time Dr. Beaufort drew up his excellent *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, there were 42 parishes in the county, containing on an average 16,179 acres each—thirty of these parishes being in the diocese of Raphoe, eleven in that of Derry, and only one in the bishoprick of Clogher. (See p. 30). According to the census of 1831, the number of parishes has been considerably increased since Beaufort published his *Memoir*, the barony of Inishowen now containing 12 parishes and two extra-parochial districts; Raphoe, 11 whole parishes and parts of two other parishes; Tyrhugh, 4 whole parishes and parts of 4 other parishes; Bannagh, 7 whole parishes and part of another parish; Boylagh, 3 whole parishes and part of another parish; and Kilmacrenan, 12 whole parishes and part of another parish.

(49). *As before*.—Davys, in his *Abstract of Titles*, states that the herenagh and termon lands of this county contained "30 quarters, or thereabouts." Calculating the quarter at the usual extent of 240 acres, it would appear from this statement of Davys, that the termon and erenagh lands of Donegal comprised only 7,200 acres. But we have here a good proof that the quarter in that county must have been more than 240 acres. "Note of the

The Bishop's mensall Lands or Demesnes are three thousand six hundred and eighty [3,680] Acres (50). The Incumbents of 87 Parishes, according to the former division, may have 6,600 Acres (51).

The Monastery Lands are 9,224 Acres, which are almost all either granted in Fee-farm, or claimed by such as pretend title thereunto (52); but whatsoever shall remain to his Majesty the

Termon lands" preserved among the State papers, gives exactly the same number of acres for Tyrconnell or Donegal as the commissioners have here mentioned in their Project. These lands lay entirely in the baronies of Raphoe and Inishowen, and are recited in the grant to the Bishop of Derry in 1613, as follows:—"The termon or erenagh land of *Donoughmore*, containing 4 quarters in or near Clanfin, with the quarter of Bogan otherwise Tagheumrick; and two quarters of Clonlugh otherwise Clonleigh in or near Monganagh, with all the fishings belonging to the premises. The barony of *Inishowen* contained the following, viz., the termon or erenagh land of *Fathen*, Fanighan, or Faughen, containing 6 quarters, except the glebe of the rector and vicar, consisting of three gorts of land; the termon or erenagh land of *Desertaghy*, containing 2 quarters, except one gort of glebe land; the termon or erenagh land of *Cloncagh* and *Grillagh*, containing 6 quarters, except four gorts of glebe land; the termon or erenagh lands of *Cooladagh*, containing 3 quarters, except one gort of glebe; the termon or erenagh land of *Movilly*, containing 4 quarters, except three gorts of glebe; the termon or erenagh lands of *Donaghclantagh*, otherwise Carndonny, containing 3 quarters, except two gorts of glebe; the termon or erenagh lands of *Clonemany*, containing 3 quarters, except one quarter called Donally and six gorts of glebe; provided that this grant of *Clonemany* extend not to evacuate any grant made to Sir James Fullerton thereof, nor be prejudicial to the Lord Chichester, his assignee, nor evacuate any grant heretofore made to the said Lord Chichester of any parcel thereof." See *Patent Rolls*, p. 278.

(50). *Acres*.—Thus, with mensall lands and termon lands the bishops' portion in Donegal amounted to 12,848 acres, or, as stated in a "Note of the number of Acres allotted to the Bishops and Incumbents," 12,752. By an inquisition taken at Lifford, or the Liffer, in 1609, it was found that in Donegal the Bishop of Derry had 13 quarters of mensall lands, and the Bishop of Raphoe 23 quarters.

(51). *Acres*.—This is the exact quantity mentioned in the 'Note' above quoted, as having fallen to the lot of the Incumbents in Tyrconnell.

(52). *Thereunto*.—A large amount of those lands—at least 14 quarters—was granted to Auditor Gofton, and sold by him afterwards to Sir Henry Folliott. The grant conveyed to "Francis Gofton, Esq., auditor of the imposts, the late Bernardine abbey or monastery of Asheroe, the site, &c., thereof, one church and a steeple almost ruinous, a dormitory, four cottages with their backsides, and all other buildings, gardens, &c., in the said site; the towns and fields of Asheroe, containing 3 acres; 3 quarters of land; the 4th part and 8th part of a quarter; parcel and demesne of the said abbey, lying in or near

Asheroe, and divided into divers parcels called balliboes, each containing the 8th part of a quarter, and called Laghie, otherwise Lachinmore, and Lachinbegg, Behie, Ardgillev, Tollaghcorke, Laggedaghtoun, Crewtartan, Downeshenagh, Amnitalge, Kilcrehan, Ardpatin, Cashellilly, Tolloghmore, Ballinegiragh, Shrahan or Sooraen, Maseboy, Drum-Ikellyloghie, and Legaltin; Dacoocallowes, 2 balliboes; Crevemanagh, 3 balliboes; Cashil-lack, 2 balliboes; Drumnekelly, one and a half balliboe; Tawnagh-Irewe, half a balliboe; Towrehulty, half a balliboe; Cavan-Igier, half a balliboe; seven other quarters in the territory of Tirehugh, viz., Carewcashill, Garvanagh, Munterduyre, Carrowtubber, Carrowtielagh, Carrowcorlean, Knader, and Toughter; the quarter of Kilcarbery; the grange of Darriragh, in the territory of Tirbane, containing two balliboes; the grange of Tawneghtallon, in O'Boyle's country, containing one balliboe with the tithes; the grange near the monastery of Kilfoore, containing one quarter with the tithes; the rectory of Drumhinne, in the country of Tirehugh; twelve ruinous eel weirs upon the river Erne, between Lough Erne and Ballyshannon castle, the estate of the said abbey, with two loops upon the salmon-leap for taking salmon near the said castle, and liberty for two fishermen to take salmon in a place in the Erne-Water, called Asheroe, near Ballyshannon, every year; and the second draught from all fishers at Asheroe when they begin to fish; also liberty for one boat to fish from the island or rock to the sea, for salmon or other fish, yearly, within Ballyshannon bay, which are all free customs belonging of old to the said abbey; two third parts of all the tithes of Cashell-Moynterduyre; the 5 balliboes of Crewe; the quarter of Carshoe; the 6 balliboes of Ballymac-Iward; and the several quarters of Kildoney, Kilbanny, and Kilerumrie. Total rent, 8*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* Irish. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin in common soccage. 12 April, 6th [1608]. (See *Patent Rolls*, p. 129.) Of the abbey or monastery lands also in this county, Davys, in his *Abstract of Titles* makes the following statement—"The abbey of Kilmacrenan, containing 31 quarters, and some other parcels belonging to other small religious houses dissolved, containing five quarters, were granted in fee-farm to Sir James Fullerton by letters patent dated 11 October, 1^o Jacobi [1603], and by him conveyed over to Sir Ralph Bingley, who bargained and sold the same to the late Earl of Tyrconnell, by whose attainder the said lands are come again to the Crown. Albeit the said earl, by his feoffment, dated 20 Nov., 1606, did convey the said lands unto Nicholas Weston, which was made after the earl's treason committed. The possessions of the religious house called Kiladonnell, containing three quarters was passed in fee-farm to Captain Basil Brookes, whose estate is good in law, for aught appearing to me."

same to be allotted to the College of Dublin (53) to be passed in their Book as aforesaid.

There are besides three other Parcels of Land surveyed, which cannot be distributed to undertakers; one of them of 300 Acres allotted to the Fort of Culmore (54); another of 1,024 Acres called the Inche (55); passed in Fee-Farm to Sir Ralph Bingley; and 1,000 Acres allotted to Ballyshannon (56).

THE UNDERTAKERS' PORTION.

So as there remaineth to be allotted to Undertakers 79,704 Acres (57), which, being divided into the aforesaid Proportions, will make 62 of all kinds, viz., 40 of the least, 13 of the middle, and 9 of the greatest (58), which may be thus distributed.

Thirty-eight Proportions may be disposed to the English and Scottish, viz., 25 of the least, 8 of the middle sort, and 5 of the greatest (59).

Nine to Servitors, viz., 5 of the least, 2 of the middle, and 2 of the greatest.

Fifteen to Natives, viz., 10 of the smallest, 3 of the middle, and 2 of the greatest (60).

There resteth 2,204 Acres, which may be thus disposed to corporate Towns, which are to have reasonable Liberties, and send Burgesses to Parliament, and to hold their Lands as aforesaid, viz., to Derry 800 Acres, to Calbeg [Killybegs] 200 Acres, to Donegal 200 Acres, to Rath [Rathmullen] 200 Acres, to the Biffer ~~as~~ already assigned 500 Acres, and to Ballyshannon 1,000 (61).

(53). *Of Dublin*.—Trinity College, Dublin, got large grants of land in this county, which will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

(54). *Culmore*.—The lands adjoining this ancient military position had belonged to it from an early date, although some slight additions were made in this respect after it came under the English authorities. The fort was in possession of the Crown so early as 1556, as appears from a grant made in that year to Richard Bethell and William Piers, gent., of the forts at Culmore and Gerrickfergus, respectively. In this grant there is reference to the lands and hereditaments then belonging to Culmore. See *Memoir of Templemore Parish*, p. 237.

(55). *The Inche*.—See p. 62. Chichester had not been granted the barony of Inishowen when this 'Project' was drawn up, but he secured it very soon afterwards, and thus saved all others, whether commissioners, or servitors, or native claimants, any farther trouble. The island of Inch, represented as above to contain 1,024 acres, really contains 3,100 acres of the best land in the whole barony to which it belongs. It lies on the western side of Lough Swilly, being separated by a deep and narrow channel from Rathmullen. The land gradually slopes up from the shores, forming a sort of cone near the centre of the island, about 740 feet above the sea-level. This height is known appropriately as Inch Top. Off the northern side of the island, which is overlooked by a fortified and garrisoned position known as Down Fort, there is a good roadstead for vessels bound to Letterkenny and Ramelton, and close to the shore is a valuable oyster bed. The island is reached by various ferries from the mainland, the shortest of which connects with Quigley's Point, about a mile from Burnfoot bridge.

(56). *Ballyshannon*.—The snatching so large a slice as this from the Earl of Tirconnell, was one of the chief causes of his discontent, and eventual 'flight.'

(57). *79,704 Acres*.—When the actual planting came only 63,000 acres were found available for undertakers.

(58). *Of the greatest*.—There were only found 31 small proportions instead of 40; 9 middle proportions instead of 13; and 8 of the greatest instead of 9—when the undertakers took their places.

(59). *Of the greatest*.—The English and Scotch got 18 of the least, 6 of the middle, and 5 of the greatest.

(60). *Of the greatest*.—According to the above estimate, there were 24 proportions of all kinds for servitors and natives, but it turned out that for both these classes only 19 proportions could be found when the actual settling commenced.

(61). *Ballyshannon 1,000*.—At the time this 'Project' was drawn out, Derry was situate in the county of Tyrconnell or Donegal, but its surroundings were soon afterwards constituted the county of the city of Derry. To meet this arrangement, a small portion of O'Cahan's country, or county of Coleraine, was included, so that the county of the city was made to "extend three miles every way round about the said island" of the Derry, "three parts of which island," says Davys, "are compassed with the river of Lough Foyle, and the fourth part is divided from the country of Enishowen with a bog. The whole island of the Derry doth not contain by estimation above 200 English acres." But, irrespective of Derry, the corporate towns in Donegal were—Lifford, Ballyshannon, Donegal, Killybegs, and St. Johnston.

The residue, being 604 Acres, to be equally allotted towards the maintenance of the two Free Schools, the one at Derry, the other at Donegall (62), and that the Scite of the Monastery there be allotted to the Bishop of Raphoe for his Habitation, reserving convenient Rooms for the School and Schoolmaster (63).

The Natives to be disposed of as in Tyrone.

Fishings in this County in the Kings's Possession, touching the Disposition thereof his Majesty's Pleasure is to be Signified, viz., (64).

(62). *Donegall*.—No Free School was built at Donegal; but in the reign of Charles I., the funds or lands thus laid out for it, were used in founding a school at Raphoe, which was endowed with 2,305 acres of arable and pasture land, and 8,729 acres of mountain and bog.

(63). *Schoolmaster*.—This contemplated seizure and conversion of the old monastery into houses for protestant prelates and schoolmasters was a project of Montgomery, which no one else ever seems to have thought of. The commissioners here spoke as inspired by him, but the Bishop of Raphoe had his palace built at the town so called; and, as the school, which was intended for Donegal, was eventually fixed at Raphoe also, the old religious house at Donegal, originally founded by the beautiful and spirited Nuala O'Conner, in 1474, was permitted to crumble away in peace. The ruins may still be seen on the magnificent bay below the town, and consist now only of a number of small arches supported by pillars, and two narrow passages covered with stones, which are supposed to have been places for secreting valuable articles in times of rapine and war. It is curious that in the very year [1608], when this 'Project' was being drawn up for plantation purposes, an Irish Franciscan friar had returned from Louvain to visit the various monasteries of his order in Ireland, and to collect as much as possible of their history. This friar, whose name was Mooney, had been a sojourner in the monastery of Donegal during several years prior to 1601, and in his subsequent exile on the continent, he drew up an account of its vicissitudes. From his chronicle we quote the following passage, referring principally to the position of this religious house:—"The site, indeed, was happily chosen, and nothing could surpass the beauty of the prospect which it commanded. Hard by the windows of the refectory was the wharf, where foreign ships took in their cargoes of hides, fish, wool, and linen cloth; and there, too, came the galleons of Spain laden with wine and arms, in exchange for the merchandize which the lords of Tyrconnell sent annually to the Brabant marts, then the great emporiums for the north of Europe. In sooth it was a lovely spot, and sweetly suggestive of holy meditations. In the calm days of summer, when the broad expanse of the estuary lay still and unruffled, mirroring in its blue depths the overcanopying heaven, was it not a fair image of the unbroken tranquillity and peace to which the hearts of the recluses aspired? And in the gloomy winter nights, when the great crested waves rolled in majestic fury against the granite headlands, would not the driving storm, wreck, and unavailing cry of drowning mariners, remind the inmate of that monastery that he had chosen the safer part, by abandoning a world where the tempest of the passions wrecks

destruction far more appalling." The noble founder of this monastery, the lady Nuala, daughter of an O'Conner, prince of Offaly, (and wife of that Hugh O'Donnell, whom the Four Masters assert may "have been justly styled the Augustus of the North-West of Europe"), died before its completion, and was interred in a vault constructed under the grand altar (see p. 24). In 1566, Sir Henry Sydney visited the north, and among his reflections and suggestions, afterwards recorded of that journey, is the following:—"We left behind us a house of Observant Friars [Donegal] unspoiled or hurt, and with small cost fortifiable, much accommodated with the nearness of the water, and with fair groves, orchards, and gardens, which are about the same." In the library of this monastery was the famous *Liber Hymnorum*, which is believed to be over a thousand years old, and is a lasting monument, indeed, of the exquisite penmanship, and especially of the philological attainments of an Irish monk [Camin], who "more than eleven centuries ago in the little island of Iniscaltra on Lough Derg, was able to collate the vulgate with the Hebrew text, and enrich his work [copy] with a lucid interpretation of obscure words and passages." See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 5, 255.

(64). *Signified*.—The coasts and rivers of Tirconnell or Donegal, taken together, constitute one of the very best fishing-grounds in Europe. Such was their celebrity on this account in the olden time that the lords of Tirconnell were sometimes designated on the continent as the 'Kings of Fish!' The names of the fishing bays and creeks on the coasts of Donegal, in the seventeenth century, have since given place in many instances to others, but the creeks and bays remain, enlivening and enriching the whole sweep from Lough Foyle on the east to the river Bundroes on the west, which forms the boundary line between Ulster and Connaught. Who has not heard of the magnificent fishings of cod, turbot, and plaice, off Kinnego, Glenegad, Ross, Dunmore, Dunaff, Melmore, Fanat, Tillen, and Horn Head? Who has not heard of the productiveness of the Hempton and Otternainoile banks? The present well-known fishing places on the coasts of this county are Moville, Greencastle, Carrickarore, Port-Sallough, Ferry-Port, Port-Kinnegoe, Culdaff, Port-Ahack, Carrickavahl, Portmore, Port-Lorgan, Malin-Well, Shedin-Port, Linane, Mill River, Buncrana, Rathmullen, Doaghbeg, Crouis, Sheephaven, Dunfanaghy, Ardes, Portnablas, Ballynas, Tory Island, Innisbofin, Cruit, Guidore, Rutland, Iniscoo, Portnoo, Guibarra, Churchpool, Dauris, Tillen, Portnacross, Stonequarry, Trybane-Mucrossa, Toconey, Killybeggs, Trybane, Ballyotherland, Barnlacky, Inver, Brucklas, Burneronan, Cruvin, Ballyshannon, and Donegal,—besides others of less importance.

In the barony of Enishowen. Fishings of Salmon, Herring, and Ling—

1. Near Culmore.
2. Near Rinnacarronkill.
3. In the Bay of Cooledagh.
4. In the Bay of Bonecranagh.
5. In the Bay of Thebiggigh.
6. In Lough Swilly.
7. In the Creek of Newcastle [Greencastle].

To these the bishop of
Derry maketh claim.

In the barony of Kilmacrenan.

Fishing of Salmon, Herring, Ling, and other Sea Fish.

1. In the Creek of Sullaghmore.
2. In the Creek of Lonnán.
3. In the Creek of Moyrey.
4. In the Creek of Counagh-gerragh, alias Shepton.
5. In the Creek of Cownnekillibight.
6. In Lough Swillie, near Ramullin.
7. In the Bay of Dunsmaghie.
8. In the Bay of Cloydagh.

In the barony of Boyle and Bannagh. Fishing of Salmon and other Fish.

1. In the Bay of Owybarragh.
 2. In the Bay of Owen I Owy.
 3. In the Bay of Portynynichem.
 4. In the Bay of Inver.
 5. In the Haven of Callbegg.
 6. In the Bay of Tullen.
 7. In the Isles of Arran.
- To these the bishop of Derry maketh claim for a moiety.

In the barony of Tyrehugh. Fishing of Salmon.

1. In the river of Ballyshannon.
 2. In Bundroyse.
- In Lease to Sir Hen. Foliot.

In the barony of Raphoe.

Salmon Pooles between Liffer and Derry, on the West side of Lough Foyle, claimed by James Hamilton and others; but the bishop of Derry claimeth the Pooles of Clonbrey (65).

THE COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

The County of Fermanagh, commonly called MacGwyer's Country is divided into small Precincts called Tathes, every Tathe containing by estimation 30 Acres, or thereabouts, as it

(65). *Clonbrey*.—This is a misprint for Clonye, now Cloony. (See note 45, *supra*). It is on the opposite side to Derry. The jurors at Limevaddy, in 1609, found that the Primate "is seized in fee, in right of his archbishoprick, of and in the yearly rent of two markes sterling, issuing out of the herenagh land of Clonie, conteininge one quarter; and there is also the fishing of two small pooles to the said land belonging, all lying in the baronye of Annagh; and further, they say that the said herenagh land and fishinge of Clonie now is, and hath been in the possession of the bushopp of Derrie ever since the warres

of Shane O'Neile." In an Inquisition taken at Derry in the same year, it is stated that "the said land and fishinge were untill fiftie yeares sithence, or thereabouts, enjoyed by the sept Neale Portclony as inheritors, or dowsages of the said landes." The name of this pool or pools in Clonie was *Bunshanetin*, as appears from an Ulster Inquisition, (5), Jac. I., *Londonderry*. See Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Reeves, pp. 31, 32; Ulster Inquisitions, *Donegal*, Appendix; Montgomery's *Termon Lands*, as cited at p. 103.

is found by the Survey (66), and doth contain 1,070 Tathes, or 33,437½ Acres (67), besides 46 Islands, some of greater and some of lesser quantity; But what number of Acres the said Islands do contain is not set down in the survey, because the country did not present the same (68).

The said 1,070 Tathes, or 33,437 Acres and a half, do make 26 Proportions of all sorts, viz., of the least 16, of the middle 6, and of the greatest 4; and 14 Tathes, or 437½ acres over to be added to some Parish. In every of which Proportions there may be a Parish, the several Incumbents having Glebes, and other Duties, as is before set down (69).

FOR THE PORTION OF THE CHURCH.

1. The Termon Lands to be deducted out of the said number of 1,070 Tathes, do contain 100¾ Tathes, or 3,147½ Acres, which may be granted if it so please his Majesty to the Bishoprick (70).

(66). *Survey*.—The hasty survey of 1608 thus found the tate or tathe—however it happened—to be only half the extent assigned to it by the Irish, even down to the close of the sixteenth century. Referring to the land measures in this and a neighbouring county, Dr. Reeves says:—"Monaghan and Fermanagh, two contiguous counties, which have the lowest average, thereby denoting the minutest sub-division, were found at the close of the sixteenth century to consist of a certain number of ballybetaghs, each of which contained four quarters, and each quarter 4 tates—that is, in each ballybetagh 16 tates—a name peculiar to these two territories, the patrimonies respectively of MacMahon and Maguire. The tate was estimated at 60 acres native, and a sixteenth, instead of the more usual twelfth, was the unit; and this, continuing in local use, afterwards came to be stereotyped in these parts as a townland in the Ordnance Survey." See *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., p. 476.

(67). *Acres*.—This quantity falls very far below the real extent of Fermanagh, and can only approach the amount that was made available for plantation. The area of this county comprises 289,228 acres, of which there are at least 115,000 acres arable at the present time.

(68). *The same*.—The above is altogether a very unfaithful account of Fermanagh and its islands. Instead of 46 there are upwards of 200 well known islands, and smaller ones might be added so as to swell the number to more than 300. It is not likely the natives would willingly make any definite statements as to the extent of their many and dearly-cherished little island-homes on Lough Erne, thinking probably that the settlers might leave them undisturbed; but if they supposed so, they calculated entirely "without their host." It is pretty certain, however, that the planters themselves were not particularly anxious to reveal all at once the attractions of these lovely islands, else they could have easily made an approach at least to some statement of the lands contained therein, even as they had done in reference to the mainland. At all events, the lands available in the several islands for agricultural purposes comprise about 2,000 acres. Lough Erne consists strictly of two lakes, or rather two distinct and well-defined portions of the same, which are connected by a broad winding channel of about six miles in length. The upper or southern portion of

the lake is nine miles long, and from one and a-half to five in breadth; the lower, or northern portion, between Enniskillen and the sea, is about ten miles long, and varies in width from two to eight miles. But both portions are crowded with islands, many of which are large, well-wooded, and inhabited. The upper part, extending from Belturbet to Enniskillen, is so thickly studded with islands as to resemble rather a number of winding channels than a lough; whilst those in the lower part are not so numerous, but generally of greater individual extent. These islands offer the rarest attractions to the archaeologist, naturalist, botanist, and geologist. "The antiquary who would trace the history of his race through monuments which have descended to our time from the earliest period of society in Erin, shall have his attention drawn in numerous instances to the cairn, cromlech, and so-called druidical circle, to the pillar-stone, Tuatha-Danaan rath, and to the finest of all the Round Towers in Ireland. The geologist shall be introduced to caves . . . perhaps the most wonderful in the west of Europe;" whilst the naturalist will find that "the lake from its extent and innumerable fastnesses, may be considered a kind of paradise for birds of nearly all Irish species." See Wakeman's *Lough Erne*, Introduction, pp. iv., v., and p. 74 of the work.

(69). *Set down*.—There are only 18 parishes in Fermanagh, averaging, according to Dr. Beaufort, about 13,220 acres each. Of these 15 are in the diocese of Clogher, and the remaining three belong to that of Kilmore. See *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, pp. 32, 33.

(70). *Bishoprick*.—These lands in Fermanagh were designated in the Inquisition of September, 1609, taken 'at Eniskilline,' as follows:—"The herenagh land of *Maghericoolmanny*, containing 2 quarters and three acres of the new measure, making 4 quarters one acre and a half of the old measure; the herenagh land of *Ballionnel*, containing one tate of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Enismislaugh*, containing one quarter of land of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Boghac*, containing 2 quarters and 2 tates of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Devenish*, containing 4 quarters of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Ballihanny*, containing one quarter of the old measure; the herenagh land of *Moynyagh*, containing half a tate; the herenagh land of *Derrymoylan*, containing 4½ quarters

2. The Bishop's Mensall or Demesne Lands containeth 60 Acres.
3. Further, the Incumbents are to have 66 Tathes or 2,060 Acres for their Glebes (71).
4. The Monastery Lands contain 44 Tathes, or 1,375 Acres, passed already in Fee-Farm (72).

FOR THE UNDERTAKERS.

So there remain to be passed to the Undertakers 858 Tathes, or 27,795 Acres, which make 20 Proportions of all sorts, viz., of the least 13, of the middle 4, and of the greatest 3 (73).

The odd Tathes are 89, or 2,790 Acres; whereof 30 Tathes, or 937½ Acres, may be equally allotted to three Corporate Towns to be erected, one at Lisgool (74), another at Castleskagh (75),

of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Farrenarioght*, containing two tates; the herenagh land of *Derryvarusk*, containing one and a-half quarters of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Poble-Patrick*, containing one quarter; the herenagh land of *Aghiveghie*, containing one quarter of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Aghalurger*, containing 2 quarters and the fourth part of a tate of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Goaloane*, containing 7½ tates of the new measure; the herenagh land of *Drumulchy*, containing two tates; the herenagh land of *Clenys*, containing 2½ quarters new measure; the herenagh land of *Templemoilin*, containing 2 small tathes; the herenagh land of *Templeneferin*, containing one tate; the herenagh land of *Templemoyle*, containing half a tate; and the herenagh land of *Kilnallie*, containing 3 tates new measure." See Appendix to *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh.

(71). *For their Glebes*.—A 'Note' preserved among the State Papers, of the number of acres allotted to the bishops and incumbents, respectively, in Fermanagh, gives to the former 3,022 acres, and to the latter 1,920.

(72). *In Fee-Farm*.—These lands were granted to Sir Henry Brunckar, on the 12th of Nov., 1606. The grant conveyed the site and precinct of the late abbey of canons in Lisgoole, viz., an old church and church-yard situate on the south side of Lough Earne, 6 quarters containing 24 parcels of land called tathes, each tate containing about 30 acres country measure, with the tithes of the same and certain other liberties and customs to said abbey due and payable out of Ballinsaggart, and other lands, lying as well within [among the islands] as without said lake; also the site, &c., of the late abbey [priory] of St. Francis, situate near Lisgoole abbey, wherein are the old ruinous walls of a small church, a church-yard, certain gardens or tofts, and small closes containing 3 acres; also the site, &c., of the late priory of canons of Devenish, in which are the ruinous walls of an old church, one great structure annexed, covered with wooden tiles, under which long since was a cell, and upon the same are built certain chambers for the use of the inhabitants, and other small buildings, an orchard and small garden, with small closes there containing about 3 acres,—which abbey is situate in the island of Devenish; also a small cell or chapel called Collidea, belonging to the abbey, and possessing 3 tates of land. The whole island of Devenish contains about 30 acres, and belonged time immemorial to the prior and friars, but had been latterly claimed and occupied by Maguire, the lord of Fermanagh, as his right. See *Erck's Repertory*, p. 275.

(73). *The greatest 3*.—In consequence of a subsequent arrangement which thrust out Connor Roe Maguire from two baronies, the planters had a much larger extent in Fermanagh than they at first expected. Instead of the 20 proportions here originally set down in the 'Project,' there were 40 proportions available by their adopting the means now mentioned. Of these 40 proportions the English and Scotch got 5 great, 5 middle, and 16 small, whilst among the servitors and natives were distributed 2 great proportions and 12 small ones.

(74). *One at Lisgoole*.—This place was thus recommended as the site for a corporate town because it had specially attracted Chichester's attention during a visit which he had recently paid to that district. When writing to Salisbury on Sept., 12, 1606, the deputy referred to the locality in the following terms:—"He found this county divided with the river of Lough Erne, which runs in the midst thereof, over which there is seldom passage but by boat, which those people make only of a great oak hewn hollow, which they call 'cotts.' These are dangerous, and a great hindrance to the commerce in those parts. Upon this river [between Lough Erne and the sea] he observed two places fit to be made passages by bridge, the one at Ballyshannon near the castle, and the other at Lysgoole, which lies about the midst of the county. Wishes there were at this part some beginning of a town, which he would have built on both sides of the river, whereby the bridge would be defended, and the passage secured." Chichester, indeed, was so enamoured of the position at Lisgoole that he forthwith ordered houses to be built there for the accommodation of soldiers then stationed at Devenish, together with a gaol and sessions-house—the essential beginning of a settlers' town. He also proclaimed a weekly market there, and promised to have the forthcoming town blessed with corporate privileges even in its infancy. But Lisgabhal, corruptly Lisgoole, seems to have utterly declined even the blandishments of a lord deputy. No town ever grew there, and the name at this day is only associated—as it had been for very many centuries before—with a religious house, founded probably in the fifth century; re-built or repaired afterwards and constituted an abbey for canons regular of the order of St. Augustine in the year 1106; and renovated once more about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Augustinians then giving way before the more vigorous and faithful Franciscans.

(75). *Castleskagh*.—Neither did this place ever aspire to corporate honours. It had been a favourite locality of the Maguires who built a castle there at an early period,

and the third in the middle way between Lisgool and Ballyshannon, the place or seat of the Town to be chosen by the Commissioners (76). The towns to hold their Lands, and to have such Liberties as these formerly mentioned. Thirty-nine Tathes, or 1,228 Acres to the College of Dublin as aforesaid (77), and 20 Tathes, or 625 Acres, for the maintenance of a Free School to be erected at Lisgoole (78).

The Proportions in this County are to be distributed in this Manner:—

Connor Roe MacGuire (79) hath his Majesty's word for the whole barony of Magheri-Stephana, the whole barony of Clancally, the half barony of Tyrecannada, and the half barony of Knockniny (80), which contain 390 Tathes, or 12,287½, and do take up 5 of the least proportions, 2 of the middle, and 2 of the greatest, and are to be passed unto him according to his Majesty's royal Word (81).

but Connor Roe was compelled to abandon it in favour of a Scottish undertaker known as Lord Balfour of Burley.

(76). *Commissioners*.—The place chosen by the commissioners was Enniskillen, and this town was the only one in Fermanagh destined to enjoy corporate honours. In 1608, Chichester recommended this position in his 'Notes of remembrances,' and seems to have forgotten Lisgoole. His words are "Inishkellin is the fittest place, in his opinion, for the shire town, and to be made a corporation, which will require charge or forcement to bring men of wealth and substance to dwell there, in regard it is now altogether waste and desolate."

(77). *As aforesaid*.—Dublin College got extensive lands in Fermanagh, which will be noticed.

(78). *Lisgoole*.—The Free School, originally intended to be built here, was eventually placed at Portora in the vicinity of Enniskillen, and got a grant, to build and endow, of 2,160 acres.

(79). *Connor Roe Maguire*.—This chieftain, known as *Mag Uidhir Gallda*, or the 'English Maguire,' was son of Connor, son of Connor, son of Thomas, the progenitor also of Connor Roe's rival, Cuconnaght Maguire (see p. 61). This Connor Roe had offered himself twice as candidate for the chieftaincy of Fermanagh, but because of his English proclivities, was defeated both times, first by Sir Hugh Maguire, and secondly by Cuconnaght already named, who was a younger brother of Sir Hugh. Sir Hugh, who had married a daughter of the Earl of Tyrone, joined the latter against the English in 1596; and on his fall soon afterwards near Cork, the whole lands of Fermanagh were granted to his cousin Connor Roe, who fought on the side of the Government. The latter was induced, by the Lord Deputy Carew, to promise a surrender of this grant in order that a division of the estates in Fermanagh might be made between him and his cousin Cuconnaght, who was really the rightful heir to the whole. This division was nominally made.

(80). *Knockniny*.—According to the terms of division referred to in the preceding note, Cuconnaght got the castle of Enniskillen, the half barony of Coole, the barony of Lurgue, the barony of Magheriboy, the barony of Clinawley, and so much of the barony of Knockniny as lies on the south and west sides of Lough Erne, together with such islands in the Lough as belonged anciently to the divisions now named. Connor Roe got,

as his share, the portions mentioned as above in this project of the commissioners, his half of the barony of Knockniny being that part of it which is on the north side of Lough Erne. He also got, besides what is here mentioned in the project, such islands in Lough Erne as had belonged in former times to his several divisions. This arrangement between the rival chieftains in Fermanagh, although made by Carew, as deputy, and his council, was subsequently disapproved of by Chichester. When reporting his visit to Fermanagh in 1606, the latter notices the state of affairs there in the following terms:—"For in certain instructions, in the time of Sir George Carie's [Carew's] government, his highness [the King] signified his express pleasure that the whole country should be divided between those two chieftains, without further limitation; according to which, if it shall be settled, they [the government officials] can conceive little good hope that ever that country can come to civility and obedience, being left in a manner wholly to the self-willed government of those two chiefs." The problem which exercised the deputy in this matter, however, was soon at least partially solved, by the flight of Cuconnaght Maguire, with the two earls, in September, 1607. This young chief could not brook the insult and wrong, as he deemed it, of seeing Connor Roe set up by the government as his rival, and dividing with him in equal measure the lands which were his own rightful inheritance. The Four Masters describe Cuconnaght as "a rapid-marching adventurous man, endowed with wisdom and beauty of person." His "rapid-marching" soon came to an end, for he died of fever at Genoa, soon after his arrival on the continent. See p. 61.

(81). *Royal Word*.—Not exactly. When the planting, two years afterwards, began, Chichester found means to render this royal word all but nugatory. "Connor Roe," said the deputy, "expects to have three baronies, upon some promise made to him when the traitors Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and other Irish lords were restored to their grants; but a more prudent course being now in hand, sees not that the King is bound in honour to make so barbarous and unworthy a man greater than his neighbours, but rather, in true construction of State, to suppress him, for all his actions declare an ill mind, and is sure he will do much harm to the plantation, if he be made so great. The barony of Magheristephana will contain him

Howbeit, we think it convenient, that he do keep in his possession only one Great Proportion of 2,000 Acres, and do make Estates of Freehold in the rest in such manner as shall be prescribed unto him by the Commissioners, and that he do yield unto his Majesty such Rents, Risings out, and other Services, rateable for the three baronies, as he should have done by his former Letters Patent granted unto him of the whole country; which Letters Patent he hath promised to surrender (82).

The proportions remaining to be distributed are in number eleven (83), viz, 8 of the least, 2 of the middle, and one of the greatest, which may be allotted in this Manner, viz. :—

To Britains none.

To Servitors four, viz, 3 of the least and one of the middle.

To Natives seven, viz, 5 of the least, one of the middle, and one of the greatest (84).

and all his followers and goods that depend on him, and that quantity, in his [Chichester's] opinion, is rather too much than too little for him." This was strong language, especially when employed in reference to *Mag Uidhir Gallda*, 'the English Maguire', who, however, had, no doubt, become sulky, and in some small ways, troublesome, when he found how affairs were to be arranged in Fermanagh. The difficulty between Connor Roe and the deputy arose, very probably, from the fact that, although the latter had promised to surrender his patent for the whole 'country' of Fermanagh, granted to him by Queen Elizabeth, he delayed to do so, in the hope, no doubt, of being able to extort something like fair terms from the government.

(82). *To surrender*.—This statement of the commissioners, or project-makers, was inspired wholly by Chichester's suggestions or advice, as transmitted to them in his 'Notes of remembrances,' and had evidently been the cause of Connor Roe's 'barbarous' and 'unworthy' conduct. Chichester's truculent attack upon him at the eleventh hour is the more unjustifiable, seeing that in his 'Notes' some time previously, he had spoken of the Maguires' affairs in the following terms :—"Fermanagh cannot be divided by reason of Connor Roe Maguire, who has a patent of the whole country passed to him in the late Queen's time, but upon conference and advice had with him by the Deputy [Carew] and Council, for the settlement of his kinsman, Cow Connought [Cuconnaght] Maguire, and of that country, he [Connor Roe] was content to submit himself to their order for a new division, upon which three baronies of the seven were allotted unto him, the said Connor Roe, with a promise of letters patent for the same, which in his [Chichester's] opinion were meet to be passed unto him, with a clause to make freeholders of the natives of that county, and with reservation of rent to his Majesty. The other four baronies were intended for Cow Connought Maguire (see note *supra*), and are now in the hands of his brother, Bryan, but divers gentlemen inhabit thereupon, who claim a freehold in the lands they possess. It is to be considered and resolved by the Lords [the council in London], whether any part thereof shall be bestowed upon the pretenders to the freehold, or on the brethren and sept of Cow Connought, and namely on Tyrone's grandchild, son to Hugh Maguire slain in Munster.

Bryan is a proper and active young man, and has a younger brother. These will be stirring and keep out [become rebels], if they be not cared for, or restrained, and so will the freeholders with them, and the child when he comes to be a man."

(83). *Eleven*.—This was on the supposition that Connor Roe was to have three baronies and a half, with the islands thereto belonging.

(84). *The greatest*.—See the actual number of Proportions and their distribution explained in note 73. The settlement of this county appears to have been considered a peculiarly difficult affair, because of the two native chiefs having the lands divided between them. In the year 1606 a plan had been drawn up with the sanction of the government, by which it was believed the original mistake of granting the whole lands to the two Maguires might have been obviated. The plan was in substance as follows :—"1. In Fermanagh there are seven baronies. 2. In every barony there are seven ballybetaghs and a half. 3. In every ballybetagh there are four quarters of land, and consequently in the seven baronies there are 210 quarters. If then, upon every quarter of land a rent or composition of 40^s. sterling be reserved (whereof 26^s. 8^d. may be allowed to the chief lord and 13^s. 4^d. to the King), it will amount to 60^l. out of every barony, which makes 420^l. out of all the seven baronies. This rent being divided into three equal parts, there will arise 140^l. rents to each of the two chief lords, and 140^l. rent to the King. The chief lords, in ancient times, had a certain rent of 42 cows out of a barony, for Shane McHugh paid 21 cows for his half barony of Clanawley; and O'Flanigan paid 21 cows for the half barony of Turath [now included in Mageryboy barony]. So that 42 cows, being valued at 26^s. 8^d. a cow, are not a less burthen upon a barony than three score pounds. And yet if the chief lord gave 40^l. sterling out of a barony, he has a better revenue for his profit than when he had 42 cows. As for the King, his Majesty has reserved a rent of 120 beeves upon old Cuconnaght Maguire's patent out of the whole country, but now his Majesty shall have 140^l., which is no great increase. Touching the rent, a composition raised to the King, though it seem little, yet *pro rata*, it is greater than the composition of Connaught; for here the king has a mark out of a quarter, and in Connaught he has

Touching the Natives (85), who are not to be Freeholders, the Commissioners are to take such Order for the placing or transplanting of them, as for the Natives in Tyrone.

but 10s. Besides, the composition rent arising out of the lesser shires of the Pale, and in Munster, do not exceed this proportion, if we respect the quantity of land; but if we respect the ability of the inhabitants, this country [Fermanagh] bears a far greater burthen than they. The two chief lords may have demesnes allotted to them, viz., two demesnes to each of them, whereon they may be bound by a condition in their patents to build several castles. Cuconnaght may have four ballybetaghs [4,000 acres Irish] in demesne, paying a rent of 13s. 4d. out of every quarter, according to the rate imposed on the land in Monaghan; and Connor Roe may have three ballybetaghs, in demesne, paying the same rent. Of the 280l. rent reserved to the Lords, Cuconnaght may have 160l., and Connor Roe 120l. These demesnes and chief rents may be passed by letters patent into them, with such privileges as are contained in the patents of the chief lord in Monaghan. For the other inferior gentlemen and inhabitants this course may be taken,—Shane McHugh may have a patent for the half barony, rendering 40s. out of every quarter; and he may be bound to make such freeholds, or leaseholds, with such reservations as shall be thought fit. The like patents may be made to O'Flanigan, McManus, Bryan McThomas [Maguire], Bryan Oge Maguire, and some two other chief gentlemen as shall be thought meet." In a word, according to this plan, the two lords or chieftains were to have estates of 4,000 and 3,000 acres respectively, and small chiefries divided between them, and shared with the King, from the lands of the county. This would have been for them a reverse of fortune indeed. No wonder that Cuconnaght fled, and that Connor Roe became 'barbarous.'

(85). *Natives*.—The natives of Fermanagh were a peculiar people—being more distinctly formed into septs than the other populations of Ulster, and more devoted to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and gaining a knowledge of the Brehon laws than to the use of the pike and skein. Davys, referring to the fact that they were reputed "the worst swordmen of the North," accounts for it by falling in with the general belief that the men of Fermanagh were "rather inclined to be scholars or husbandmen than to be kerne or men of action." It was undoubtedly true that Sir Hugh Maguire, as Davys states, drew his soldiers from Connaught and Breifne O'Reilly [now Cavan], but compelled his own less warlike subjects to feed and equip them. By a survey made of Fermanagh in the summer of 1603, we learn the names of the septs into which the inhabitants were divided, and of the district which these septs or families severally occupied. Thus, in the barony of *Knockninny* were situated the Sleught [*Sliocht*, descendants] Gilpatrick Maguire, the Sleught McArt Maguire, the Clann-Corry, the Sleught Edmond Maguire, the Sleught Doon Maguire, the Clann-donnell O'Comenshee, up the Cooil by east of Lough Erne. The leading freeholders and families in the barony of *Magheralybeg* were the sept descended from Brian Maguire, the sept descended from Edmond Maguire, and the sept of the O'Flannigans. The principal freeholders and families in the barony of *Clinauley* were the sept descended from Tirlagh Maguire, the septs of Senawley,

Montery Doelan, Clancanan in Muintirflodoghan, and the sept descended from Donnell ballagh Maguire. In the barony of *Clankelly*, the chief freeholders and families were the sept descended from Donnell Calvagh Maguire, the sept known as the McDonnell or descendants of a chieftain called Donnell Maguire, and the sept McMulrony. The chief freeholders and families in the barony of *Magherastephana*, were the sept Connor Maguire, the sept Flahertie Maguire, the sept Brian Mac Connor Oge Maguire, the clan M[] Jinia, the Clann Gaffrey, the Clan Brian Maguire, and the clan McGill reogh. The barony of *Lurgue* contained, as chief freeholders and families, the sept Enyny Maguire, the sept McMuldoon O'Lurgue, the sept James Maguire, and the sept Rory Keogh in Collome Kearmony. The half barony of *Cooill* [to be distinguished from Cooilc, or Coolleneer, in Knockninny] contained the principal freeholders and families of Clan Art, the sept of old Tirlagh Maguire, the sept Carbery Maguire, and the sept Shane Maguire. The half barony of *Tyrannada* had, as chief families, the Shana Clancannada and the Muintir Koniffonda. (See *Ulster Inquisitions*, Preface, pp. xviii., xxxi.-xl.) When Chichester and his company visited Fermanagh in the autumn of 1606, they thoroughly ransacked the lands of these septs for their own objects. Of this process Davys has left the following record, in one of his many letters to Salisbury:—"For the several possessions of these lands, we took this course to find them out, and set them down: we called unto us the inhabitants of every barony severally, beginning with the parish of Magheralybeg, wherein we camped, and so calling one barony after another, we had present certain of the clerks or scholars [brehons] of the country, who knew all the septs and families, and all their branches, and the dignity of one sept above another, and what families or persons were chief of every sept, and who were next, and who were of a third rank, and so forth, till they descended to the most inferior man in all the baronies; moreover, they [the scholars] took it upon them to tell what quantities of land every man ought to have by the custom of the country, which is of the nature of gavelkind, whereby as their sept or families did multiply, the possessions have been from time to time divided and subdivided, and broken into so many small parcels as almost every acre of land hath a several owner, which termeth himself a lord, and his portion of land his country; notwithstanding McGuyre hath a chiefry over all the country, and some demesnes that did ever pass to him only who carried that title; so was there a chief of every sept, who had certain services, duties, or demesnes that ever passed to the tanist of that sept and never was subject to division. When this was understood, we first enquired whether one or more septs did possess the baronies, and also the names of the barony which we had in hand; that being set down, we took the names of the chief part of the sept or septs that did possess the baronies; and also the names of such as were second in them; and so of the others that were inferior unto them again, in rank and possessions." See *Historical Tracts*, pp. 258, 259.

THE COUNTY OF CAVAN.

The County of Cavan, commonly called O'Reylie's Country (86), is divided into Small Precincts [Parcels] of Land called Polls, every Poll containing 24 Acres by the Survey (87); whereof there are found in this County 1,620, which doth make 40,500 Acres (88). These Polls, after the Division formerly used, will make 32 Proportions, viz., of the least 20, of the middle 7, and of the greatest 5; and every of these proportions may be a parish (89), with Glebes and tithes to the Incumbent as in Tyrone.

FOR THE PORTION OF THE CHURCH.

1. The Termon lands (90) are 140 Polls, or 3,500 Acres, which his Majesty may dispose to the Bishoprick.

2. For the Incumbents' Glebes, 100 Polls, or 2,500 Acres (91).

(86). *O'Reylie's Country*.—At an early period the whole of that region now forming the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, was known as Breifne—more familiarly, the Brennie—the eastern portion [now Cavan] being called *Brennie O'Reilly*, and the western part [now Leitrim] *Brennie O'Rourke*. East Breifne, or Cavan, originally belonged to the province of Connaught, but so soon as the English were able to establish their sway north of the Pale, even partially, they discovered that the Cavan could be more easily managed if annexed to Ulster. About the year 1562, when the Lord Deputy Sussex reported on the state of Connaught, he referred to East Breifne as follows:—"O'Railie's country is taken to be within Connaught, but because it lieth fitter for another government [Ulster], and bordereth upon the English Pale, I leave it out of the government of Connaught." And left out of the western province Cavan thenceforth was, being regarded ever since as one of the counties of Ulster.

(87). *By the Survey*.—Referring to the land measures prevailing from time to time in this county of Cavan, Dr. Reeves states that "its first division was the ballybet, identical with the ballybetagh of other parts; of this the proximate species was the poll or pole, sixteen of which constituted the ballybet. Each poll contained two gallons, each gallon two pottles, descending even to a subdivision called pints. In most cases these fractional parts had peculiar names, some few of which may now exist in the townland nomenclature of the county; but the poll was practically the prevailing denomination, and to it, as the sixteenth, instead of the twelfth of a ballybetagh, we owe the numerical excess of townlands in this district. . . . The *Tate* or *Tathe* of Fermanagh and Monaghan, together with the *Poll*, the *Gallon*, the *Pottle*, and the *Pint* of Cavan, are all English terms, introduced by some unknown influence. To find names of liquid measures applied to land is strange; and still more so when it is remembered that they are English, and in such an un-English quarter as East Breifne. They had all become naturalised long before 1600, for we find, soon after that date, townland names into which these words enter in combination with Irish terms of qualification." (See *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., pp. 477, 484.) The introduction of these terms into Cavan may be accounted for by the early commercial

relations established between that district and the Pale, which relations were almost uninterrupted, notwithstanding the fierce raids occasionally made into each other's lands by the O'Reillys and the English.

(88). *40,500 Acres*.—This must be intended to designate, as in all the before-mentioned counties, the supposed extent of arable and undertakeable land alone, exclusive of all woods, bogs, mountains, and morasses; and exclusive also of such lands in the county as had not been forfeited. The whole lands of Cavan comprise 301,000 Irish acres, or 483,573 acres English measure.

(89). *A parish*.—There are 31 parishes in Cavan containing on an average 10,033 acres each. Of these parishes, one is in the diocese of Meath, 3 in the bishoprick of Ardagh, and the remaining 26 in Kilmore. —Beaufort's *Memoir*, p. 25.

(90). *Termon lands*.—Sir Gerrot [Gerald] Moore had got a grant of termon lands for the period of 21 years, from the 6th of March, 1605-6; but, as in other cases, they were recovered for the bishoprick, Moore getting compensation for his loss. His grant recites these lands in Cavan as follows:—"The termon or hospitall of Tomregin, conteynng 6 pulls [polls], or cartrons of land; the termon or hospitall of Clonosa, conteynng 2 pulls; Drumlane, 32 pulls; Annagha, one pull; Casheltera, 3½ pulls, and the ¼ part of a pull; Urney, 3 pulls; Killmore, 6 pulls; Dynn, 8 pulls; Tonaghmore, 3 pulls; Markhill, 2 pulls; Annaghgarve, ½ pull; Lawye, 2 pulls; Lerganboy, ½ a pull; Larra, 2 pulls; Magherinegresse, 1 pull; Dromegowne, 2 pulls; Knockabride, ½ pull; Kilcany, one pull; Inneskynn, 2 pulls; Moybolge, 3 pulls; Ramtavin, 2 pulls; Rathawna, one pull; Killene Keire, 2 pulls; Ballyclaryphilip, 3 pulls; Lorgan, 2 pulls; Castlerahine, 2 pulls; Crosserlogh, 4 pulls; Monterconaght, ½ a pull; Clonekiaghvoye, 4 pulls; Kilbride, ½ a pull; Ballymachugh, 3 acres; Kil-dromefarret, 8 pulls; Ballintemple, 2 pulls; Dromalane, one pull; Kildallane, 2 pulls; Skeanroe, one pull; Clonae, one acre arable; Kilfeart, 2 pulls; Templeporte, 4 pulls; Templedowne, one pull; and Killeynagh, one pull." See *Erck's Repertory*, pp. 232, 233.

(91). *Acres*.—The incumbents in county of Cavan got 2,340 acres.

3. The Monastery lands (92) contain 20 Polls, or 500 Acres.

THE UNDERTAKERS' PORTION.

So there remain to be distributed to Undertakers 1,360 Polls, or 34,000 Acres, which, being divided, as before, make 26 Proportions of all Sorts, viz., of the least 17, of the middle 5, and of the greatest 4, which may be divided among the Undertakers in this manner.

To English and Scottish, 6 proportions, viz., 3 of the least, 2 of the middle, and one of the greatest.

To Servitors, 6 proportions, viz., 3 of the least, 2 of the middle, and one of the greatest.

To Natives, 14, viz., 11 of the least, one of the middle, and 2 of the greatest (93).

There remain 60 Polls, or 1,500 Acres, of which 30 Polls, or 750 Acres, may be allotted to three Corporate Towns, viz., 10 Polls or 250 Acres to the Town of Cavan; so much more to Belturbet, and so much more to a third Town to be erected in or near the Midway between Kells and the Cavan, the Place or seat thereof to be chosen by the Commissioners (94).

Ten other Polls, or 250 Acres, may be laid to the Castle of Cavan (95), six Polls may be allotted to the Castle of Cloughouter (96); and the other fourteen Polls, or 346 acres, to the

(92). *Monastery lands.*—These lands, so scanty in Cavan, had been let in fee-farm to William Taaffe, Esq., on the 9th of , 1603-4. This grant conveyed "the site, circuit, &c., of the late monastery of canons, or of the Holy Trinity, of the island within Loughwoghter, with all its possessions; the site, circuit, &c., of the late monastery of canons of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Dromlaghan, with all its possessions, spiritual and temporal, situate in the Breny, county of Cavan; with all woods and tithes, reserving to the crown a total rent of 18*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.* English. These lands had been previously demised, 28th Elizabeth, to Sir Luke Dillon for 60 years, in reversion; after the expiration of a former lease made to Sir William O'Kerroll, 3rd August, 20th Elizabeth, for 21 years, at the rent of 6*l.* 15*s.* Irish.

(93). *The greatest.*—In a 'Note,' preserved among the State Papers, of the number of British undertakers for the county of Cavan, it is stated that "the English and Scottish have but six proportions, which, bordering on the Pale, will be easily undertaken. The English servitors [in Ireland] have also six proportions." But the English and Scotch eventually got no fewer than 17 proportions, viz., 6 of the greatest, 3 of the middle, and 8 of the small size. The servitors and natives got 2 of the greatest, 4 of the middle, and 12 of the small proportions.

(94). *Commissioners.*—The recommendations thus expressed by the authors of the Project were generally in accordance with Chichester's ideas as expressed in his 'Notes of remembrances,' as follows:—"The principal to be cared for is the town of Cavan, which wishes to be made a corporation, and a ballibeto of land (if it may be) to be laid unto it out of the barony of Cavan. The castle there to be likewise reserved, and the like allotment of land to be made for the maintenance thereof, and the same to be passed or given to some honest, trusty, and powerful man, who shall be able, with some small help from the King, to rebuild the castle and to stock and manure the land, whose residence there will greatly avail

the settlement of that county. Belturbet is likewise by situation a fit place to be strengthened with a ward or other residence of civil people and well-affected subjects, by reason it lies upon the head of Lough Earne. It has now but a small portion of land belonging to it, and therefore he desires that five or six poles more next adjoining be reserved and annexed thereunto, and that the same be disposed upon some honest and well-affected man as aforesaid, who, for a time, must be enabled, by a ward or other help from his Majesty, to manure and plant the same. Cloughouter is a place to be reserved and regarded for. From thence there is a passage by water to Belturbet, and from Belturbet to Belecke, near Ballyshannon; and, therefore, a like portion of land to be reserved as that of Belturbet. Wishes that the rest of the barony of Cavan may be disposed in demesne and chiefly to young Mulmorie O'Releye, the grandchild of Sir John O'Releye." The only towns made corporate in the county were Cavan and Belturbet.

(95). *Cavan.*—The castle at this place originally belonged to the O'Reillys, but not being required as a fort after the commencement of the plantation, it was permitted to fall into decay. When Chichester visited the place, in 1606, he reported that "in this county there is a poor town bearing the name of the Cavan, seated betwixt many small hills, but the barony in which it stands is named Loghtie [Loughtee], and the best in the county, being one of the four designed to Sir John O'Realey, and the fittest to be reserved in his Majesty's sole disposition for bringing it to a civil county." Although Sir John's son fell fighting for the government at the great battle of the Yellow Ford on the Blackwater, his grandson was removed from Loughtee to a less genial district to make way for British undertakers. See p. 60.

(96). *Cloughouter.*—The remains of this grim old castle, also built by the O'Reillys, are still to be seen. It was held as a fort by the government only until the plantation of the county of Cavan was completed. It

maintenance of a Free School (97) to be erected in the Cavan. Touching the Natives (98) who are not to be made Freeholders, they are to be placed within the County, or removed by order of the Commissioners.

COUNTY OF ARDMAGH.

The County of Ardmagh is divided by Ballyboes, but because the balliboes are not found to be of equal quantity or number of Acres, the Distribution of this County is to be made by Acres (99).

The whole County doth contain 77,800 Acres (100), which will make 61 Proportions, viz., of the least 38, of the middle sort 13, and of the greatest proportion 10, and thirty Acres over to be added to some Parish. In every of which Proportions there is to be a Parish, and an Incumbent, with Glebes and Tithes, *ut supra* (101).

FOR THE CHURCH.

1. Out of these to be deducted the Primate's share, which doth contain 2,400 Acres (102).

was afterwards in the possession of a family of the O'Reillys, and is associated with the name of Bishop Bedell, who was imprisoned there by the Irish, for a time, in 1641; and also with the name of Owen Roe O'Neill, who died there in 1649. His brother-in-law, Philip O'Reilly, occupied the castle in that year, but whether as his regular residence or only as a re-capture from the English, we cannot say.

(97). *Free School*.—To build and endow this school, a grant of 1,536 acres was originally made.

(98). *The Natives*.—These natives, who were very numerous in Cavan, became more troublesome to manage than the project-makers supposed. Their removal from Ulster could not even be attempted, and they claimed freeholds in the lands that had belonged time immemorial to their clan. In his 'Notes' sent to London, Chichester refers to the matter as follows:—"The Cavan is a spacious and large county, very populous, and the people hardy and warlike. The chief of them are the O'Realys, of which surname there are sundry septs, most of them cross and opposite one unto another. By the division and separation among themselves, the whole county, which heretofore made their dependency upon the chief of the sept, may, with the more facility and assurance, be divided into parcels, and disposed to several freeholders, who, depending immediately upon the King, will not fear or obey their neighbours [their former legitimate superiors], unless some one or two be made so powerful as to overtop and sway down the rest; and, therefore, care must be in the settlement of this country, that the greatest part of the people have their dependency immediately upon the King, and as little upon the Irish lords as may be without apparent hindrance to the plantation and settlement of that country." The deputy seems to relent a little in reference to the principal O'Reilly, named Mulmorie [the name is now Myles], who was likely to come to the wall in the scramble in consequence of so many natives urging their claims as freeholders, according to the deputy's account, but in reality because his patrimony was about to be handed over to

strangers. "They must note," says he, "that there are many freeholders, as they pretend, who will expect a good portion of that barony [Loghtee], besides that which is intended for the town, the castle, Cloughouter, and Belturbet; whereby it may be conceived that the head of the house will be left in a meaner state than one of the inferior freeholders, if other care be not taken for him; and, therefore, a consideration must be had upon the division how he may be relieved by allotting some portions of land unto him, out of the other baronies, or by reserving to him some chief rents from the freeholders, the rather because his father was slain in the late Queen's service, and because he is descended by the mother from the house of Ormonde." See p. 60.

(99). *By Acres*.—The land measure known as the balliboe (see pp. 92, 97) varied in size perhaps more than any of the others already named. In the county of Tyrone it was generally reckoned at 60 Irish acres, whilst in Armagh it was taken to contain nearly, if not altogether, double that amount.

(100). *Doth contain 77,800 Acres*.—This amount approaches somewhat nearer to the actual extent, than in the preceding cases, of the lands available for plantation purposes. Much of the county of Armagh was owned by earlier grantees, but after making due allowance for this, the acres now specified must still have been greatly below the actual number given away to the church and the undertakers. The whole county contains 328,076 acres, of which 265,243 acres are arable at the present time—at least the half of the latter extent being available for agricultural purposes when this Project was being framed.

(101). *Ut supra*.—There are 60 parishes, according to Beaufort, in this county, having an average of 5,800 acres each. Of these, 38 are in the diocese of Down, and 22 in the bishoprick of Dromore. See *Memoir*, p. 20.

(102). *Contain 2,400 Acres*.—The primate's possessions, which were eventually much more extensive in this county than here represented, consisted of the lordship of the city and manor of Armagh, together with the site and circuit, all the rights and appurtenances thereof, with all lands

2. For the Incumbents' Glebes, 4,650 Acres (103).
3. The Monastery Lands (104), already granted, 430 Acres.
4. The lands of the Fughes, already passed to Sir Tirlagh McHenry, contain 9,900 (105).
5. The Lands granted to Sir Henry Oge [O'Neill] contain 4,900 Acres (106).

THE UNDERTAKERS' PORTION.

So as after these Deductions made there remain for Undertakers 55,620, which make in all 42

and tenements within the lordship or manor, viz., Ardmagh, Ferrenmunterkellaghan, Knocke-Iamoyle, Dromagh, Cargagh, Imulcrany, Ballyhereden, Ferrenmekepholy, Adowne, Adyosport, Mullaneereany, Tiremorgane, Leggagiola, Towasnaroe, Tullynalecky, Ferrenneg, Colgan, Tyremony, Dromcarne, O'Bayrlea, Cleantie, Puvane, Tireherke, Tirenasagart, Tyregarnet, Tyrenacoillie, Tyrenaskewe, Mony-Icoymore, Mony-Icoybeg, Lurga-Iwalane, Tireohill, Ferrenecuggan, Aghelyoshean, Lyosconalta, Feran, Icayneaghan, Tollyasna, Ferrenmcenabb, Lettagh, Anaghriawoy, Aghonoclea, Ade-Iloy, Moyne-megadden, Cavanacha, Fryandromowry, Shroghanna, Pottay, Lamickoane, Lareagh, Aghoybby, Garryantayrn, Ballyray, Baharemyne, Aghewillin, Mollagh, Brolaghan, Cooleomayry, Tyrenegawen, Ferren-Icoffy, Brynane-lameKeylie, Maghern-Ikearney, Aghohirie, Shean, Tooleygeole, Ferrenokearan, Ballyard-Ifolloghan, Tullywoarye, Ballyra, Ballymcgillnora, Ferren-O'Coynan, Ballinehawna, and Tullogewy; with the customs and tolls of the fair and Market of Armagh." (See *Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 273). The grant to the Archbishop of Armagh, in 1614, included, in addition to the above lands, the territory of Clinawly, and the territory of Tynan, in the barony of Toughrany, now Tyrany; the territory of Coswey, the territory of Slutmelaghlen, and the territory of Doughmunterculen, in the barony of Armagh; the territory of Derribronchus, and the territory of Killmore, in the barony of Onealan; the territory of Ballemoir, and the territory of Bally-McOwen, in the barony of the Fewes; with extensive lands also in the barony of Orior. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

(103). *Acres*.—In the 'Note' preserved among the State Papers which records the number of acres allotted in this county to the Church, it is stated that the archbishop had 2,480 acres of desmesne lands, and that the incumbent got 4,650 acres. By an inquisition taken at Armagh, it was found that the archbishop was seized, in right of his bishoprick, of 26 towns, as mensal and demesne lands, and that he ought to have certain rents and other duties out of 160 towns more, which were termon lands lying in the several territories of the county—all which termon lands were afterwards granted to the archbishoprick in demesne.

(104). *Monastery lands*.—The framers of this 'Project' must have underrated the quantity of monastery lands in the county of Armagh, which certainly far exceeded the amount set down above, as appears from the several grants of these lands to three servitors, viz., to Sir Toby Caulfield, who got 20 balliboes; Marmaduke Whitechurch, who got 6 balliboes; and Sir Nicholas Bagenal, who got 7 towns in Onealan. Calculating the balliboe to contain 120 acres, these monastery lands must have

been very extensive. See *Erck's Repertory*, pp. 306, 415.

(105). *Contain 9,900 acres*.—The denominations on this estate were Glasdromanie, Dunrery, Bellinaghy, Corneonagh, Calderry, Drumbally, Gorantullinboy, Carnaley, Drumill *alias* Tullinavale, Dereey, Aghniniskyn, Tullyrallan, Ballynaris, Sermaclea, Sytrim, Culekernagh, Mesdagh, Claghogg, Croganduff, Clavenagh, Annamarra, Clounly, Killaghbane, Tire, Tulchard, Carliffe, Clare, Rakillane, Creakill, Crewkerrine, Cornacarry, Lissary, Mongillagh, Corkinmore, Meaghban, Leagh-scaidey, Glassdrumniaghy, Enaghgad, Carin, Drum-leckra, Crosse, Monnogg, Orcher, Drumuck, Drumack-vale, Drumbuy, Lisragh, Tullidonnell *alias* Ballaghmore, Legmolin, Imarycame, and Camoly. (See Russell's and Prendergasts' *Report on the Carte MSS.*, pp. 148, 149.) It would appear that Sir Tirlagh M'Henry O'Neill, the owner of this fine estate, was anxious to have more lands, and that Chichester would have been willing to gratify him, provided he could have got him removed from among the Fewes' woods and placed in some more exposed position where he could be more easily watched. In his Instructions to Sir Thomas Ridgeway when sending him to London in the January of 1609-10, the deputy refers to Sir Tirlagh's expressed wishes as follows:—"Sir Tyrilow McHenry O'Neale seeks to have the quantity of his land increased. He [Chichester] wishes they could remove him from the Fewes and settle him upon the plains; to which, if he assent, he hopes they may be authorised to give him some reasonable content; and otherwise, let him be hemmed up where he is." Sir Tirlagh found that he was about to be literally "hemmed up" by the British settlers, and not liking this prospect, he expressed a readiness to move rather than abide such arrangement; but eventually he preferred to remain when he found that he ran the risk—should he move at all—of being banished from his own county into Cavan. In the August of 1610, the deputy, in writing to the council in London, informed them "that as Sir Tirlagh McHenry seems willing to be removed out of the Fewes, a convenient place be provided for him at the Cavan, or elsewhere." As no later reference occurs to this matter in the State Papers, the Irish chief wisely concluded, no doubt, that he was safer among his own hills and woods than anywhere else. The first grant, however, he had received from the Crown in 1604 was useless, as the grant which had been made of the Fewes to Chatterton (see p. 64) had not then been cancelled. Sir Tirlagh was obliged to get a legal grant in the year 1611. See *Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 198.

(106). *Contain 4,900 acres*.—These lands lay along the southern bank of the Blackwater, opposite to Sir Henry Oge's 'country' in Tyrone.

Proportions, viz., of the least 27, of the middle sort 9, and of the greatest 6, which may be thus distributed, viz. :—

To the English and Scottish Undertakers, 28, viz., of the greatest 18, of the middle sort 6, and of the greatest 4.

To Servitors 6, viz., of the least 4, of the middle sort one, and one of the greatest.

To the Natives 8, viz., 5 of the least, 2 of the middle sort, and one of the greatest (107).

The odd Acres remaining are in Number 3,120, which may be thus divided, viz. :—

Twelve hundred Acres to four Corporate Towns or Burrows, which are to have Liberties, and hold their Lands, as before is expressed, viz., to Ardmagh 300 Acres, to Mountnorris 300 Acres, to Charlemount 300 Acres, and to a Corporate Town to be erected at Tanrygee, in O'Hanlon's Country, 300 Acres (108).

Of the rest, 1,200 Acres may be granted to the College in Dublin (109), and the residue being 720 Acres, to be allotted to the maintenance of a Free School to be erected at Ardmagh (110).

Touching the Natives (111), who shall not be Freeholders, they are to be placed or removed by order of the Commissioners, as in Tyrone.

The Escheated Lands in every of the said Counties, being thus divided and distributed, the Several Undertakers are to have such estates, and to yield such Rents and Services, and to observe such other Articles, as are lately published in Print by his Majesty's Command.

Lastly, for the Encouragement and Advancement of the Scholars of the College of Dublin, and to furnish the Churches of Ulster with sufficient Incumbents, we think it convenient, if it please his Majesty, that there be six Advowsons, in every County given to the College, viz., three of the best and three of the second value (112).

(107). *The greatest.*—Instead of 42, only 28 proportions could be found to distribute among all classes of undertakers, of which the English and Scotch got 5 of the greatest, 3 of the middle, and 8 of the small size; whilst the servitors and natives were left 2 of the greatest, 3 of the middle, and 7 small ones. In the 'Note,' preserved among the State papers, of the number of English undertakers intended for Armagh, it is stated, that in this county "the English and Scottish have allotted [to them] 28 proportions; 18 of the least, 6 of the middle, and 4 of the great; whereof the English are to have 14, viz., 9 of the least, 3 of the middle, and 2 of the great. The undertakers of this country may be for example: 1. Sir Maurice Berkely, of 3 small proportions; 2. Sir Richard Trevor, 3 small proportions; 3. Sir Arthur Bagenall, of Newry, 3 small proportions; 4. The King's Attorney-General of Ireland, 2 middle proportions; 5. Richard Hadsor, Counsellor-at-Law, one middle proportion; 6. The Lord Audelay, 2 great proportions." At the end of this 'Note,' it is added, "the list of names already made will fill up the number of sufficient undertakers, or if it shall come short now, before the middle of Easter term the number will be double, if his Lordship [Chichester] appoint commissioners to whom they shall repair—especially if he remit the *capite* tenure, and enlarge time for building."

(108). *Three hundred Acres.*—'Tanrygee,' now written Tanderagee, never actually aspired to corporate honours; the only places above-named which sent members to Parliament being Armagh and Charlemount.

(109). *Dublin.*—Trinity College obtained a large grant in this county, which will be noticed in detail hereafter.

(110). *At Ardmagh.*—The amount of this grant for a Free School will be referred to subsequently.

(111). *The Natives.*—The natives of all classes of the county of Armagh were more or less suspected and feared by the authorities; among those in the highest ranks were the O'Hanlons, nephews of the Earl of Tyrone; the sons of Art M'Baron and Sir Tyrlagh M'Henry O'Neill, who were also very closely related to that distinguished exile. All the swordmen and woodkern in Armagh were ready to do the bidding of the influential families now named, and the woodkern especially were numerous. The latter had been rendered desperate by the unwise policy adopted towards them at this time by Chichester, who would neither pardon them, nor permit them to leave the country, excepting such only as could bring him the heads of associates and kinsmen. When writing to the council in London on the 5th of Feb., 1608-9, he informed them that "the county of Armagh has made petition to him to pardon their woodkerne, or permit them to go beyond the sea." He would neither do the one or the other as he stated, except on the condition now mentioned. Chichester was soon forced by circumstances, however, to abandon this cruel policy, and as he could not even attempt the removal of 'the dangerous classes' from this county, he took pains afterwards to conciliate them.

(112). *Second value.*—The number and names of advowsons will be mentioned in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER IV.—DOUBTS AND DELAYS.

I.



IT so happened that during the winter of 1608, and far onward into the spring of 1609, there came a pause, if not a positive stand-still, in the plantation movement. The English servitors in Ireland, who were supposed to be most alive, because most deeply interested in the business, had, *apparently*, become not only apathetic but absolutely hostile to the scheme, as explained in certain passages, first, of the 'Orders and Conditions,' and secondly, of the 'Project' itself. The intending undertakers resident in England and Scotland did not so much object to the movement on the grounds taken up by the servitors, as because of certain alarming rumours then daily in circulation, to the effect that Ulster was soon to be invaded by the Earl of Tyrone, and that by the native population of this province he would be literally made as welcome as the flowers of the then approaching May. The sulky attitude of the servitors, when taken in connection with the fact that the hearts of the would-be British undertakers were beginning to "fail them for fear," soon communicated a paralysing influence even to such officials as had been hitherto accustomed to work on in faith and hope. At last, Chichester himself began to doubt how it was all to end. Indeed, the protracted absence of Davys, who had left Dublin about the middle of October (see p. 68), and remained all the winter in England, appears to have had a very discouraging influence, especially on the deputy. By the beginning of April, however, the attorney's work in connection with the general project was brought to a close; he had satisfactorily explained to the King and council, and expounded to the commissioners for Irish causes, every point in the great Ulster enterprise which had previously puzzled them.

Of course the London authorities were literally charmed with Davys; and, when sending him back to Dublin, they wrote to Chichester, on the 6th of April, saying, among other matters, that they "abstain dwelling on his [Davys's] services, because the King had done this in his particular letter. They would only say that in relating the affairs of the plantation, he had carried himself so as to merit their commendation both of his own services, and those of the council [in Dublin]." When Davys reached Chester on his way back, he found a letter from Chichester awaiting him; and this letter appears not only to have indicated uneasiness of mind on the part of the writer, but even to have troubled the hopeful attorney himself. Unfortunately, Chichester's letter is not forthcoming, but whatever may have been its precise import, Davys without delay enclosed it to Salisbury, with a communication from himself, dated April 28, and commencing as follows:—"Though at all times and places he [Davys] remembers his duty to his Lordship [Salisbury], yet he did not think to express the same by letters until he should have arrived in Ireland. Howbeit, when he met with this enclosed letter, directed to him by the Lord Deputy, thought it his duty to transmit it to his Lordship, because it contains sundry matters which he should have moved if he had been present, and should have obtained his Lordship's [Salisbury's] directions therein.

Touching the defects which the Lord Deputy notes in the printed project, if his Lordship [Chichester] had seen the Instructions which are to be annexed to the commission of plantation, he should find that such liberty is given to the commissioners, and so much is left to their discretion, that all those defects may easily be supplied." In a list of 'Instructions' which had been some time previously drawn up, and which is preserved among the State Papers, the discretionary powers given to commissioners were not, it would appear, sufficiently full, or well-defined; but in the commission soon afterwards granted by the King, this want, which constituted a positive defect in Chichester's eyes, was amply provided for.

On the arrival of Davys in Dublin, he did not permit much time to elapse before describing to his English patrons a more cheerful aspect of affairs in Ulster than the deputy's letters had led him to expect. He wrote to Salisbury on the 11th May, referring to this important theme in the very first sentence of his letter, and ascribing any trifling discontent that existed to the evil counsels of the priests. "Since his return into this kingdom," he says, "the 5th of this month, has heard of no new accident here of any note or importance. Found the Term begun, and the town [Dublin] full of people, which concur [come together] out of all the parts of this kingdom hither, rather to hear news than to prosecute suits in laws; whereof the courts of justice are almost empty, by reason that the priests, who now swarm in this realm more than ever, by spreading rumours of war and troubles, make the people believe that the times are very doubtful, though otherwise there was never a more universal inward peace than now." Davys was thus literally saying 'peace' when there was no peace, except that produced by weakness and dismay on the part of the hapless natives. They had heard (in addition to their many sorrows) from this 'Project,' and other sources, of the small shreds and patches of land that were to be given back, and only to a few, compared with those who had been led by promises to expect a more liberal return for their services during O'Dogherty's revolt. The deputy had been feeling very much disquieted on account of this niggardly treatment of the 'loyal' natives which might, as he said, have the effect of bringing on a new struggle in Ulster.

But another cause of discouragement and distraction among the authorities, on both sides of the channel, was the discovery that the survey made in the preceding autumn was altogether unreliable, and would have misled the commissioners appointed to mark off the several proportions according to the required bounds and limits. This discovery had the effect of suspending active operations, and of calling up a chorus of grumblings and recriminations. There was nothing for it, however, but that a new commission of survey must traverse the whole ground again more cautiously, and with a better knowledge of the points specially requiring elucidation. Accordingly, when the first flush of surprise and disappointment had passed off, the King, who now became thoroughly aroused, may be said to have led on his myrmidons in person against the green fields and rich fishings of Ulster. In other words, his Majesty set all heads and hands to work once more, by the issue of a new commission, and an urgent appeal to Chichester to go ahead, if it were only for appearance sake in the eyes of other countries, who were now looking on! The following is the substance of this appeal on the part of the King—issued of course in the form of a command

—which is dated the last day of June, 1609, but not received, with its accompanying documents, until late in the month of July :—“We intend nothing with greater earnestness than that the plantation of Ulster, now in hand, with civil men, and men well-affected in religion, should be accomplished ; but finding that this business, which he [the King] had once intended should both have been begun and finished this summer [1609], will require longer consideration, he intends for the present only those things which may make a due preparation for a solid plantation thereafter. And that this may more effectually proceed (which so concerneth our honour and service, both in respect that foreign estates do cast their eyes upon it, and the ill-affected at home and abroad [*i.e.*, those to whom the lands had belonged], will be ready to take advantage of any thing omitted, or neglected therein), our will and pleasure, therefore, is that, with the aid of so many of the Privy Council as can best give him [Chichester] assistance, he shall have a commission prepared, authorising them to inquire of all the lands that are, or ought to be, in the King's possession by forfeiture, escheat, or any other means, within the counties of Ardmagh, Coleraine, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan ; and to survey the same ; and to plot out and divide the lands into proportions, according to the project and certain articles of instruction, both of which he [Chichester] will receive herewith, signed by his Majesty's hand ; and to hear and determine all questions of the said lands. For which we will and require that one commission or more as you may find necessary, shall be passed under our great seal and that of our realm, not only to authorise and enable you and them to execute the several points before specified, but also because many things may occur, that, in your and their knowledge, may be thought fit to be added, which to us do not yet appear ; and to grant full power and authority to you and them to execute all acts and things for the furtherance and speeding of the said plantation. And we confide in your integrity not to allow any private ends, or [the private ends] of any of the commissioners to prevail, so that the plantation should be hindered or prevented ; and you are required to send over transcripts of your proceedings, under the Great Seal, to be considered by the Privy Council in England.

“Westminster, 30 June, 1609.”

This new commission was not issued until the 19th of July, but in the interval, Chichester, writing to the council in London, on the 4th of the month, informs them that he had “expected with the coming over of the chief baron [Sir John Denham], and the master of the Ordnance [Sir Oliver St. John], or one of them, to have received commission to go into Ulster this summer, about the settlement of some parts thereof, at least, or else to put it in some forwardness. The year is already far spent, and the winter will grow on very early in those parts ; and withal some necessary preparations are to be made beforehand, besides the drawing together of some convenient forces to attend the commissioners ; howsoever, in order that there may be no obstacle for that, if he, or other commissioners less chargeable to the King, shall yet be required to go thither in any due time, he has provided sufficient store of bread to be sent before them to the Newrie, which, if the journey be put off, may be otherwise expended among the garrisons, without extraordinary charge to his Majesty.” We have here a good illustration of the forethought and

perseverance with which the deputy generally moved forward with his work, even whilst some others, almost equally concerned, looked idly on. One other at least was also busy at this crisis, for, whilst Chichester gave himself up mainly for a time to the collection of soldiers and the accumulation of breadstuffs at the Newrie, Davys engaged heart and hand in the drawing out of the commission, writing letters, receiving instructions from London, and making other preliminary arrangements for this new, and perhaps most important of all their many excursions to the North. The other officials caught up, more or less quickly, something of Davys's enthusiasm. The latter wrote to Salisbury, on the 20th of July, as follows:—"By the last dispatch received a letter wherein, to his comfort and encouragement, he found the continuance of his lordship's favour towards him, which he will ever study to preserve. This dispatch has given new life to the hope they had of the plantation, which had begun to languish, when they saw the year so far spent before any directions came for that business; but now they are glad to see every man so cheerful and ready to undertake the journey, as they hope it presages a fortunate success. The chief justice [now Sir Humphey Winche] and himself [Davys] were appointed justices of Assize for the shires of Low Lynster; but these new directions have diverted their course from thence into Ulster."

It thus appears that, when Chichester wrote his letter about the probability of requiring supplies to be placed at Newry, he had not heard of the grand move in the highest quarters and among the authorities in London. On receiving the King's letter, however, which came almost in time to be too late, nothing was thought of in Dublin Castle but this new journey to and through Ulster; and no questions were, for the time, so generally or warmly discussed among high officials as certain points which had been comparatively overlooked, or quite neglected, during their excursion of the preceding autumn. They, now, were about to set forth for the purposes of clearing more distinctly the King's title to the escheated lands, of establishing more exactly the boundaries between the possessions of the Church and the Crown, of drawing out a more exact chorographical survey of the several forfeited territories, and last, though not least, of marking off the proportions throughout the whole vast extent of the counties they were about to traverse. One point they were specially required by the King to make clear, namely, to establish by careful investigation throughout the several districts, the real ownership of the herenagh and termon lands, about which a somewhat bitter controversy had arisen between the bishops and the Crown lawyers. There had been already, it is true, a distinct expression of opinion by the latter, which went to show that the lands had never belonged to the bishops in demesne, and must, therefore, be taken as vested, by their forfeiture, in the King. Under ordinary circumstances, this decision would have settled the question, but the northern province was then in a state of utter disorganisation, and nothing short of the most radical changes could satisfy the revolutionists in Church and State. These revolutionists, lay and clerical, were quite agreed in the opinion that the lands in dispute should be taken from their former owners, but whilst agreeing in this they differed *in toto* as to whom, or what party, these lands ought to be given. Bishop Montgomery made a formal complaint to the King that the commissioners of the former year had decided this question hastily against the Church, broadly asserting that such decision was made because he had not been put

upon the commission. Although the King had already determined to surrender the herenagh and termon lands for the exclusive benefit of the Church, he, nevertheless, wished to be put first into the position of undisputed owner thereof, in order that the prelates might know distinctly to whom they must feel indebted for the munificent gift, and for the further purpose, that he might be able to impose upon them the usual conditions of plantation in the management of these extensive estates. To prevent similar complaints against the commission now about to be issued, the primate, and the northern bishops concerned, were appointed commissioners. In the letter of Davys to Salisbury last quoted, the writer refers to this matter as follows :—"He [Davys] has opportunity to send a copy of their commission for the plantation, because in the draft of it the *onus laboris* was imposed upon him. Conjectures my Lord Deputy named so many commissioners in order to take away occasion of emulation among the Privy Councillors, which might arise if some were named and others omitted. Confesses, however, that he himself [Davys] was an earnest suitor that all the bishops of the north might be put in this commission, because the omitting of one bishop the last year, though he was present when the inquisition was taken, and showed all his title, and opposed against the King's title more than he could have done if he had been a commissioner, gave him [Bishop Montgomery] some colour to complain, whereby he gained all the Termon land. If there had been fewer commissioners appointed now, perhaps the service would have been performed as soon as now it will be ; for he thinks that prince wished well and wisely for himself, who said 'give me a thousand hands to defend me, but only two or three heads to counsel me.'" Montgomery's complaint is also referred to by Chichester in the following terms, when writing to Salisbury on the 17th of April, 1609 :—"They want the presence of the Lord Bishop of Derry, who, for what he hears, is not yet arrived. The Bishop's absence made him send for the Lord Chancellor, albeit he was not well able to take these travels upon him. Confesses that the Lord Bishop of Derry's complaints, grounded upon imagination, from which no public officer or minister can be free, if he please not all times, have in some kind made him [the chancellor] more wary, but can never make him more honest in his proceedings than he has been towards his Majesty, the church, himself, and the commonwealth."

II.

Of this celebrated commission, a copy, dated July 19, is preserved among the Irish State Papers. The copy here submitted, with its accompanying articles of 'Instruction,' is that which was found by Harris in the Rolls office, Dublin, and printed by him, among other papers on Irish history, in the year 1770. (See the *Hibernica*, pp. 131-138). The commission and the Instructions we quote *in extenso*, because of their importance as part and parcel of the plantation story. These documents, in their clear and yet minute description of the objects to be kept in view by the commissioners, are worthy of the genius of Davys, who was mainly concerned in their preparation. They are as follow :—A Commission to inquire into the King's Title to the several escheated and forfeited Lands in Ulster, in the several Countys of Armagh, Tyrone, Colerain, Donegall, Fermanagh, and Cavan, in order to the Plantation there ; with Articles and Instructions annexed.

James, &c., to our right trusty and well-beloved Sir Arthur Chichester, Knight, our Deputy of our Realm of Ireland; Thomas [Jones] archbishop of Dublin, our chancellor, in our said Realm; Henry [Ussher] archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland; George [Montgomery] bishop of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe; Robert [Draper] bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh; Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Knight, our Vice-Treasurer, and Treasurer at Wars in our said Realm; Sir Richard Wingfield, Knight, our Marshal of our Army there; Sir Humphrey Winche, Knight, chief justice of our chief Place in our said Realm; Sir John Denham, Knight, chief Baron of our Exchequer; the Master of our Rolls in our Chancery of the said Realm for the time being; Sir Oliver St. John, Knight, Master of our Ordnance in our said Realm; Sir Oliver Lambert, Knight, one of our Privy Council in our said Realm; Sir Henry Power, Knight, one other of our Privy Council; Sir Gerald Moore, Knight, one other of our said Privy Council; Sir Richard Cooke, Knight, our Principal Secretary in our said Realm; Sir John Davys, Knight, our Attorney in our said Realm; William Parsons, Esq., Surveyor General of our Possessions in our said Realm; and George Sexton, Esq., our Escheator within our Province of Ulster, greeting.

Whereas great scopes and extent of Land in the several Counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Colraigne, Donegall, Fermanagh and Cavan, within our Province of Ulster, are escheated and come to our hands by the Attainder of sundry Traitors and Rebels, and by other just and lawful Titles, whereof we have caused heretofore several Inquisitions to be taken, and Surveys to be made, which being transmitted and presented unto us, we considered with our Privy Council attending our Person, how much it would advance the welfare of that Kingdom if the said Lands were planted with Colonies of civil Men, and well-affected in Religion; whereupon there was a Project conceived for the division of the said Lands into Proportions, (see chap. III.) and for the Distribution of the same unto Undertakers, together with certain articles of Instruction for such as should be appointed Commissioners for the Plantation; which Project and Articles, signed with our own Hand, we have lately transmitted unto you our Deputy. And whereas, we are informed that in the Inquisitions and Surveys formerly taken, there have been some Omissions, as well of the ecclesiastical Lands claimed by the several Bishops, within whose Dioceses the said escheated Lands do lie, as of the Lands merely Temporal, which might the more easily happen, by reason that the Quantity and Measures of Lands in those Countries which were not in former Times governed by the English Laws, were unknown to our officers and Ministers there (1); as also because the said Service of Enquiry and Survey

(1). *Ministers there.*—These were not sufficient reasons to account for such serious inaccuracies as appeared in the results of the former survey; for although the land-measures above-named varied in different districts, yet the extent of land included by any one of them in the same district was clearly understood by the Irish, and might have been as clearly ascertained by the English surveyors. But the causes, (whatever they may have been), which produced such deceptive admeasurements during the northern excursion of 1608, had not ceased to operate when the same work was to be repeated in 1609. The commissioners in the interval had not probably made themselves better acquainted with the subject of Irish land measures; although they were now required to

hold assizes, the work therein was lighter than in 1608; but their time was too limited, and the 'hot' haste with which they had to do their work proved fatal, among other causes, to its accuracy in 1609 also. Such leading English servitors as were to have grants of lands in Ulster, were incessantly urging the importance of despatch in actually beginning to plant. Some urged this on the grounds that, should the Earl of Tyrone return as was expected, the prior arrival of English and Scottish undertakers would be most serviceable in assisting the Government to sustain the first shock of the revolt that would then necessarily ensue; others urged haste on the more practical grounds that, should the escheated lands not be surveyed and occupied at once by the grantees and their

was mixed with other Services [which was also the case in 1609], namely, with Gaol Deliveries and other Execution of publick Justice, and with the Prosecution of such as were in open Action of Rebellion, *know ye*, that we, reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Wisdom, Diligence, and Sincerity, have by the Advice and Consent of you, our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, Sir Arthur Chichester, Knight, our Deputy General of our said Realm of Ireland, made, constituted, ordained, and appointed you, or any five or more of you (whereof our said Deputy shall be always one), to be our Commissioners, and we do hereby give unto you, or any five or more of you, full Power and Authority to enquire as well by the oaths of good and lawful men, as by all such other good ways and Means, as to you shall seem fit and convenient, what Castles, Manors, Lordships, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Services, Customs, Duties, Fishings, Advowsons, or other Hereditaments, whatsoever, situate, lying, and being in the several Counties of Armagh, Colrairie, Tyrone, Donegall, Fermanagh, and Cavan, or either of them, are escheated and come, or ought to come, or ought to be escheated and come to our Hands and Possession, or to the Hands and Possession of any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, Kings or Queens of England, by virtue of any Act or Acts of Parliament, by attainder of any Person or Persons, by Breach of any Condition or Conditions contained in any Letters Patent, by escheat, forfeiture, or any other Ways or Means whatsoever; and to make an exact Survey of the said Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and of every Part thereof, by the Numbers of Ballybetaghs, Ballyboes, Polls, Tathes, Acres, or other Measures and Quantities of Land used and known in the said several Counties; and after Inquisition and Survey thereof, as aforesaid, to plot and divide the said Lands into several Parishes, Precincts, and Proportions, and to distinguish the same by particular Names, Meares, and Bounds, according to the Tenor and Intent of the said Project (see chap. III.) and Articles of Instruction hereunto annexed; and further, to perform and execute all and every Act and Acts, thing and things, whatsoever, contained and prescribed in and by the said Project and Articles.

And we do further, by and with the consent aforesaid, give unto you, or any five or more of you, aforesaid, full power and authority to hear and determine all Titles, Controversies, and Matters whatsoever, which shall arise, and be moved or pretended as well between us and our subjects, as between Party and Party, concerning the said Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, or any Part thereof (the Church Lands only excepted), which, nevertheless, you shall also have the Power to order and decree, as aforesaid, so as it be done with the Consent of our Deputy, and of you the archbishop of Dublin, our Chancellor, and of you Henry archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, and of you, George bishop of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe.

And, lastly, we do hereby give you, or any five or more of you, full Power and Authority to do and execute all and every Act or Acts, thing or things, whatsoever, which you, or any five or more of you, shall, in your Discretion, think pertinent and convenient for and towards the Perpetration, Furtherance, or finishing of the said Plantation, willing and commanding you, and every of you, to give diligent Attendance, and to use your best endeavour in the execution of the Premises, as

tenants, they must soon be overrun again by the native Irish, to whom they originally belonged. Anxiety on the part of the planters to avert these contingent troubles so

pressed upon the commissioners the necessity of urgency and haste, that the second survey turned out to be almost as defective as the first.

becometh ; and what you, or any five or more of you, shall do herein, the same to certify us in our High Court of Chancery in our said Realm of Ireland, before Hallowmas next ensuing the date hereof. 21 July, 1609.

ARTICLES for Instruction to Commissioners for the Plantation of Ulster (2).

1. That a general care be taken that such Orders, Conditions, and Articles, as have been lately published in Print, or are to be printed or transmitted, touching the Plantation, be observed, and put in execution, as well by the Commissioners, as by the Undertakers.

2. That the said Commissioners be ready to begin their Journey into our Province of Ulster, for the execution of their commission before the end of July next, or sooner if it may be (3).

3. The Omissions and Defects of the former Survey of the escheated Lands in Ulster, either for us or the Church, are to be supplied and amended by new Inquisitions, and the ecclesiastical lands to be distinguished from the Lands belonging to the Crown (4).

4. The Countys being divided into several Proportions, every Proportion is to be divided out by the known Metts [mears] and Names, with the particular mention both of the Number and Name of every Ballyboe, Tath, Polle, Quarter, or the like Irish Precinct of Land, that is contained in every Portion, and to give each Portion a proper Name, to be known by, and in the Proportions lying near to the Highways, choice is to be made for the most fit seat for Undertakers to build

(2). *Of Ulster.*—This set of instructions was prepared towards the end of June, but there had been an earlier set drawn up about the middle of the preceding March. The latter contained 22 articles and has been preserved in vol. 226 of the Irish State Papers. The set really sent with and appended to the above commission aims at being a simpler form of the 'Instructions,' containing three articles less than its precursor, and squaring itself to a somewhat later phase of the movement.

(3). *If it may be.*—By the earlier set of Instructions, the commissioners were required to commence their journey to the North "ten days after Trinity Term." Trinity term ended about the 13th of June, so that the time required by this second set of Instructions was about a month later. This gave the commissioners a little longer for preparations, and brought round that particular period of the summer most favourable to commence a somewhat prolonged sojourn in the North. The weather was then expected to assume a settled aspect, and the roads to present fewer impediments to travel. As it happened, however, the commissioners were not favoured with much genial weather. They started from Dublin on the 21st, but halted at Dundalk until the necessary force could be assembled, and reviewed there in presence of the deputy. Indeed, the commissioners took credit for being prepared to start so promptly as they did, considering the delay that had arisen in receiving the necessary orders from London. Referring to this delay, Chichester, writing on the 18th, says :—"Some of his former letters had worse speed than other men's written about the same time ; for intending that his should go by the post bark, they are returned, and before that he could again dispatch them, the King's letters and instructions, for a more exact survey of the escheated lands and other pre-

parations towards the intended plantation of Ulster have arrived ; all which he received on the 16th inst. [July]. Had they stayed [been delayed] but one week longer, the judges would have been in circuit, and the Council dispersed, so that nothing could have been done therein this summer. But now he [Chichester] has so ordered and disposed the business, that God willing (if money fail not) they will be at Dundalk on the last of this instant, and the next day about Armagh, with which country they intend to begin, and so proceed as the time and season of the year will give leave." The deputy was not disappointed in this expectation. The whole party, after much preliminary arrangement, moved northward from Dundalk on the 31st of July.

(4). *The Crown.*—The third article of the first set of Instructions makes no charge as above of 'omissions and defects' in the preceding survey, but simply requires the commissioners "to divide and sever the ecclesiastical lands from the temporal, and withal set and limit by metes and bounds so many proportions thereof in every county, of 1,000 acres, 1,500 acres, and 2,000 acres apiece, as are contained in the project of plantation." The instructions, however, of the third article in the second set are much more exacting and important, because requiring "new Inquisitions." In their returns the commissioners' reply to this article of instruction is as follows :—"Inquisitions are taken whereby they [crown and church lands] are distinguished, and omissions of church lands supplied ; the rest, except some few parcels, found to be crown lands in general terms, which, in the maps are set forth by particular names of balliboes, quarters, tathes, polles, &c., and are now drawn into a book of survey, wherein omissions of crown lands are supplied."

upon, in such sort as may best serve for the safety and succour of Passengers (5); and also to allot and set out by bounds and meares unto every proportion so much Bog and Wood over and above his number of Acres, as the Place where the Proportion shall lie may conveniently afford, having respect to the adjacent Proportions (6).

5. Because the Article of casting Lotts discourageth many that are sufficient, and would be glad to dwell together, that therefore every County be divided into greater Precincts, every Precinct containing eight, ten, or twelve thousand Acres, according to the greatness of the County, and those Precincts to contain several Proportions lying together, to the end that so many Consorts [Companies] of Undertakers may here be appointed as there are several Precincts; which being done, then these Consorts may cast Lotts for the Precincts, and afterwards divide every Precinct amongst the particular Undertakers of that Consort, either by agreement or by Lott; and this form not to be concluded but upon Consideration taken thereof by the Commissioners there, who having reported back their opinions, some such course may be resolved, as to us shall be thought most convenient (7).

(5). *Passengers*.—This arrangement of selecting sites was left entirely in the hands of the deputy, who occasionally, but not often, required to interfere. We give the following as an illustration of such interference, when the interests of the particular district were supposed to render it necessary:—"The Lord Deputy to Mr. John Taylor and his substitute in the county of Cavan—I require you to erect your principal habitation for the present, whether castle or stone house, as you are specially bound, on no other place but at Ballyhaies (parcel of the land assigned to you as an undertaker within the county of Cavan), which we understand to be a place of principal advantage for strength and defence of yourself and other undertakers upon all your proportion. For the more special site, we will you to be further advised by Captain Hugh Culme, constable of the King's castle of Cloughouter, and high sheriff of that county. 5th October, 1611." In the fourth article of the first set of Instructions, the commissioners were directed to "inquire how many English acres every balliboe, quarter, tath, poll, or the like Irish precinct doth contain, and thereupon you shall set forth the several proportions, by making an estimate of the number of acres; yet in making the said proportions you shall have a care not to break the said Irish precincts of land, except in case of necessity, where the said precincts being laid together will not make up the proportions in any reasonable equality." It is remarkable that in the second set of articles the commissioners were not bound to any such particularity, and make no reference to their having taken any trouble in the matter. From this source, no doubt, arose many inaccuracies of admeasurement.

(6). *Proportions*.—In their return, the commissioners answer this 4th article as follows:—"Proportions distinguished and bounded already in the maps, and now extracted and set down in the said book, with the names and boundaries. The bog and wood may be allotted by the view of special commissioners, when the undertakers shall sit down upon their proportions, if it shall be thought needful, because every townland hath sufficient

bog for turbary." The assignment of wood and bog in each case was a more difficult task than the commissioners would have us suppose, for in some districts there was but little bog, and in others no wood. Indeed this one task would have required more time than they could command, and they thus wisely left it for "special commissioners."

(7). *Most convenient*.—See pp. 80, 92. The 'consorts' above referred to were simply companies coming to Ulster sometimes from the same districts in the mother countries; but, at all events, being made up, some consorts exclusively of English, and others exclusively of Scotch, the members were naturally anxious to be placed at least in the same baronies. The consorts came each under the guidance or superintendence of some influential person, and to meet their wishes the distribution by lot was only introduced in the very modified style above described. The consorts, in a word, cast lots for baronies; and the members of each consort might then, if it so pleased themselves, cast lots for the proportions contained in their own special baronies or precincts. Thus, in the county of Arniagh, the barony of Oneilan fell by lot to the English, and that of the Fewes, (or so much of it as was available) to the Scotch; whilst Orior became the portion of servitors and natives. In the county of Tyrone, the two baronies of Omagh and Clogher fell to consorts of English; the two baronies of Mountjoy and Strabane to consorts of Scotch, whilst the barony of Dungannon fell to servitors and natives. In the county of Donegal, the barony or precinct of the Liffer or Lifford fell to the English, Portlough and Boylagh to the Scotch, and those of Doe and Fawnett to the servitors and natives. In the county of Fermanagh, the precincts or baronies of Clankally and Coolemackernan fell to the English; Knockninny and Magheraboy to the Scotch; and the whole barony of Clanawley, with the two half baronies of Coole and Tircannada to the servitors and natives. In the county of Cavan, the barony of Loughtee fell to the English, Clanchie and Tulloghconcho to the Scotch, and Castlerahin, Tulloghgarvie, Clanmahon, and Tullagha to servitors and natives. In their

6. To cause Plots to be made of every County, and in the said Plot [of each County] to prick out the several Precincts, and in the Precincts the several Proportions by their Names (8).

7. Such great Woods as the Commissioners shall make choice of to be preserved to our use, are to be excepted out of the Proportions, and to be reserved for the Undertakers' buildings, and for such other purposes as to us shall be thought fit (9).

8. That in the Surveys observation be made what Proportions by Name are fittest to be allotted to the Britains, what to the Servitors, and what to the Natives; wherein this respect is to be had, that the Britains be put in Places of best safety, the Natives to be dispersed, and the Servitors planted in those Places which are of the greatest importance to serve the rest (10).

return, the commissioners make answer to this fifth article, as follows:—"It is thought fit that every barony in the several shires shall make a great precinct, except the baronies of Dunganon, and Loughy in Cavan, which may make two precincts apiece. These baronies are exactly described in several maps, the bounds and names whereof appear also in several records." Thus the barony of Dunganon formed the two precincts of Dunganon and Mountjoy; but Loughy remained as one division of the county of Cavan. The precinct of Mountjoy was afterwards included, to form one of the three divisions of Dunganon.

(8). *By their Names.*—Plots or maps were made accordingly; or as the commissioners afterwards stated—"this article is performed exactly." Only, however, the barony maps of the four counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Cavan have yet been found. The barony maps of the counties of Donegal and Coleraine, it is hoped, still exist in some collection not yet examined.

(9). *Thought fit.*—At the commencement of the seventeenth century, almost every county in Ulster was adorned and enriched with magnificent woods. Chichester, referring to such as were most known throughout the escheated counties, when writing to Salisbury, in October, 1608, says:—"In the county of Donegal he is sure there are none [no woods] at all; neither is there any in the county of Coleraine; both which counties lie upon the sea. But there is good store in Glanconkeyne and Killytra [then territories in Tyrone], and Braselowe [Clanbrasill, in Armagh], which counties lie upon the Lough Eaugh [Neagh], which is navigable from each side and end all over." Although, at the commencement of the letter from which the foregoing is an extract, Chichester had affirmed that he was "well acquainted with all parts of Ulster," he had evidently overlooked several woods in his sojournings throughout our northern province. With these, however, he must have made acquaintance in the autumn of 1609, as the commissioners, of whom he was chief, reported other woods in addition to those mentioned by him above. In their return, they state, in answer to this article of instruction, that "the greatest woods which they thought fittest to be reserved for the King's use, were the woods of Clanbrasill and Clancann in Ardmagh; the woods of Glanconkeyne, Killytragh and Brentery, in Tyrone; [the wood] of Cilmacrenan, in Donagall; the woods of Knockninny and Lurgh, in Fermanagh; and the woods of Tulloghono and Tullagha, in Cavan. Nevertheless, for the increase

of the King's rents, and the enlarging of the plantation, the lands whereon the said woods grow are cast into proportions according to the survey, and the places where timber growth are marked and expressed in the maps; and reservation is to be made in the undertakers' grants, of the timber trees to be bestowed at the King's pleasure, and the common use of the plantation." The commissioners were thus of opinion that these several woods must soon disappear before the coming settlers; and they, therefore, regarded the lands, though then covered with trees, as so many proportions soon to be available for plantation. And such was indeed the fact, for all the woods of Ulster soon shared the fate of Glanconkeyne, the noblest and most extensive of all. In the earlier set of articles already described, the following was the 20th in order:—"You shall appoint some discreet and skillful persons to assign convenient Timber to every undertaker for his building, out of our great woods growing upon the lands escheated." This order was not reproduced in the second set of instructions, nor did the point therein specified receive any attention until too late to preserve a necessary amount of wood. The commissioners actually comforted certain servitors, who got no portions of land at the regular distribution, by the fact that they might soon have as much as they wanted because of the rapid clearing of the woods in Glanconkeyne. Not twelve months afterwards, an order came from the council in London for the prohibition of waste in felling the large timber, which was thenceforth to be applied only for building houses and ships.

(10). *To serve the rest.*—It was not difficult to arrange this matter so far as British undertakers and servitors were concerned; but it required all the commissioners' ingenuity, even under the guidance of the astute deputy himself, to locate such natives as got small portions—not in the places most encouraging and advantageous, but where they would be least dangerous and most easily watched. There was naturally the overshadowing terror that, as the natives had been so plundered of their lands, they would be certain, unless scattered about, to make common cause, to form conspiracies, and even, if an opportunity offered, take a bloody vengeance. This 8th article of instruction had reference especially to such natives as were to receive little freeholds, and as the commissioners generally knew but little of the circumstances involved, they willingly gave over the management of details to Chichester. In their return, they answer this article in the following very general terms:—"The Lord

9. The Commissioners are to limit and bound out the Precincts of the several Parishes, according to their discretions, notwithstanding the Limitation of the Precinct; wherein they may observe the ancient limits of the old Parishes, so as the same breed not a greater Inconvenience to the Plantation, and to assign to the Incumbent of each Parish a glebe after the rate of three score Acres for every thousand Acres within the Parishes, in the most convenient Places, or nearest to the Churches (11); and for the more certainty to give each Glebe a certain Name,

Deputy hath in general advised what is fit to be done touching this article, which may be allowed or altered by their Lordships [the council in London], upon view of the maps." Indeed, it may be truly said, that all the arrangements specially affecting the natives in the plantation originated with Chichester, or, when not exactly so, these arrangements always took the shape recommended by him. The dispersion of the native freeholders was a *sine qua non*, but it was a difficult business, because they could not be dispersed among British settlers, nor over any lands likely to be coveted by the latter. They were, therefore, eventually located in small companies throughout certain baronies, and on lands where there was at least ample room for improvement. This policy was specially Chichester's. In a document forwarded by him to the council in London, and headed *Certain Considerations Touching the Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster*, the deputy discourses as follows:—"Upon the plantation of Munster, it was thought good policy to scatter and divide the Irish among the English undertakers, hoping that by observation of civility and good husbandry among their neighbours, they would learn to fashion and conform themselves to the like qualities and conditions with them. But experience disproved that opinion, for they were no sooner set down amongst them than instead of imitating, they scorned their courses, envied their fortunes, and longed to be masters of what they [the English intruders] possessed; and as soon as memory of their former rebellion and miseries was a little forgotten, and their estates [means of living] amended, they grew to contriving forged titles to the lands whereon the English had built and enclosed [but which had previously belonged to these very Irish of Munster], making daily stealths of their goods and plots against their lives. Moreover, the daily conversation and dwelling of the Irish amongst the English, gave free recourse to all their base followers and rogues to make espial and free passage amongst them, out of which late example he is bold to say, that, as it is a matter of great consequence and necessity to make meet provision for the natives, so is it very difficult and dangerous to remove and transplant such a number of barbarous and warlike people into any parts of the kingdom; besides that the other provinces are too well acquainted with their lives and conditions, and will be as unapt to receive them. Therefore, the remedy be conceived will be to appoint them some one part of the plainest [literally, most exposed] land of their own country [Ulster]; or to intermix their townreeds with ours in plain countries [localities] where they may be environed with seas, strongholds, and powerful men to overstay them; and to proportion those lands indifferently unto them upon meet rents and conditions to keep them in subjection, and that with such equality in the partition,

that the contentment of the greater number may outweigh the displeasure and dissatisfaction of the smaller number of better blood [or higher rank]". Such was the policy not only in reference to those Irish who got small freeholds, but also in reference, as we here see, to that overwhelmingly larger class who had no such provision, but were to be managed simply as serfs on their own soil. In the *first set* of instructions, the following is the 15th article:—"You shall make choice of the best and best-affected natives to be freeholders in every county, and shall allot unto them greater or lesser proportions [portions] according to their several qualities and deserts."

(11). *To the Churches*.—In the earlier set of instructions, this article takes the following form:—"You shall consider whether one or more proportions be fit to make a parish, and according to your discretions, limit and bound out the several parishes, as far forth as it may stand with the plantation; which being done you shall assign unto every incumbent 60 acres of glebe for every 1,000 acres within his parish." To this 9th article the commissioners afterwards gave in their reply or answer, as follows:—"It was thought fitt not to allow the old parishes, the names and bounds whereof appear of record in the inquisitions taken last summer. For the glebes, there are so many acres added to every proportion, as the project prescribed, but because the termon lands lying nearest the churches were thought fittest to be assigned to glebes, which could not be done without the consent of the bishops, the glebes are not yet distinguished by names and bounds; but if the Bishops consent it may be done forthwith." The bishops—or, perhaps we should only say, the Bishop of Derry—had not consented to this arrangement of the commissioners, for in the county of Coleraine, which contained more termon lands than any of the others, the glebes were laid out with little respect to the convenience of the incumbents. In Sampson's *Memoir of the Chart of Londonderry*, p. 250, the author refers to this matter as follows:—"In some instances, the glebe assigned for a certain parish is laid of at the distance of many miles from any part of its precincts; and in other cases we find two or three glebes in a parish, not one of which belongs to itself. Yet the civil commissioners had the power and disposal over these assignments, and might, at that time [1609], easily have adjusted these properties so as to accord with their intended uses." But this power, it now appears, the commissioners had not; so that the chief blame must be laid on the shoulders of Bishop Montgomery. The parishes, however, remained pretty much as they had been as to bounds and limits, being to this day very much larger than the framers of these 'Instructions' at all contemplated, even making allowance for the most liberal admeasurements, or the addition to each proportion of

whereby it may be known; and to take Order that there be a proviso in the Letters Patent for passing the Glebes to restrain the Alienations thereof, saving during Incumbencies (12).

10. It is fit that certain Portions be allotted and laid out for the Towns in the Places mentioned in the Project, or in more convenient Places, as shall seem best to the Commissioners, having regard that the Land be laid as near to the Towns as may be (13).

11. The Parcels of Land which shall be allotted to the College in Dublin, and to the Free Schools in the several Countys are to be set out and distinguished by Meares and Bounds, to the end the same may be accordingly passed by several grants from us. The Commissioners are likewise to set out the Quantity of three great Proportions lying together in the County of Armagh to be allotted to the said College of Dublin, and six thousand Acres to be taken out of the Lands omitted in the last Survey (if so much shall be found), these to be only of our Land, and not of the Church Land (14).

its large sweep of 'unprofitable land.' Thus, the present average size of parishes in the county of Londonderry is 10,270 acres each; in Donegal, 16,179 acres each; in Fermanagh, 13,220 acres each; in Cavan, 10,033 acres each; and in Armagh, 9,072 acres each. See Beaufort's *Memoir*.

(12). *During Incumbencies*.—This concluding exception or saving clause is not made in the first set of instructions, which, in this particular, was no doubt considered by the framers—who had become more enlightened as to the circumstances—too rigid or severe. This habit of alienation had become very general among clerics during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. James—pious prince that he was—set his face sternly against the practice. In a letter to Chichester, written in March, 1609, his Majesty, it is stated, "reprobates most severely a custom, which he has learned with great surprise to prevail among the clergy of that kingdom [Ireland], of alienating at pleasure the temporalities of their benefices. In order to provide a temporary remedy for this grievous abuse, until a Parliament shall be holden in Ireland he directs them [the deputy and chancellor] to call together the principal clergy, and to point out the impiety of such a course, and his grievous reprobation thereof; and to notify that, if any one hereafter should be guilty of such impiety, and contempt of his authority, such person shall be marked as unworthy of preferment in the church, and punished by any civil punishment which the law or authority may inflict on so notorious a contempt." The deputy, when writing to the council in London, on the 13th of the following July, informs them that he has "by letters acquainted the Bishops and prelates with his Majesty's princely direction, concerning the lamentable impoverishment of the church, by alienations of the temporalities thereof." Indeed, the Irish State Papers contain many references to this matter, and expressed in terms by no means complimentary to the clergy.

(13). *As may be*.—To this article, the commissioners replied—"Done in the maps and set forth in the new book of survey." They did not follow the recommendations in the 'Project,' at least to the full extent, either in the number of corporate towns for each county or in the

selection of sites. This 10th article is more fully expressed in the 8th of the first set of Instructions, as follows:—"You shall take care that the lands allotted to the corporate towns be laid as near to the said towns as conveniently they may, and planted as the lands of other undertakers; and you shall forthwith limit the circuits of the said towns, and cause the same to be incorporated by our several charters, and to be endowed with reasonable liberties, and you shall use your best endeavours to inhabit the said towns with tradesmen and artificers." Opposite this article in the margin, there is written—probably by Chichester—"The Lords [the council in London] to be moved touching the site of the Derry and Sir George Pawlett's [rather his heirs'] lands adjoining." These lands were the abbot's portion, and came to the Crown by the Act of Dissolution; they were passed to Sir James Fullerton in fee-farm, and afterwards by mesne conveyances assigned to Sir George Pawlett. They were found to be indispensable to the corporate dignity of Derry, and were finally obtained from Sir George's family to be part of the liberties of that city.

(14). *Of the Church Land*.—The King could thus be quite munificent in his gifts at the expense of his hapless Irish subjects. The commissioners afterwards made answer to this article, as follows:—"Lands allotted to Free Schools are in the maps added to the lands laid out for corporate towns, being places where the Free Schools are to be erected. Touching the lands allotted to the College of Dublin, three great proportions in the county of Armagh are set forth to that use, over and above 1,200 acres appointed for the College in the first project, and 300 acres more which could not otherwise be divided in that county, and yet doth serve for part of the 1,200 acres in Fermanagh appointed by the first project for the said College." The college, also, as we shall see, got an extensive grant in Donegal, then called 4,000 acres, but in reality very much more. In the first set of Instructions, the 9th requires the commissioners "to set out and distinguish by meares and bounds such parcels of land as are allotted to the College of Dublin and the [Irish] freeholders in the several counties." It was feared there might be difficulty in clearing the Irish off their own lands for college purposes.

12. That there be set out and reserved 12,000 Acres, either out of the Proportions, or otherwise out of the Lands omitted in the Survey, in such Counties and Places as to our Deputy and Commissioners shall be thought meet, the same to be disposed by us for the endowment of an Hospital to be erected for maimed and diseased Soldiers, in such Place and Manner as we shall hereafter appoint (15).

13. The Commissioners shall, by the authority given them, hear and determine all Titles and Controversies by final Order and Decree, that shall be brought before them, concerning any lands and possessions (the Church Lands only excepted), which, nevertheless, they shall have Power to order and decree (as aforesaid), so it be done with the Consent of the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the now Bishop of Derry. They shall also compound for Titles between us and our Subjects, and between Party and Party (16).

14. And whereas complaint is made that the scites of some Cathedral Churches, the Places of the Residence of the Bishops, Deans, Chapters, Dignitaries, and Prebends in Ulster be passed away to divers in Fee-Farm by Letters Patent, under the Pretence of Monastery Lands, to the great Detriment of those Churches, the Commissioners shall have authority to examine the same, and finding the Information true, to consider of some course to be taken for Restitution to be made to the Churches from whence they were formerly taken, with such consideration to those that now hold them, as standeth with equity, according to the Circumstances considerable. And further, we are pleased, that the escheated Lands, out of which the Bishops have had heretofore rents, certainty of Refections, or Pensions, should be esteemed ecclesiastical, and be annexed to the several Sees whereunto they did pay the same, whereof the Commissioners are to take particular notice, and to see the same effected accordingly (17).

(15). *Hereafter appoint.*—In the first set of Instructions there is no reference whatever to this design of erecting an hospital, nor have we met, except in the above article, any allusion to the subject. It is probable the matter was allowed to fall through, amidst the multiplicity of other projects, and mainly, perhaps, because no lands were to be had for certain servitors who were left, on the great day of distribution, without proportions even of the small size. At all events the commissioners declined then to entertain the project of an hospital at all, by first demurring on account of the large extent of the lands set apart for this object, and, at the same time, actually suggesting that, as a whole barony might eventually be thus appropriated, they did not feel themselves at liberty to do anything in the matter. Their apology was "because 12,000 acres amount to a great precinct, the King may be pleased to assign an entire barony for the maintenance of an hospital, but in regard there is yet no house erected to that use, they have foreborne to assign any certain quantity of land for the same."

(16). *Party and Party.*—In the first set of Instructions, the 13th article required the commissioners "to examine the titles of such as claim any estates under any of the persons attainted, and thereupon allot unto them such portions as you in conscience and discretion shall think meet, and withal provide that they make such plantation and pay such rents as other undertakers rateably." This

article refers exclusively to the claims that were being made by natives; but this 13th article in the *second* set of Instructions, as expressed in the text, evidently had in view certain bitter controversies that even then had appeared among the English in Ulster themselves! The answer of the commissioners affirms that "there hath been no order or decree made for the deciding of any titles, but every man's title is reported in the book of cases, neither did there arise any occasion of compounding for any." Perhaps the only unpleasant controversy the commissioners had to deal with during their sojourn was a rather fierce one which raged between the Bishop of Derry and Sir Thomas Phillips, as we shall see, about the island of the Derry.

(17). *Accordingly.*—The commissioners reported, in reference to this article of instruction, as follows:—"The site of the cathedral church of Derry (whereof complaint was chiefly made), was never passed in any book, the possession of which is now restored to the bishop, together with all his demesne and mensal lands, and all the rents and duties issuing out of the herenagh lands. The like is to be done to other bishops, but the possession of the herenagh lands was foreborne to be delivered till the King's pleasure was further known in regard of the plantation." Among the State Papers is a curious and valuable document, headed *Particular Questions concerning the Plantation*, and containing also the *Answers* in the

15. You our Deputy shall cause our Judges and learned Counsel to set down our Titles to the several Lands lately escheated in Ulster, to see the Records to be perfitted [perfected] and to take care that they may be safely preserved and kept secret, and to transmit the Cases hither under the Hands of our Judges and learned Counsel (18).

16. All Acts, Orders, and Decrees resolved there, to be recorded in two Books, the one to remain there in some Court of Record, and the other to be transmitted to our Counsel here (19).

17. It is also to be considered what Portions are fit to be allotted to the Mother of the late Earl of Tyrconnell, [Ineen dubh Macdonnell], the mother of Mac-Gwire; Katherine Butler, the late

hand-writing of Davys. The first question is—"Whether the termon lands are only to be conferred on the bishops, or upon them and the members of their cathedrals?" The *Answer*,—because it refers specially to the church of Derry—we give *in extenso*, as follows:—"Though the Bishop of Derry appropriate all to himself, and that the termon lands are allotted in general terms to the bishops, yet because the Bishop of Derry claims the same only as given at first to the church, and that by the name of the church, the cathedral church is intended, which consists not only of a bishop, but of a dean and chapter, viz., dignitaries and prebends, which make the ecclesiastical council, according to the first institution of bishopricks, it were fit that some part of that great scope of land which is allotted to the bishops should be distributed to deans and chapters to be newly erected, the rather because the King makes a new foundation, and purposes to set up cathedral churches according to the form of the churches of England. It is fit that a special commission be awarded to assign the portions of the deans and chapters, and that the commissioners be part of the clergy and part of the laity, of special place and credit; and this course of allotment is no new thing; for we find it in the book of our law that, upon the first endowments of cathedral churches, the possessions of the bishops, deans, and chapters were entire and undivided, and that afterwards, by consent, the bishops had their portions assigned by themselves, the deans by themselves, and the prebendaries each by himself, whereupon the reason of the law is grounded that none of these can alien their lands without the consent and confirmation of the others. If it be thought fit to unite divers parishes, yet it is not amiss that the glebes should be also united to make the livings more competent for sufficient ministers." The whole ecclesiastical machinery here recommended was soon put into working order, with suitable means to run it successfully and, as it was believed, permanently. The first result of this arrangement was an order from the council in London, that the Bishop of Derry was to have "the site of a house, backside, and garden, within the island, and in or near Derry, in such convenient place as may be fit for an episcopal see, and as may stand with the frame of the plot of the city. The like consideration to be had of the dean, and both to be granted by the King, unless it fall in that place which was their own land before."

(18). *Learned Counsel*.—The commissioners in their report afterwards affirmed that the above important work was "fully performed in the book of cases, and the records all perfected and returned." This very important part of their proceedings was done principally by Davys,

who, in his brief account of their proceedings, drawn up before the close of the year, stated that "an Abstract was made out of many records as well of the King's title as of his subjects' titles to all the lands within the escheated counties, which are reduced into a book of cases signed by the chief judges and the attorney-general, wherein appear what lands the King may dispose to undertakers by a good and just title."

(19). *Counsel here*.—To this article the commissioners afterwards replied in their report that "there were no decrees made;" therefore, no such two books as above-mentioned ever were required. It is curious that the instructions contained in the above two articles, 15 and 16, were not embodied in any portion of the earlier set; but the latter presents some which do not appear in the other set, which was finally adopted and followed. Thus, in the earlier set, the 11th article requires the commissioners to "take special care that the portions of the natives shall not be laid together, but shall be scattered and laid asunder upon the making up of the lots;" the 12th article requires that "if, upon distribution of the lots, any of the undertakers shall consent and agree to change their lots in respect of neighbourhood, with their friends or allies, you shall consider of the conveniency thereof, and if you shall find the same to be fit, you shall give way thereunto, and cause the several grants to be made accordingly;" the 16th article requires that the commissioners should "take consideration of such Irish natives as have been servitors, and reserve upon their grants lesser rents than are to be reserved upon grants made to other natives, who have performed no special purpose;" the 17th article instructs them "to take order that every undertaker do take out his letters patent within four months after his portion shall be allotted and set forth unto him, and shall, within four months after that, transport such English or Scottish tenants as are to be planted upon their several portions, which if they neglect to do, they are to lose the benefit of their lots, and you shall grant their portions to others who will perform the articles of plantation;" and the 18th article requires the commissioners "to take order that the castles or stone houses to be built and erected by the several undertakers do contain one pile of 18 foot square at least within the walls, and two storeys high at least, with a battlement on the top." It will thus be observed that the foregoing articles in the earlier set of instructions for the guidance of the plantation commissioners are distinct from any contained in the second set, and were abandoned, no doubt, because considered not quite practicable in some instances, and not required in others.

widow of Mulmorie O'Rely, and such others as claim jointures ; and that the Commissioners do (if they have Cause) allow the same unto them during their Lives, and the Reversion to the Natives, with Condition that they observe the Articles of Plantation, as other Undertakers do, or otherwise to assign them Recompense in some other Place (20).

18. The River Fishings in Loughs and Rivers are to be allotted unto the Proportions next adjoining unto the Loughs and Rivers wherein the said Fishings are, the one Moiety to the Proportion lying on the one side of the River or Lough, and the other Moiety to the Proportion lying on the other side, unless by necessity or inconveniency it shall be found fitting to be allotted to the one Side ; for which Fishing some increase of Rent is to be reserved unto us, as by the Commissioners shall be thought fit (21).

(20). *Other Place.*—The commissioners reported in reply to the above article :—"This is performed, and their possessions established for the time, by several warrants of the Lord Deputy and Council, viz., the mother of Tyrconnell hath 16 quarters in the county of Donegal ; O'Reiley's widow eight quarters in said county ; M'Gwire's mother [widow of Sir Hugh Maguire and daughter of the Earl of Tyrone] 8 quarters in the county of Fermanagh ; Catherine Butler [niece of Ormonde, and widow of Mulmorie O'Reilly] an annual rent of five shillings out of every polle in the barony of Loughtee, in the county of Cavan, in lieu whereof, upon the settling of the natives in their portions, a competent portion of land shall be assigned unto her." It is strange that, in the article above, Sir John O'Reilly's widow is not mentioned, although her existence is duly noted in the commissioners' answer. The lady is specially mentioned in the 14th article of the earlier set of instructions, but why her lands were assigned to her in the county of Donegal it would be difficult to imagine. The following interesting document has special reference to the provision made for a few native Irish of high rank—nobles and gentry—recording their names and the places where they obtained their portions of land :—1. "Art McBaron and his wife, and the longest liver of them, to have one great proportion of 2,000 acres in the barony of Orior. 2. Connor Roe McGwire to have but one barony [instead of three as promised] called Maghera Steffana, and out of that so many islands [in Lough Erne] as belong therunto to be excepted. The same to be passed to him and his heirs by letters patent ; the islands to be left to the disposition of the Lord Deputy unto servitors. 3. Henry McShane O'Neale to have one great proportion, or after that rate, in the precinct of Orior, in the county of Armagh. Con O'Neale, his brother, to have one small proportion, or after that rate, in the precinct of Coole and Tircanada, in Fermanagh. 4. Tirlagh McArt O'Neale [of Newtown in Tyrone, see p. 96] to have two middle proportions, or after that rate, in the precinct of Donganon ; and to Neal, Con, and Brian, his brethren, one middle proportion, to be divided amongst them, in the same [precinct or barony]. 5. We think it fit that the widows of O'Boyle and Manus O'Donnell be removed from their present abode unto the precinct appointed for natives in the said counties, there to enjoy their portions during life, without rent, and the reversion to remain in the Crown ; and in respect they pay no rent, their portions to be less. 6. The like order to be taken

with Sir Cormock O'Neale's wife, and Sir Donnell O'Caen's wife, in what county the Lord Deputy shall please. 7. Brian McGuire [brother of Cuconnaght] to have one great proportion, or after that rate, in the precinct of Coole and Tircannada, in Fermanagh ; and half a small proportion for his brother Tirlagh. 8. McSwine Banagh, O'Boyle, McSwine Faynet, and McSwine O'Doe, each to have a great proportion, or after that rate, in the precinct of Faynet [Fanail], or Doe [in Donegal]. 9. Brian Crossach [O'Neill, son of Sir Cormack] to have a small proportion where the Lord Deputy shall appoint. 10. The Lord Deputy and commissioners shall likewise set down what proportions of lands the natives of the county of Coleraine shall have from the Londoners, and the rents they shall pay for the same, according to the sixth article of agreement with the Londoners. And herein the Deputy is to take order, if he so think fit, that the Irish houses of them that be removed be preserved for the use of the British undertakers. 11. The Lord Deputy is especially to respect the children of Captain Dennis O'Mullen and Shane O'Mullen, his brother. They are to be provided for as one person, and one of the four admitted by the Londoners in the county of Coleraine. Manus O'Cahan, Manus McCoe [Cumaighe] Ballagh O'Cahan, and Coey Ballagh McRichard [Rory] O'Cahan, to be the other three ; and if any more be fit to be respected in that county the Lord Deputy shall provide for them in some of the precincts appointed for natives, in another county. 12. The Lord Deputy is to take order for removing of the natives presently with as little trouble as may be for making an easy way for the plantation. And if he see cause he may transplant them from one county to another, which, being a matter of greatest moment, will require the greatest and most serious consideration." The foregoing assignments of lands were made in London, and, in most cases were afterwards changed.

(21). *Thought fit.*—The leading fisheries of Ulster—in the Bann, Lough Neagh, and Foyle—were granted soon after to the corporation of London ; but, irrespective of these, there were very many other fishing-places in our northern province which, although not of much value except in some instances, required nevertheless to be legally assigned to their several owners. The importance of the arrangement mentioned in this article of instruction will be sufficiently obvious when it is remembered how many lakes and loughs there are in Ulster.

19. That return be made of their Proceedings and doings, by virtue of this Commission and Instructions before Hallowmas next, that we may have convenient Time to resolve thereupon this Winter, and to signify our Pleasure against the next Spring (22).

III.

The commission above described, and perhaps more especially the 'Instructions' with which it was accompanied, had an undoubted effect in restoring Chichester and his immediate associates to a tolerable equanimity. A few, from being greatly depressed about plantation prospects, now once more became enthusiastic. At that time, the court of James I. was literally beset by a crowd of importunate suitors, both English and Scotch, who envied and hated one another, and who were believed, or at least believed themselves, to have claims on the King and his Government for services of various kinds. These gentlemen were not particular as to the considerations of *how* or *where* they might obtain some addition to their means, or the convenience of suitable homes, to which they could eventually retire from the turmoils of life. Indeed, they were mainly anxious to make a respectable escape, at a time when the expenses of living had very considerably increased, not only in England but throughout many districts north of the Tweed. The undertakers for lands in Ulster, however, were not all of this class, for amongst them were several thrifty people who had gathered means in trade, and were naturally anxious to invest their gatherings in some safe and remunerative scheme. The philosophers in London, besides, were of opinion that the population of Great Britain, north and south, had begun then somewhat to overflow its legitimate bounds, and that Ulster would prove *such* a timely outlet for many who might be induced, as tenant-settlers, "to leave their country for their country's good." Bacon, who was not remarkable for the practical wisdom of his suggestions about plantation matters, became the mouth-piece for disseminating this doctrine, and was able to put something like a philosophic face on the difficulties that surrounded the King. "An effect of peace," says he, "in fruitful kingdoms, where the stock of people receiving no consumption nor diminution by war doth continually multiply and increase, must in the end be a surcharge and overflow of people, more than the territories can well maintain; which, many times insinuating a general necessity and want of means unto all estates, doth turn external peace into internal troubles and seditions. Now, what an excellent diversion of this inconvenience is ministered by God's providence to your Majesty in this plantation of Ireland,—wherein so many families may receive sustentations and fortunes, and the discharge of them also out of England and Scotland may prevent many seeds of future perturbations. So that it is as if a man were troubled for the avoidance of water from the place where he hath built his house, and afterwards should advise with himself to cast those waters, and to turn them into fair pools or streams for pleasure, provision, or use. So shall your Majesty in this work have a double commodity, in the avoidance [clearing out] of people here, and in making use of them there." The philosopher, however, proceeds to apply another and a more touching stimulant to his money-

(22). *Next Spring*.—The return here asked was made at Christmas, the commissioners stating that it "could not have been possibly done sooner than it was, by reason

of the multiplicity of the business, and the few hands to perform the same."

loving sovereign thus :—"The fourth and last consequence is the great profit and strength which is like to redound to your crown, by the working upon this unpolished part thereof: whereof your Majesty, being in the strength of your years, are like by the good pleasure of Almighty God to receive more than the first-fruits, and upon posterity a growing and springing vein of riches and power (23). For this island [Ireland] being another Britain, as Britain was said to be another world, is endowed with so many dowries of nature (considering the fruitfulness of the soil, the ports, the rivers, the fishings, the quarries, the woods, and other materials, and especially the race and generation of men, valiant, hard, and active), as it is not easy, no not upon the continent, to find such confluence of commodities, if the hand of man did join with the hand of nature."

From this and similar representations of Ireland generally, supplemented by still more glowing accounts of Ulster from such competent authorities as Sir John Davys and Sir Thomas Phillips (24), the plantation project began once more to look sufficiently attractive. British would-be undertakers mustered in goodly numbers offering to comply with all the orders and conditions, and to take out their patents without delay. The commissioners, however, felt that the approaching multitude could not be permitted to come to Ulster before the summer of 1610; for though the outline of the mighty project had been skilfully laid, there was still much to be done, and a very large amount of the most delicate manipulation yet necessary for its actual completion. The main difficulty, however, was still felt to arise from the position of the unhappy natives, who could not be induced to leave Ulster on any pretext, and whom, it was now admitted on all hands, there was no power to expel by force. Not only, indeed, had this truth been growing clearer to the deputy and his associates in the government, but it came to pass that the presence of the Irish was for so far a decided advantage to the authorities, and even likely to be required for a little time longer, until they could actually assist the British settlers to squat upon the soil of Ulster! In the meantime, all the lands of the northern earls, and of those who were attainted and in exile with them, had been let

(23). *Riches and power*.—James I., who was always in penury, and a genuine beggar in spirit, was determined to snatch some fruits without delay, from a country whose "fruitfulness" was the theme of universal glorification among his courtiers. With this object, he actually set on foot a begging crusade among the Irish, who had so little to be grateful for, but were willing, of course from prudential motives, to give even more than they were able. This begging was begun so early as 1614, so that the King thought it better to "take time by the forelock" than to trust too long to what Bacon was pleased to call "the strength of his years." Sir Oliver St. John, writing to Sir R. Winwood in the September of that year, says, in reference to this matter,—that "the *benevolence for the King* is likely to amount to a good sum. The argument that most persuaded was that the motion came from the King, and that when it was objected by the Lord Deputy that it might hinder the grant of the subsidy by Parliament, his Majesty answered that he liked this course better than a subsidy." The King took the plan thus to get both—both being best! Chichester, writing to James on the 16th October, states that he understands the 'benevolence' will soon reach £20,000—an immense sum at the time, and under the circumstances—but that the priests and

Jesuits might probably dash his Majesty's hopes in the affair. "But to pay it in money," continues the deputy, "they [the poor Irish] are not able, and, therefore, they desire that beeves and other cattle may be accepted for the most part. The Irish lords and gentlemen lay the payment of what they give upon their tenants and followers, after their old custom." Neither the King nor his deputy objected in this instance to the "cuttings" of Irish lords for the purpose in hand! Thus the beggar-King got his alms literally from the poorest and most afflicted among the Irish, who were compelled to part with their cows—some fat and some giving milk—that their stupid and deceitful oppressor might revel in his royal follies.

(24). *Phillips*.—Ulster was represented either as a howling wilderness of swamps, woods, and bogs, or, on the contrary, as a sort of terrestrial paradise, just as was required to suit the settlers' objects and designs. When they wanted to impress the people of Great Britain with an exalted idea of their own [the first settlers'] courage, perseverance, and trust in God, Ulster was described as almost unfit for the habitation of human beings; but, when they wished others to join them here, the beauty and fertility of the land surpassed even that of any lands on the continent!

out in 1607, by the Government, to Irish tenants (for none others could then be had) at sharp rents, and were to be thus occupied until the November of 1610. For this reason, then, if there had been no other, the 'Britons' were prevented from coming in large numbers to these coasts until about that date, or a short time before it, although the individual undertakers were required to be present at the time of general distribution in the preceding July. "The natives," say the commissioners, "yet dwell dispersedly over all the countries, who are to be drawn into certain limits before the undertakers can begin any plantation; which restraint must be effected by the countenance and power of the Lord Deputy this summer [1609]." But they were not "drawn together," or, more correctly, warned off the lands they had rented, until late in the autumn of 1610, as they [the natives] were bound to pay rent down to the 1st of November in that year.

This, then, was one of the most valid excuses urged by the commissioners in favour of delay, although they used some others, perhaps equally important at the time, for the same purpose. These excuses were published in the month of May, 1609, and headed "Reasons proving that the deferring of the Plantation in Ulster until the next Spring is the most convenient for the King's Majesty, for the Undertakers, and for the general service." Among the various, and, indeed, prodigious labours to be—if not done, at least attempted—there was one of a rather delicate nature which they describe as follows:—"Many have been, and daily are, petitioners to be admitted undertakers; but because they dwell in remote countries, their abilities cannot be known until the summer vacation, that inquiry may be made thereof in the countries." In other words, the commissioners, or rather some other parties in their name, were bent on spending their holidays, some in England and others in Scotland, hunting out the localities in which several of the would-be undertakers dwelt, for the purpose of ascertaining whether these persons, of whom nothing was known, had really such substantial means as would entitle them to engage in the proper management of large estates in Ulster. The commissioners had received proposals from several 'Britons' whose pretensions, being well known, appeared to them more than doubtful. Their caution in this particular was inspired, no doubt, by Chichester, whose opinions on the subject were well known. With him agreed also the philosophic Bacon, whose mind was quite up on the point, and who gave expression to his convictions in the following rather obscure but no doubt appropriate terms:—"It is fit to interlace a word or two of the quality of the undertakers. Wherein my opinion simply is, that if your Majesty shall make these portions of lands which are to be planted as fortunes for those that are in want, and are likeliest to seek after them, they will not be able to go through with the charge of good and substantial plantations, but will *deficere in operis medio*; and then this work will succeed, as Tacitus saith, *acribus initiis, fine incurioso*. So that this must rather be an adventure for such as are full, than a setting up of those that are low of means; for those men indeed are fit to perform these undertakings which were fit to purchase dry reversions after lives or years, or such as were fit to put out money upon long returns." See Bacon's *Life and Letters*, edited by Spedding, vol. iv., p. 120.

The wisdom of a little delay, however, became more and more obvious, not because the

commissioners were thus able to secure such wealthy undertakers as were wanted, but because they had time to deal with the crotchets of several candidates, both as regarded the localities where they were willing only to settle, and the quantities of land they must be permitted to hold. Some made proposals quite inconsistent with the orders and conditions of plantation, whilst others were found to be rather chivalrous in their offers as compared with their means. The latter class were always certain to enlist the sympathies of the King, but were never able to delude Chichester. An amusing illustration occurs in the case of old Lord Audley, already mentioned (see p. 79), who was father-in-law to Davys, and of whose proposal as an undertaker the latter appears at first to have been proud. In writing to Salisbury on the 20th July, 1609, he states that "he is not a little comforted to hear that my Lord Audeley and his son desire to be, and are like to be undertakers in so large and frank a manner. They do not in this degenerate from their ancestors, for it was an ancestor of the Lord Audeley who first undertook to conquer or reduce North Wales, and was one of the first Lord Marchers there. Besides one or two of the same family accompanied Sir John de Cursy in the conquest of Ulster, and planted there, in testimony whereof Audeley Castle is yet standing in Lecaël, inherited at this day by one of the same surname (25)."

To those who did not know Lord Audley, and were ignorant of his slender means, the proposals which he had made as an undertaker must have appeared magnificent, indeed. This old noble, when other men quailed before the difficulties of the time and occasion, came forward with an offer to build 33 castles and as many towns over an extent of 100,000 acres, to erect iron-mills and glass-houses, and to engage extensively in the manufacture of various useful commodities! He must have appeared in the eyes of the natives as some hoary magician, who had discovered the secret by which the *Tuatha De*, or 'People of God,' excited the wonder and veneration of earlier days in Ireland. The halo, or radiant mist, however, with which Audley had for a time surrounded himself, was soon destined to melt away. Indeed, there was something painfully significant in the fact that his magnificent proposal closes with the very reason-

(25). *Surname*.—Salisbury must have been tickled to receive letters from Chichester and Davys about the same time, on the subject of Audley's grandiloquent offer as an undertaker,—the former casting ridicule upon the old lord and his pretensions, the latter evidently proud of the exhibition Audley had made of himself in asking 100,000 acres, and even in a county where there was not so much available land to be had! Davys was son-in-law to Audley, and seems to have been proud also of the ancient stock from which his wife's family had grown, although he is said to have had very little comfort with that lady herself. The old castle in Lecaël, county of Down, so long associated with this surname, was built by Henry de Aditheley or Audley, who received a grant of the adjoining lands from Sir Hugh de Lacey, and died in the year 1236. A younger son appears to have inherited the Lecaël property, and there founded an influential though subordinate family, the main branch continuing to flourish on the original estates in Staffordshire. On the death of Nicholas the 5th Lord Audley, without issue, in 1392, the family of Aditheley or Audley became extinct, but the barony of Audley descended to his grand

nephew, John Touchet, who attained his majority in the following year, and was summoned to Parliament as Lord Audley in 1403. The Lords Audley of the family of Touchet always held the place and precedence of the original lords. The nobleman of whom Davys speaks in the text was Sir George Touchet, the 18th Baron Audley, who was an undertaker of extensive lands in Munster, but did not prosper as a speculator in Ireland, either north or south. When Davys was appointed a judge of assize in Ireland, in going circuit he became acquainted with this nobleman, and visited at his house, probably the castle of Ferns which, Chichester affirms, was but meanly kept. As the families of both Audley and Davys were early connected with Wales, though in very different ranks, they had no doubt many chats about old things and times. Davys, also, on these visits, had made himself agreeable to Elinor, Lord Audley's third daughter, whom he married, but who did not afterwards make herself particularly agreeable to him. By her, Davys had a son and daughter, the former dying when a boy, and the latter, who inherited large means from her father, marrying into the house of Huntingdon.

able request that Chichester, as lord deputy, would communicate either his "approval or *disapproval*" thereof. It was rumoured that Audley had actually obtained from the King a grant of 100,000 acres in Tyrone, "which is more," says Chichester, when referring to the rumour, "than the whole county is found at by the book of survey." Although, indeed, the book of survey had represented that Tyrone only contained 98,178 acres, old Lord Audley had probably known its real extent much better. His proposal, however, in comparison with his means, was simply ludicrous, and was quietly set aside by the following passage in a letter from Chichester to Salisbury, dated Oct. 13, 1609 :—"He [Audley] is an ancient nobleman, and apt to undertake much ; but his manner of life in Munster, and the small cost he has bestowed to make his house fit for him, or any room within the same, does not promise the building of substantial castles, nor a convenient plantation in Ulster. Besides which he is near to himself [penurious], and loves not hospitality. Such an one will be unwelcome to that people [of Ulster], and will soon make himself contemptible ; and if the natives be not better provided for [with lands] than he [Chichester] has yet heard of, he doubts they will kindle many a fire in his [Audley's] buildings before they be half finished. This, out of duty, and for no other respect whatsoever ; for he [Chichester] affects nothing more than the reformation and well-planting of that province, in which he has spent the best of his time, and where the greatest part of his living is." Audley's proposal, however, was formally submitted by the council in London for Chichester's consideration ; but the latter pleaded want of sufficient time even to consider it, replying on the 7th of November, that "it was for more lands than his Majesty has to bestow on anyone there [in Tyrone]." At length, the council had probably made up their minds that the deputy was correct in his decision on this matter, for towards the end of the following June, they wrote to him as follows :—"Lord Audley having heretofore offered himself as an undertaker of a large quantity of the escheated lands in Ulster, is now content to rank himself under such conditions as have been since arranged for the planting of that whole province, and to receive his allotment as among servitors. And, considering the encouragement his readiness to embark in that project gave to others, they [the council] request he may be accommodated with as large a proportion of land, and in as commodious a place as may be consistent with the orders for setting down servitors."

The wisdom of the commissioners, in reserving some time for the selection of what they believed to be the best men, became still further apparent when the first lot of Scottish would-be undertakers presented themselves. Of applicants coming from north of the Tweed there appeared many more than the number required to undertake for the lands assigned throughout the several counties to the Scotch. Fortunately, we have been able to obtain lists of the original Scottish applicants, many of whom failed to secure the coveted scopes or 'proportions,' into which the genial soil of Ulster was then being divided. The following extract of a letter addressed by Sir Alexander Hay [the Clerk Register] to Salisbury, has special reference to this matter :—"It has been certified to him [Hay] by their chancellor [the Earl of Dunfermline] that there are now a great many undertakers for the Irish plantation of their countrymen, who have found sureties to their council there for performing all conditions enjoined. And, as it is much urged by them that they may be presently put a-work, my lord

chancellor has willed him [Hay] to certify him [Dunfermline] what course these undertakers are now to take, and to whom they are to address themselves, in order to receive their proportion of land, which shall be by lot apportioned to them. His Majesty has commanded him to write here, anent that advice may be returned with speed. In setting down the proposition to undertakers, he finds most of all the proportions to be of 2,000 acres apiece. The reason whereof is alleged to be the unwillingness of any of ability to accept a less quantity. There is a roll of names of undertakers, and their cautioners sent up, who have undertaken the planting of 75,000 acres, which, he thinks, is more than is intended for their country people [the Scotch]. Will expect his answer as to what he may certify back to my lord chancellor."

From the tone of the foregoing statement made by Sir Alexander Hay (26), on the 30th of July, 1609, the Scottish applicants had evidently little idea that any of them would be rejected; they desired at least to appear thoroughly animated by the spirit of plantation (which they knew would so delight the King), and to be only permitted to enter upon the work without unnecessary delay. It will be seen from the following lists that no fewer than 77 Scottish applicants appeared, where not more than about 50 were wanted, and that instead of requiring 75,000 acres of the forfeited lands in Ulster, as Sir Alexander Hay at first supposed, they were prepared to undertake 137,000 acres. Each applicant appeared with his cautioner, or security, the latter to give his bond at the fixed rate of £100 sterling for every 500 acres, or £400 for 2,000 acres—the quantity in almost every instance applied for. The list is preceded by proclamation made in Scotland, announcing the King's "unspeakable love and tender affection for his subjects" of that kingdom, coupled with his anxiety that they would profit by the distribution of lands about to be allotted in Ulster, which lands "had been disburdynit of the former rebellious and disobedient inhabitants thair of, who in the justice of God, to thair schame and confusion, are overthrawn." The first application on the following list is given in full, as a specimen of the form invariably used; the rest are abbreviated. This whole curious document has been carefully transcribed from the Scottish council-book preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh. Of the 74 applicants here named, only thirteen succeeded in obtaining 'proportions' of the forfeited lands:—

Apud Edinburgh. xxviii Marcii, anno
1609.

Registrum
Secreti Concilii

Acta, &c. Chancellor.
 Dunbar.

Sederunt.
Blantyre.
Halvudehous.

Sir Alexr. Drummond.
Sir Lues Craig.

(26.) *Sir Alexander Hay*.—This Sir Alexander Hay, who belonged to the old family of Hay of Park, succeeded his father, Alexander Hay, as lord clerk register. The latter was appointed clerk of the Scottish privy council in March, 1564. He was subsequently appointed director of the chancery, an office which he resigned in 1577 for that of clerk register. He was also made a

lord of session, bearing the judicial title of Lord Easter Kennet. In 1589 he accompanied James VI. to Denmark, and died in 1594. His son, mentioned above, was also a lord of session, being known by his judicial title of Lord Newton. Scott of Scotstarvet states that he "was not learned, and never came to any estate of lands." See *Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, pp. 99, 100.

Jan. 1609. }	Cajthnes.	Comptroller.	M'Canzie.
July, 1609 }	Wyntoun.	Collectour.	Polwart.
	B. Glasgow.	Aduocat.	Bruntiland.
			Sir William Hairt.
page 507.	B. Ros.	Mr. of requestis.	Conseruatour.
	B. Yllis.	Constable of Dundie.	Sir John Arnot.

Proclama-
tion anent
the taking
of Land in
Ireland }

Forsameikle as the Kingis Maiestie haueing resolved to reduce and setle vnder a perfyte obedience the north pairt of the Kingdome of Ireland, which now by the providence of Almichtie God, and by the power and strenth of his Maiesties royal army, is fred and disburdynit of the former rebellious and dissobedient inhabitantis thair of, wha, in the justice of God, to thair schame and confusion ar overthrawin, his Maiestie, for this effect, hes tane a verie princelie and good course, alsweil for establischeing of religioun, iustice, and ciuilitie within the saidis boundis, as for planting of coloneis thairin, and distributeing of the same boundis to lauchfull, ansuerable, and weill affected subiectis, vpoun certane easie, tollerable, and proffit-able conditionis, and although thair be no want of grite numberis of the cuntrey people of England, who, with all glaidnes, wald imbrace the saidis conditionis, and transport thame selffis, with thair famileis, to Yreland, and plenische the saidis hail boundis sufficientlie with inhabitantis, yit, his sacred maiestie, out of his vnspeikable love and tender affectioun toward his maiesteis antient and native subiectis of this kingdome, quhome his heyneis wald haue to communicat with the fortunes of his saidis subiectis of England, hes bene pleasit to mak chose of thame to be partinaris with his saidis subiectis of England, in the distributioun foirsaid. Thairfore ordanis lettres to be direct to mak publicatioun heirof be oppin proclamatioun at all placeis neidfull, and to warne all his maiesteis subiectis of this kingdome quho ar disposit to tak ony land in Yreland, That thay come to the Lordis of his Maiesteis prevy counsale and present thair desyris and petitionis to the saidis lordis, be quhome they salbe acquentit with the particular conditionis to be performed be thame for thair land.

Ibid., p. 647.

4th July, 1609. The quhilk day in presence of the lordis of secrete counsale comperit personalie Robert Montgomerie, of Kirkcubright, and maid humble sute vnto the saidis lordis That he might be ressaued and inrolled as one of the vndertakeris in the intendit plantation and distribution of the forfeited and escheated landis of the province of Vlster, for Twa thousand aikeris of the said land vpoun suirtie and band to be given be him for the performance of the hail articles and conditionis set down be the King his most excellent Maiestie.

The Lords receive and enrol the said Robert Montgomery accordingly, and he gives Bond, for which Robert Craufurd of Possill is cautioner.

The same day a similar application is made by Daniel Craufurd, goldsmith, burges of Edinburgh, and his cautioner is George Craufurd, goldsmith, burges of Edinburgh—2,000 acres; also, Robert Coutis, of Corswoodis, with his cautioner John Coutis, skinner, burges of Edinburgh—1,000 acres; also John Anderson, burges of Edinburgh, with Thomas Anderson, merchant and burges there, his cautioner, 1,000 acres; also, David Craufurd, son of Andro Craufurd, of Badlair, with Robert Montgomerie, of Kirkton, as cautioner—1,000 acres.

6th July, 1609, similar applications are made by

Ibid, p. 655.

Mr. John Ross, burges of Glasgōw, with James Carmichaell, of Pottieschaw, as cautioner, 1,500 acres.

James Carmichaell, of Pottieshaw, in name of David Carmichael his son, with Mr. John Ross, burges of Glasgow, as cautioner, 1,000 acres.

James Craufurd, goldsmyth, burges of Edinburgh, with Archibald Hamilton, of Bairfute, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

John Watson, portioner of Sauchtonhall, with James Craufurde, goldsmith, burges of Edinburgh, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Abraham Creichtoun, brother to Creichtoun, of Brunstoun, with Thomas Creichtoun, of Brunstoun, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

James Dalrumple, brother to Dalrumple, of Stair, with George Craufurd younger, of Auchincors, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

11th July, 1609, applications by

p. 661.

Parlane McWalter, of Auchinvennell, with Alexander Colquhoun, of Lus, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Mr. Malcolm Colhoun, burges of Glasgow, with Alexander Colhoun, of Lus, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

13th July, 1609,

George Murray, of Bruchtoun, with Alexander Dumbar, of Egirnes, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Alexander Dumbar, of Egirnes, with George Murray, of Bruchtoun, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Mr. John Hairt, younger, in the Canongate, in name of William Bellindane, son to

the late Sir Lues Bellindane, knight, with the said Mr. John Hairt as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Nathaniel Cranstoun, son to Mr. Michael Cranstoun, minister at Crawmond, with Robert Wardlau, in Edinburgh, as cautioner, 1,500 acres.

John Meldrum, brother to the Laird of Lēgy, with Ramsey, of Balmouth, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Robert Hamilton, of Stanehou, with John Hamilton, of Gilchriscleuch, "persone" of Craufurd John, 2,000 acres.

p. 684.

18 July, 1609,

James McCulloch, of Drummovell, with George Murray, of Bruchtoun, 2,000 acres.

James Adamson, brother to Mr. William Adamson, of Graycrook, 2,000 acres.

John Broun, at Gorgymylne, with Harie Aikman, in Brumhou, 2,000 acres.

Alexander Hepburne, of Bangla, with Sir Robert Hepburn, of Alderstoun, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Mr. James Watsoun, portioner of Saughton, with John Watsoun, portioner of Saughton, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

William Moubra, son to John Moubra, of Croftangrie, with the said John as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

p. 693.

20th July, 1609,

Andrew lord Stewart, of Ochiltrie, in name of Harie Stewart, of Barskeming, with the said Andro lord Stewart as cautioner, for 2,000 acres.

Andro lord Stewart, of Ochiltrie, in name of Robert Stewart, his uncle, the former as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Robert Stewart, of Robertoun, with William Stewart, of Dunduff, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Captain David Orok, with Andro lord Stewart, of Ochiltrie, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

William Stewart, of Dunduff, with Andro lord Stewart as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

James Guidlett, in Strabrok, with John Cuninghame, of Rawis, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

John Cunynghame, of Rawis, with James Guidlet, of Strabrok, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Robert Stewart, indweller in Edinburgh, with William Stewart, of Dunduff, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Andro Wood, brother to John Wood, of Geilston, with the latter as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

George Douglas, of Sheill, with Douglas, of Pumpherstoun, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Robert Irving, at the Mylne of Cowy, with Edward Johnstoun, younger, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Thomas Purves, in Bold, with John Purves, cordiner, burgess of Edinburgh, as cautioner, 1,000 acres.

Thomas Creichtoun, of Brunstoun, with Mr. James Cunynghame, of Montgrenane, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

25 July, 1609,

p. 715

Mr. Robert Lindsay, in Leith, with George Smailhome, in Leith, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

George Smailholme, in Leith, with Mr. Robert Lindsay, in Leith, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

David Lindsay, keeper of the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, in name of Mr. Jerome Lindsay, in Leith, with the said David as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

William Foulter, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, with John Inglis, skinner, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

John Forbes, in Dirlton, with Walter Ker, of Cokilmylne, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Walter Ker, of Cokilmylne, with John Forbes, in Dirlton, as cautioner, 1,500 acres.

William Forster, in Leith, with John Forster, in Edinburgh, as cautioner, 1,000 acres.

George Thorbrand, burgess of Edinburgh, in name of David Borthwick, Chamberlain of Newbottle, with the said George as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Harrie Achesoun, in Edinburgh, with Mr. James Cunynghame, of Montgrenane, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Sir George Levingston, of Ogilface, knight, with John Craufurd, of Beircroftis, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Mr. Timothie Pont, minister, with Alexander Borthwick, of Nether Laich, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

John Bellindane, son to the late Sir Lues Bellindane, Justice Clerk, with Sir George Levingston, of Ogilface, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

John Craufurd, of Beircroftis, with Sir George Levingston, of Ogilface, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Claud Hamilton, of Creichnes, with Archibald Hamilton, of Bairfute, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

James Meluill, son to John Meluill, of Raith, with James Meluill, of Fadinche, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Alexander Cunynghame, of Powtoun, with George Murray, of Brochtoun, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Joseph Douglas, of Pumpharstoun, in name of William Douglas, his eldest son, with the said Joseph as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Robert Craufurd, of Possill, with John Montgomerie, of Cokilbie, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Alexander Ramsay, brother to Thomas Ramsay, of Balmouth, with Meldrum, of Legy, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

James Mure, portioner of Bothkenner, with Cuthbert Cunynghame, provost of Dunbertane, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Mr. Samuel McGill, burgess of Glasgow, with Robert Gray, brother to Patrick Lord Gray, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

John Dunbar, of Avach, with David Lindsay, keeper of the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

James Douglas, of Clapperton, with George Douglas, of Sheill, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Thomas Marjoribanks, son to Thomas Marjoribanks, of Ratho, with the latter as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Alexander Thorbrand, son to George Thorbrand, burgess of Edinburgh, with the latter as cautioner, 1,500 acres.

Harbert McClellane, of Gregorie, with George Murray, of Brochtoun, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

27th July, 1609,

Registrum p.

743.

Robert Home, of Blackhillis, brother to the laird of Aytoun, with Mr. John Home, of Swanscheill, as cautioner, 2,000 acres. Secreti Concilii

James Stewart, of Rossyth, with William Stewart, of Dunduff, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

George Hamilton, of Eist Bynnie, with Mr. Edward Mershell, Clerk of the Commissariat of Edinburgh, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Mr. John Finlasoun, apparent of Killeith, with Mr. John Dunbar, of Avoch, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

John Johnstone, bailie, of the Water of Leith, with Daniel Coutts, in Dalry Mills, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Robert Hamilton, son of the late Gilbert Hamilton, with Gavin Hamilton, of Raploch, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

4th August, 1609,

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fol. 26.

Thomas Weir, of Kirkcoun, with Stevin Lockhart, of Wicketshaw, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Thomas Inglis, of Auldliston, with James lord Torphichen as cautioner, 1,000 acres.

James Tarbett, servitor to Alexander Earl of Dumfermline, with Thomas Inglis, younger, of Auldliston, as cautioner, 1,000 acres.

Alexander Lauder, son to William Lauder, in Belhaven, with the latter as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

Stevin Lockhart, of Wicketshaw, with Thomas Weir, of Kirkcoun, as cautioner, 2,000 acres.

John Wilkie, burgess of Edinburgh, with James Murray, burgess there, cautioner, 2,000 acres.

14th September, 1609,

fol. 77.

Christopher Alexander, burgess of Stirling, in name of Robert Alexander, his son, the said Christopher being cautioner, 1,000 acres.

The commissioners appear to have known something of the applicants even before the Scottish secretary had forwarded his 'roll' of names. Indeed, that summer of 1609 was destined to bring grief to the hopes of many a decayed Scottish laird and impoverished gentleman, for when the roll aforesaid reached Salisbury, he lost no time in communicating to the authorities north of the Tweed such exceptions as had been taken to a large number of names thereon. So early as the 6th of August, or only seven days after the date of Hay's letter, we find him writing a second one to Salisbury, which is introduced in the following terms:—"Since he last saw his Lordship, has received by packet from their chancellor a roll of new undertakers for Ireland, being *men of greater stuff and ability* than those in the first roll; so all the delay in this business until the next Spring will do much good, for their council will accept [receive] surety of all who offer themselves to undertake. And when order shall be given for their going over, then the council intends to select such as are of the greatest ability; and wherein the first division made the most part of undertakers to have 2,000 acres apiece, they may now be put to the smallest proportion, which will be a great surety to the service, and a good means of peopling those bounds. Has written to the Lord Chancellor, that no directions for going over can be expected before the Spring" [of 1610].

The same process, of weeding out superfluous and suspected applicants from England also, was attempted; although, after all the precaution that could be taken, several 'Britons' from both north and south were admitted, who turned out in many respects but sorry planters. Fortunately, there have been lists of the original applicants from England, also, preserved among the State Papers. These lists contain the names of over double the number required, the applicants, it will be observed, presenting themselves in consorts or companies, each company having an influential or popular person at its head. Of the 116 applicants whose names appear on the several lists subjoined, only 28 obtained proportions of the forfeited lands. The largest company of applicants was one offering to undertake the whole available lands in the county of Fermanagh, but presenting itself in a form thus incompatible with the plantation arrangements, and containing the names of several persons who failed to obtain proportions. This first list, with its prefatory letter, is as follows:—"The names of 40 gentlemen who offer to bestow 40,000*l.* on the plantation of Fermanough. Right Honourable,—The 40 undertakers, whose names are hereunder written, are petitioners for a grant of that small part of the county of Sligo, now in the King's hands, which lies between the end of Lough Erne and the sea; as they intend to have a market town on the south side thereof at Belleke, and from thence, three miles nearer the sea, to erect a strong corporation. This part of Sligo contains about three miles, being a piece of ground very convenient adjoining the sea, for the necessary use of the inhabitants of that corporation for bringing in or transporting their commodities (27). In the county of Fermanough they will erect 40 manors, hoping also his Lordship will grant unto them 60,000 acres, the Loughes, Islands therein, Fishings, and the sole command thereof; which being confirmed to them, they, with their

(27). *Their commodities*.—The small tract between the lower end of Lough Erne and the sea, which once constituted a part of Sligo, now belongs to the county of Donegal.

followers, not less than 1,000 able men well furnished for all kinds of handiwork, would choose Sir Thomas Chichester [brother to Sir Arthur] with six assistances [assistants] for one year, if it be to his Lordship's [the deputy's] liking, by whose advice, and all their own endeavours, they will presently address themselves to the planting thereof, and crave that his lordship will be pleased to patronise it with whatever name or title he likes. Many of these gentlemen have come up purposely to attend his pleasure therein.

Sir Clement Heigham, of Dyrhingham, in county of Norfolk.

Sir Thomas Chichester, in Ireland.

Sir Thomas Coney, of Stowe, in county of Lincoln.

Christ. Sibthorpe, one of the judges of the King's Bench in Ireland.

John Thurston, of Hoxson, in county of Suffolk.

John Archdale, of Darsham, in county of Suffolk.

Thomas Flowerdewe, of Hetherset, in county of Norfolk.

John Aldrige, of Norwiche.

Thomas Blenerhasset, of Horsford, in county of Norfolk.

John Dillan, of Aarstey Park, in county Suffolk.

Henry Honyng, of Darsham, in county Suffolk.

Robert Bogas, of Densham Park, in county Suffolk.

William Torroulde, of Morden, in county Lincoln.

Roger Dertsey, of Kertley, in county Cambridge.

Francis Zacheverell, of Rorsbye, in county Leicester.

Richard Harte, of Coutness, in county Suffolk.

John Bruntowe, of Barnesbey, in county Lincoln.

John Pollard, in Ireland.

Derrick Hubardes, in Ireland, merchant.

Charles Chichester, in Ireland.

John Crismas, of Coulchester, in county Essex.

Ambrose Upton, of Stowe, in county Lincoln.

John Colby, of Layton, in county Suffolk.

William Unwin, of London.

Adrian Watkins, of Thistlewell, in county Middlesex.

William Powell, of Tudberey, in county Stafford, one of the equerries of the King's stable.

Michael Saltford, of the Savoy.

John Noller, of Darsham, in county Suffolk.

William Carter, of Roughton, in county Norfolk.

William Leche, of Paston, in county Norfolk.

Henry Stanhaughe, of Norwich, in county Norfolk.

Daniell Atkinson, of Dublin.

John Fernoley, of _____, in county Norfolk.

William Fokingham, of Hepringham, in county Lincolne.

Peter Howe, in Howe, in Ireland.

Isacke Thomson, of Kellshall, in county Suffolk.

William Bokenham, Yoxford, in county Suffolk.

William Collet, of Beckelles, in county Suffolk.

Thomas Grimes, of _____, in county Norfolk.

Matthew Williams, of _____, in county Gloucester.

A follower of Secretary Harberd [Herbert].

Mr. Matchet, of Tremingham, in county Norfolk.

The foregoing list was probably forwarded before the selection movement, as several following lists contained what was no doubt considered an important item, viz., the amounts of the applicants' annual incomes, as stated, of course, by themselves. Other lists, to be introduced hereafter, will show how many in these several consorts or companies were accepted as undertakers, where they were located, and the number of acres allotted to each. In the meantime, the following additional lists of English applicants are appended :—

“ A Tabular view of all such as offer to become Undertakers. 1. The names of the principal undertakers, with their consorts. 2. Their abilities and estates, as themselves allege. 3. [Their native places]. 4. [The number of acres] desired.

Sir Henry Hobert's consort, viz. :

Sir Henry Hobert.

John Thurston, Suffolk, 600*l.* per annum.

Arthur Everad, Norfolk, 300*l.* per annum.

Henry Honinge, Suffolk, —————.

Thomas Blenerhassett, Norfolk, 120*l.* per annum.

Robert Bogas, Suffolk, 240*l.* per annum.

Thomas Flowerdue, Norfolk, 200*l.* per annum.

John Archdale, Suffolk, 200*l.* per annum.

Richard Harte, one of his Majesty's Servants, Suffolk, 50*l.* per annum.

Sir John Aldridge, Norfolk, 200*l.* per annum.

John Colby, Suffolk, 200*l.* per annum.

Isaac Thomson, Norfolk, 100*l.* per annum.

William Strutton, Suffolk, 100*l.* per annum.

Thomas Cheyney, Suffolk, 60*l.* per annum.

Roger Dersley, Norfolk, 110*l.* per annum.

15,000 acres, Fermanagh.

Sir Marvin Audley's consort :

Sir Marvin Audley.

Sir Richard Brooke.

Edward Blunte.

11,000 acres, Omey.

Sir Maurice Barckley's consort :

Sir Maurice Barckley, Somerset,	4,000 acres.
Sir Dudley Digges, Kent,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.
Robert Dillon, Northampton,	...	...	...	4,000 acres.
William Powell, Stafford;	...	...	...	2,000 acres.
John Dillon, Stafford,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.
Edward Russell,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.

Onealand, or Liffer.

Sir Francis Anderson's consort :

Sir Francis Anderson, Bedford,	2,000 <i>l.</i> per annum.
Sir William Lovell, Kent,	per annum, 2,000 acres.
John Fish, Bedford,	300 <i>l.</i> per annum, 2,000 acres.
John Allin, Bedford,	300 <i>l.</i> per annum.
Edmund Anderson, Bedford,	100 <i>l.</i> in goods, 1,000 acres.
Francis Sachinwell,	Leicester, 300 <i>l.</i> per annum, 2,000 acres.
John Brownlowe, Nottingham,	150 <i>l.</i> per annum, 2,000 acres.

Onealand.

Sir William Harmon's consort :

Sir William Harmon,	2,000 acres.
William Wilson, Suffolk,	...	...	...	1,000 acres.
Thomas Wilson, Suffolk,	...	...	...	1,000 acres.
Roger Garrett, Suffolk,	...	...	...	1,000 acres.
Henry Shephard, merchant,	...	...	...	1,500 acres.
William Clyston, Somerset,	..	...	...	-----
Humphrey Walker, Somerset,	...	..	...	-----
Thomas Stanton,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.
Henry Moye, ...	...	...	...	1,000 acres.

Sir Thomas Cornwall's consort :

Sir Thomas Cornwall,	2,000 acres.
Edward Cornwall,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.
Gilbert Cornwall,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.
Thomas Cornwall,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.
George Cornwall,	..	...	...	2,000 acres.
Robert Cornwall,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.
James Cornwall,	...	...	...	2,000 acres.

Liffer.

Sir John Mallerye's consort :

Sir John Mallery, York,	1,000 <i>l.</i> per annum, 2,000 acres.
Beckingham Butler, Hatford,	400 <i>l.</i> per annum, 2,000 acres.

Stephen Butler, Bedford, 1,500*l.* his estate, 2,000 acres.
 Lawrence Warren, Hatford, 300*l.* in silver, 20*l.* per annum, 1,000 acres.
 Thomas Woode, York, 1,600*l.* in silver, 2,000 acres.
 William Wake, London, 2,000*l.* his estate, 2,000 acres.
 Thomas Johnson, York, 150*l.* per annum, 400*l.* silver, 2,000 acres.
 Charles Ellye, York, 1,000*l.* in leases and silver.
 John Richeson, York, 1,000*l.* his estate, 2,000 acres.
 Thomas Composte, York, 300*l.* per annum, 2,000 acres.
 Ardmagh.

Sir William Monson's consort :

Sir William Monson, 1,000 acres.
 John Barnewall, Gray's Inn, 1,000 acres.
 Matthew Southwell, in behalf of Thomas St. Law, 2,000.
 Richard Dawtry, Suffolk, 2,000 acres.
 James Matchett, clerk and preacher, 1,000 acres.
 William Brower, Suffolk, 1,000 acres.
 Nicholas Howarde, Suffolke, 1,000 acres.
 Edward Rivett, merchant, Suffolk, 1,000 acres.
 Richard Wrighte, merchant, London, 1,000 acres.

Onealand.

Lord Saye's consort :

Lord Saye, 4,000 acres.
 Edward Warde, Suffolk, 400*l.* per annum, 1,000 acres.
 William Stanhowe, and Henry, his son, Norfolk, 150*l.* per annum, 500*l.* goods, 2,000 acres.
 Joseph Warde, Norfolk, 2,000*l.* goods, 1,000 acres.
 William Warde, goldsmith, London, 4,000*l.* goods, 1,000 acres.
 Michael Saltforde, for himself and Nicholas Whiting, 500*l.* goods, 1,000 acres.
 James Matchett, Norfolk, 84*l.* per annum, 200*l.* goods, 1,000 acres.
 Richard Roleston, Stafford, 500*l.* goods, 100*l.* per annum, 1,000 acres.
 Jeffery Money, Norfolk, 40*l.* per annum, goods 200*l.*, 1,000 acres.
 Richard Matchett, Norfolk, 40*l.* per annum, 200*l.* goods, 1,000 acres.
 William Banister, of Southwarke, grocer, London, 700*l.* goods, 1,000 acres.
 Edmund Caston, London, 300*l.* goods, 1,000 acres.

Onealande only.

Sir Henry Holmes' consort :

Sir Henry Holmes, 4,000 acres.
 Sir Henry Clare, 4,000 acres.
 Symon Muskett, Gray's Inn, 200 marks per annum, 1,000 acres.

Timothy Castleton, Norfolk, 200 marks per annum, 2,000 acres.

John Taylor, Cambridge, 200 marks per annum, 2,000 acres.

William Carter, Norfolk, 200 marks per annum, 2,000 acres.

Thomas Stone, merchant, Oxford, 50*l.* per annum, 1,000 acres.

Cavan.

Sir Henry Docwra, 4,000 acres, Liffey.

Sir Robert Crosse, 2,000 acres.

Marcellus Rivers, 2,000 acres, Ardmagh or Tyrone.

Henry Sackforde, 2,000 acres, Onealand.

Sir Hugh Wirrall, 200*l.* per annum, 2,000 acres.

John Wirrall, 50*l.* per annum, 2,000 acres.

Thomas Mountfort, 1,000*l.* in goods, 2,000 acres.

These English candidates for lands in Ulster affected more generally the county of Armagh than any of the others, because it was better known, and possessed several superior attractions for English settlers, one of which attractions probably consisted in its contiguity to the Pale.

But a *third* reason for twelve months' delay before commencing to plant was a very cogent one with the Britons, although it may have been to some extent employed by the commissioners as a sort of bug-bear. It was put forward, however, by the latter, in the following terms :—"There is a common report in England, and a strong expectation in Ireland, that the Earl of Tyrone, or his sons, will draw certain forces into Ulster this summer [1609], which is no small discouragement for the plantation, and will not be cleared until experience hath satisfied the same." There were rumours, indeed, constantly afloat on this subject, which shook the native population much more intensely and alarmingly at some times than others. These rumours, however, if 'reasons' for delay in 1609, were still stronger 'reasons' in 1610, and even in later years, because still more threatening in character. They were generally carried from the continent to England by sailors, and thence to this country by priests, and were true only in their being faithful reflexions of the sentiments and feelings of the narrators. They inspired hope or fear in Ulster, and throughout Ireland, just as the listeners happened to be Irish or British. Very many retailers of these stories from abroad were examined from time to time by order of the Irish executive, and the State Papers of the period literally teem with depositions, generally of a very ludicrous and insignificant character. The deputy, however, was thus kept in a state of constant fear of invasion—his first and indeed only gleam of comfort coming about twelve months after the escape of the 'fugitives,' and consisting of an authentic account, from Lord Salisbury, of the death of the youthful Earl of Tyrconnell. Chichester seems to have breathed more freely for a time; and when writing to Salisbury on the 11th of September, 1608, he refers to Tyrconnell's death as "welcome news," adding these words however, which prove that he was but ill at ease after all—"Tyrone's [death] will be more welcome, by as much as he has done more mischief, and is known to be more dangerous" [than Tyrconnell]. The latter died when he was about a year in exile, and was followed

to the grave in a few weeks by his brother Cathbar. Tyrconnell was only 32 years of age, and Cathbar twenty-five.

Of the rumours about the return of Tyrone, we have a fair specimen in the story of a man appropriately named Teig O'Falstaf, who had returned from Spain to visit his native Cork, and whilst there alarmed the authorities by such statements as the following :—"There is now [1608] a great fleet to be furnished out, and the armadoes of Gillitia and Portugal were sent for to come to the Groyen [Corunna]. All the Irish [on the continent] are hopeful of their coming for Ireland very shortly; there is so great store of ruske [biscuits] to be baked, and such means made for the levy of men, as draws an extraordinary charge on the King [of Spain], and many ears to hearken to the purpose thereof; but the people [of Spain] bear their burden in this business with more alacrity than they were wont in the former preparations." On the other hand, as a specimen of the many counter-blasts blown at this time, in reply to such stories as that of Mr. O'Falstaf, we may quote from a letter of Sir Charles Cornwallis, a very much trusted English agent at Madrid. This gentleman informs the council in London that, having obtained a hearing from certain high officials of the Spanish government, he did not fail to make known to them the true state of affairs in Ireland. "Former kings of England," he said "would rather for rooting out so savage a people [as the Ulster Irish], have used the means taken by the Kings of Spain in the Indies; or those employed with the Moors in removing them from their retreats, and scattering them in other parts of his kingdom, till their brutish and wild condition should be aliened from them. But the King his master had now taken so good order in it [Ireland], and especially in the wild and savage parts [Ulster], that he doubted not they were already made secure from these ragged rebels. The Irish fugitives [Tyrone and others] from what he hears have of late received such cold comfort here and elsewhere, and have so much tasted God's hand in chastisement of their treason and wickedness, that they despair of the success they hoped, and will take to their beads, and think no more of return into Ireland" (28).

About the time when the actual plantation began, the Irish of Ulster naturally became more despairing and more to be suspected than at other periods. The hope of deliverance by the return of O'Neill, with an army of Irish and Spaniards, seems then to have taken complete possession of them. It was found that O'Neill had been in correspondence with some of his kinsmen in Ulster, and it was inferred that his letters could have no other object than the discussion of his contemplated return. In the June of 1609, the bishop of Limerick wrote to Chichester, stating that he had proof that the Earl of Tyrone had actually sent letters "to Brian, the son of Hugh Oge M'Mahon; to Sir

(28). *Into Ireland*.—Sir Charles Cornwallis, the writer of the foregoing letter, was second son of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, comptroller of the household to Queen Mary. Sir Charles was ambassador to Spain in 1604, and afterwards from 1608 to 1610. Whilst the Irish exiles in Spain had "taken to their beads," their abusive critic had taken to something even worse and more dangerous, for he had no sooner returned to England, in 1611, than he entered on an extensive system of peculation. In 1617, he was brought before the Star Chamber to answer

for his conduct as collector of privy seals in Norfolk and Suffolk in 1611, in detaining the money five years (until compelled to surrender it), and giving no account of a large portion of what was levied. His reference to the 'beads' is curious, his sister Anna being a rigid Catholic. This lady married the 7th Earl of Argyle in 1610, and influenced him not only to desert his presbyterianism for her popery, but to renounce his allegiance to King James and enter the service of the King of Spain.

Arthur Magennis; to Donagh McSwine Banagh; to Raynall McSourlah McConnell, lord of Downelis [Sir Randal Macdonnell of Dunluce], who as he [the informant] says, married a third daughter of Tyrone, as the two first (29); and to Connor O'Reagh [Roe] McGuire of Fermanagh." There was nothing, to be sure, very remarkable in the fact that the aged exile should write at times to the husbands of his daughters, or to his cousin, Connor Roe Maguire; but when taken in connection with information supplied to the Bishop of Limerick by a young fellow named Donnough O'Towell, it appears to have become irresistible as evidence of immediate invasion. The bishop's story is, that O'Towell told him he had heard Teig O'Holohan say to Thomas Fitzedmund, a fair-spoken friar, that "there were three great armies preparing in Italy and Spain, one whereof is for England, another for Scotland, and the third for Ireland. After this he [O'Towell] delivered the name of one David Crafforde, Scottishman, whose father, Owen Crafforde, and his mother, likewise, dwell both in Downygall. This Crafforde was servant and butler to the late Earl of Tyrconnell, when he left Ireland and went over into France, and so forward; which said David Crafford landed awhile since, about the 29th of April last, at Killybeg, in the north, and the same night he landed he lay in the house of one Owen McGettighan, in the county of Downygall. From thence, they passed to Fermanagh, in Maguire's country; and the morning after came to Brian McMahon's house, who married one of Tyrone's daughters, and then to Arthroe McEnys's [Sir Arthur Magennis'] house, who likewise married another of Tyrone's daughters. Sure he is that he came from the Earl of Tyrone, to warn all noblemen, gentlemen, and others that wish well to Tyrone, and would hold and stand for the Catholic religion, to be in readiness. His knowledge of all this came by a sister's son of David Crafforde's, who is a friar in this company. This confession being thus made, he took a book and protested of himself that it was true in every point; or else wished he might be hanged if it proved not so."

There is no doubt that, had Tyrone, or any Irish leader in his name, then unfurled the banner

(29). *The two first.*—The Earl of Tyrone had at least eight sons-in-law, who were well known and even distinguished in their generation. These were Lord Mountgarret, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Sir Arthur Magennis, Sir Brian McMahon, Sir Randal Macdonnell, Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, Sir Hugh Maguire, and Sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan. Lady Mountgarret was the eldest of the eight sisters, her Christian name being Margaret; Lady Mary married Sir Rosse McMahon, and afterwards Sir Brian McMahon, who was much older than she, and who is described in 1608 as "grown to be every day heavy with surfeit;" Lady Sarah, married to Magennis, is spoken of in 1603, by the well-known Sir Josias Bodley, as "a truly beautiful woman;" Lady Ellis, or Alice, was married to Sir Randal Macdonnell, about the year 1604; Lady Maguire died probably before her husband, as we hear nothing of her after his death, although her son is mentioned; of the lady of Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, we have met with no record; Lady O'Cahan's sorrows are too well known, but we have not been able to ascertain her Christian name. Until the calendaring of the *Carew MSS.* it was not known that Hugh Roe O'Donnell was a son-in-law of Tyrone. The following letter from the earl, however, places the fact beyond

dispute:—"I have written unto your Lordship before your last return from Flanders, declaring unto you that O'Donnell's son, called Hugh O'Donnell, who hath married my daughter, is kept as a prisoner in the castle of Dublin, and desire your honour to be a mean not only for the enlargement of him upon such security as my letters sent then unto the council there did specify, but also that I might enjoy such governments and other maintenance as I had before my going hither. As I hear nothing of the success of my petitions, I again crave your especial favour. If anything be reported of me there otherwise than well, be a mean to suspend judgment of me until I come thither myself or send my agent. Ever since I brought over your letters to the now Lord Deputy on my behalf, I have not been favoured, but rather crossly dealt withal. I beseech your Lordship, lest that this letter might breed me any prejudice (if it were openly known), that your Honour break [tear] the same presently when you have read the same in Dublin." (*Carew MSS.*, 1575-1588, p. 461.) The above is the substance of a communication addressed by the Earl of Tyrone to the Earl of Leicester, on the 24th of February, 1588.

of revolt in Ulster, the 'swordmen' and other able-bodied natives, would have joined him to a man. Even irrespective of their lingering love of the "lost cause," they were generally disgusted to hear of the scraps of their own soil which were to be doled out amongst them,—and in other dreary places, too, at a distance from their native districts. Their sentiments, indeed, are truly enough described in the following extract of a letter from Sir Toby Caulfield to Chichester, written in the month of June, 1610:—"Reports his ill success in the prosecution of woodkerne. *There is no hope of the people* since the news of the plantation, divulged by Sir Tirlagh McHenry [O'Neill, of the Fewes] and the rest lately arrived from England, that it will shortly be many of their cases to be woodkerne out of necessity, no other means being left them to keep a being in this world, than to live as long as they can by scrambling. They have a report that an ambassador, newly arrived in England from Spain, is treating for the pardoning of the earl and restoration to his lands, which being refused, a war will ensue. They also hope that, the summer being spent, before the commissioners [for the removal of the natives] come down, so great cruelty will not be offered as to remove them from their houses upon the edge of winter, and in the very season when they are to supply themselves in making their harvest. And they think that, by the next spring, if ever Tyrone can or will come, he will wait for no longer time, since delays and further deferring cannot be less prejudice to him than the utter ruin and extirpation of his dearest friends. They hold discourse among themselves, that if this course [their expulsion from their houses and lands] had been taken with them in war time, it had had some colour of justice; but they having been pardoned and their lands given them [in 1603], and having lived under law ever since, and being ready to submit themselves to mercy for any offence they can be charged with since their pardoning, they conclude it to be the greatest cruelty that was ever inflicted on any people. Takes leave to assure him [Chichester] there is not a more discontented people in Christendom."

But there remained a *fourth* very obvious 'reason' for patience on the part of the British undertakers, arising from the fact that the commissioners of plantation had a varied and prodigious work to get through, after a fashion at least, during the summer of 1609. For this reason, especially, therefore, they warned the undertakers, even although they might be able to take out their patents in the summer of 1609, to remain in their own countries until the following spring. Their coming sooner would only impede the work of the commissioners, and entail expenses—perhaps something worse upon themselves. "If," say the commissioners, "the undertakers shall repair thither this summer [1609], they will be forced to attend the execution [await the completion of the commissioners' labours] which cannot be done before Michaelmas at the soonest, the same being to be sped in six counties; so that they [the undertakers] will not only spend their stock by lingering all the summer in a country where is neither lodging nor provision for them, but may also by contrary weather be compelled to spend a great part of the winter time in that kingdom, by which they may be disappointed of the next summer's preparation. Whereas, now [1609] all things will be so made in readiness against next spring, that the undertakers may, in the beginning of the season, enter into and sit down, every man in his proportion, and have the summer before them for preparation of building and other supplies."

CHAPTER V.—THE COMMISSIONERS OF PLANTATION AT WORK.

I.



WE have already mentioned the move of the commissioners, with their attendant military force, from Dublin to Dundalk, on the 31st of July, 1609, and also the preparations that had been previously made for their comfort on the northern journey (see p. 124). One of themselves, (1) fortunately, took the trouble of noting down the dates of their moving from place to place, and some other incidents connected with that memorable sojourn in Ulster. The *heading* of his notes is too pretentious, however, and calculated to excite higher hopes than readers are likely to realise. His paper is styled *A Relation of the Proceedings of the Lord Deputy and the rest in Ireland, from 31 July to 30 September, when the camp was discharged*. This title implies very much more than the scribe has performed; but we are grateful in a case of this kind even for small mercies, and his notes, although meagre, will be interesting by the way.

The commissioners, according to this 'Relation,' remained two days in Dundalk, and during that time were employed, principally, in arranging their subsequent course of procedure. "In every county," we are told, "they were to summon the assizes, wereunto all people of any worth used to resort; of whom they were to swear some for the grand jury; others chosen of every barony for a jury of survey or inquiry what ecclesiastical lands, tenements, or hereditaments the clergy had in every parish within each county, and by what title; what lands and tenements belonged to the King's Majesty; and other articles prescribed from his Majesty. And, also, they agreed to select out of every barony men that were able to nominate, meere, and bound every parish, balliboe, or ballybetagh; and these were to attend Sir Josias Bodley (2) and the surveyor (3), who were to make card [chart or map] of every country." Thus, in addition to the regular

(1). *Of themselves*.—This was Sir Humphrey Winche, who was chief baron of the exchequer, but had then recently succeeded Sir James Ley as chief justice. Chichester, writing to Salisbury, in Dec., 1608, says—"Sir Humphrey Winche, chief baron of the exchequer here, has been informed from thence that Sir James Ley, the chief justice, is to be preferred to some place there, and to return no more hither. Perceives by him [Winche] that he better affects the place of chief justice than this of the exchequer. He is a learned and upright gentleman. Is of opinion that a more fit man can hardly be sent from thence; if there be any such exchange, a man well experienced in the course of the exchequer there should succeed him, for his carriage in that court must bring [greater] profit to his Majesty than any [chosen] in this kingdom."

(2). *Bodley*.—Sir Josias Bodley, so well known in Ulster at the period referred to as a builder and mender of forts, an architect and engineer, was the fifth and youngest son of John Bodley, gent., and brother of that Sir Thomas Bodley whose name will be ever memorable as the founder of the library at Oxford known as the

Bodleian. After the defeat of the English at the Blackwater, on the 10th of August, 1598, a reinforcement was sent to Ireland of more than 1,000 men, who had been drawn home from the Low Countries, and were placed under the command of Sir Samuel Bagenal as colonel, with nine captains, Bodley being second on the list. He distinguished himself as an active and intelligent officer, but did not prosper in worldly matters so well as many who were much less deserving. Robert, the second Devereux Earl of Essex, had strenuously recommended Sir Thomas Bodley, the eldest brother, to be secretary, instead of Robert Cecil, who, as Earl of Salisbury, was prime minister of James I., and who, as such, had the conferring of patents of the forfeited lands in Ulster on Sir Josias Bodley's brother officers; but no good things in the scramble fell in his way. Bodley afterwards complained of unfair treatment, in several letters addressed to Sir Michael Hicks, Salisbury's secretary. See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 98.

(3). *The surveyor*.—The surveyor-general at this time was William Parsons, who came to Ireland as a penniless adventurer, and, unlike Sir Josias Bodley, soon enriched himself on the spoils then so abundantly provided by

routine of holding an assize in each county, there were certain other duties of a much more laborious nature. Of these, the first and most important was, to hold an inquisition in each of the six counties, for the purpose of distinguishing more correctly than had been done by the former commission, between the crown and ecclesiastical lands. "The commissioners," according to their own account published in the month of May, "may this summer proceed to make a more exact survey than the former was, wherein they may supply the omissions, assure the quantities, divide and plot the proportions, and make a model ready for casting the lots. By reason of the monastery lands, termon lands, bishops' lands, and church lands, which lie intermixed with the escheated lands, the casting out of the proportions will become very difficult." Another, and certainly a not less important labour was to arrive at something approaching to, if not altogether an accurate, admeasurement of the lands. The great precincts or baronies were to be truly described in separate maps or charts—a work which was to be done, not only by viewing every barony or precinct in succession, but by information gathered from the intelligent inhabitants in each district, verified by personal observation and experiment. This part of the commissioners' labours was expected to be so exactly performed, that the name and situation of every ballyboe, tate, quarter, and poll, would be preserved and expressed; and not only so, but the name of every lake, river, brook, wood, bog, fort, and any other landmark throughout the entire region the commissioners were then to traverse.

Preliminaries being thus satisfactorily arranged, the commissioners came northward from Dundalk at the head of a formidable army, commencing their march on the morning of the third of August. The weather, strangely enough at that season, was stormy, and the North, no doubt, looked characteristically 'black.' The day was so wet, or as the chronicler expresses it, so 'foul,' that the party were obliged to pitch their camp "in the midst of the Fewes,"—a rather indefinite description of their place of encampment. "The next morning," we are told, "they rose and passed through the rest of the Fewes, a long march, and pitched their tents within four miles of Armagh."

At an earlier period, military expeditions coming northward invariably took the road leading from Dundalk through the level district of Cooley [the ancient Cuailgne], to Carlingford,

confiscation. In 1602, he succeeded Sir Geoffry Fenton as surveyor-general of Ireland; and in 1620, on presenting to the King surveys of escheated estates, he received the honour of knighthood, and was created a baronet in the same year. He obtained large grants of land in the counties of Wicklow, Kildare, Meath, Cavan, Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, and Fermanagh. Sir Edward Brabazon, an honest outspoken privy councillor in Ireland, writing to Salisbury, in March, 1610, says:—"The general surveyor [Parsons], now in England with the Treasurer, has raised his fortunes from nothing to great estate; he is sometimes the escheator's deputy, and thereby *cheateth* well for himself and his friends. About three years past he procured his pardon, and at this moment he has his grant signed for another pardon." Parsons had been guilty of acts in his offices of surveyor and deputy escheator which might at some time have thoroughly compromised him, but for the protection

afforded by these pardons. "*The Humble Remonstrance of the Northern Catholics of Ireland now [1641] in arms*" contains the following passage in reference to this man's deeds:—"The said Sir William Parsons hath been a mean to supplant out of their ancient possessions and inheritances many of the inhabitants of this realm upon old feigned titles of three hundred years past, and he thereupon procured the disposing of their lands by way of plantation; but he having the survey and measuring thereof, did most partially and corruptly survey the same, making [representing] the best land waste and unprofitable in his survey, and in the admeasurement did reduce more than the half of these plantations to fractions under an hundred acres, being of far greater measure; of which fractions the natives, antient possessors thereof, were wholly defeated, and your Majesty not answered thereout any rent or other consideration, but the same wholly disposed of by the said Parsons for his private lucre."

and thence along the southern shore of the lough to N wry. The coast, from the head of Dundalk bay, is nearly all a sandy beach, left dry over a breadth of between one and two miles, and forming the edge or rim of a slowly sloping expanse of inland country. The upper or inland road from Dundalk northward, lay along the Fewes mountains, 'a long march,' for the ancient territory of the Fewes [now comprised in the two modern baronies of the same name], was seventeen miles in length. This mountain road was considered a dangerous one for English troops, as the adjoining woods afforded the amplest cover to the native Irish enemy. But the danger had been removed at the time of this journey in 1609, and principally by the energy of Mountjoy, who caused large fragments of the woods to be hewn down during the war with O'Neill, and a fort to be built at the celebrated Moyry Pass, then known as the gate to Ulster. The railway now runs exactly along the line of Chichester's march from Dundalk, and the remains of this fort still crown the hill, at a little distance westward from the line. The encampment of the commissioners, on the night of the 3rd of August, was, no doubt, at or near this fort which commanded Moyry pass. The next day's march lay through the remaining part of the Fewes, and was broken probably by a brief halt at Fort-Norris. Thence the cavalcade could see at some distance eastward, the outlines at least of those extensive earthworks thrown up originally for the protection of Hugh O'Neill's army, and still retaining the name of *Tyrone's Ditches*. These vestiges are in the parish of Ballymore, barony of Lower Orior, between Acton and Poyntz-pass, and in a part of the country extremely well fortified by nature.

The halt near Armagh, on the evening of Thursday, the 4th, was made for a special purpose, which delayed their progress longer, no doubt, than was expected. The chief justice states that they "there rested the Friday and Saturday, which they spent in hearing the claims of the lord primate, the surveyors setting in certainty the limits of some land. They passed the Thursday [Sunday] in observing many particulars from the inhabitants of the country, who gathered to the camp as they passed. On Monday, the 7th of August, they came to Armagh; there they began the assizes, proceeding according to their former resolutions [at Dundalk], and ended on Saturday following." The real work of the commission, therefore, was begun on Monday, the 8th, at Armagh, the members of each section devoting themselves to their special labours during the week. The assize work in Armagh, and throughout the other counties was very light in 1609, and contrasted remarkably with the state of affairs at the same time in 1608. So few and trifling, indeed, were the duties of lawyers and judges on this occasion, that Davys, in writing to Salisbury at the conclusion of their peregrinations, informed the latter that there had not been so profound a peace as then prevailed in Ulster, since the time of the conquest,—meaning since the invasions of Ireland by the English in the twelfth century. The work of the commissioners was thus, in one department at least, greatly abridged; so that, by the time the lands of the county were divided into precincts, measured, and laid off in proportions, the assize business was over, and the inquisition as to the portions belonging respectively to the Crown and the Church completed. They divided the county for plantation purposes into five great precincts, or rather they adopted the five baronial divisions as so many precincts, one of which named Toughranny [now Tyranny], was not available for

plantation, two others only partially so, and the remaining two yielding but comparatively scant portions of the lands contained in each. In a paper recording the number, names, and quantities of the great precincts, or baronies "which may be clearly disposed to undertakers," the county of Armagh is represented as standing thus :—"Orier, 15,500 acres; Oneilan, 16,500 acres; Fewes, 6,000 acres; and Ardmagh, 4,500 acres." The barony or precinct of Toughranny was pre-occupied, being held in part by the primate in virtue of his archbishoprick, and by the heirs of Sir Henry Oge O'Neill. The barony of Fewes was only partially available, being held to a considerable extent by the Church, and by Sir Tirlagh McHenry O'Neill. The same may be said of the barony or precinct of Armagh, the lands therein being largely in possession of the Church and Dublin College.

On Friday, the 12th of August, was held the inquisition which was to distinguish more clearly than any previous investigation had done the temporal and ecclesiastical lands of Armagh, and to decide according to sufficient evidence, the controversy between the Crown and the Church as to the rightful ownership of the termon and herenagh lands. The commissioners present on this occasion were Sir A. Chichester, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Archbishop of Armagh, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Humphrey Winche, Sir Oliver St. John, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Garrett Moore, Sir John Davys, and William Parsons, surveyor-general. It was rather remarkable that the Bishop of Derry, who was mainly interested in the question of the termon lands, was absent; but he afterwards made his appearance when the commissioners were traversing his own diocese. The jurors, appointed to assist the commissioners, were selected, with one exception, from the leading septs or families of the county, their names being as follow :—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Marmaduke Whitechurch, Esq. | 12. Redmond Hanlon. |
| 2. Sir Tirlagh [M'Henry] O'Neale, Knight. | 13. Owen boy McMurcho. |
| 3. Carberie McCann. | 14. Neale O'Calligan. |
| 4. Donagh Morchie [Murphy]. | 15. Hugh McHenry O'Neale. |
| 5. Tirlagh McIteggart. | 16. Patrick Oge O'Conrie. |
| 6. Christopher Fleminge. | 17. Cormack McTirlagh Braslowe O'Neale. |
| 7. Conn O'Neale. | 18. Bartholemew Owen. |
| 8. Hugh McBrien McCann. | 19. Hugh McIteggart. |
| 9. Donell McHenry O'Neale. | 20. Tirlagh O'Cassaye. |
| 10. Neal McCoddane. | 21. Nice [Angus] O'Quin. |
| 11. Donell McCann. | 22. Calvagh McDonnell. |

The evidence submitted at this investigation tended to confirm the commissioners in their belief that the termon and herenagh lands did not rightfully belong to the bishops in demesne, although they had received therefrom certain chiefries and duties; and that if really belonging to the septs or families by whom they were occupied, these lands must then be considered as vested in the Crown by the Act known as the 11th of Elizabeth. In reference to the true ownership of the disputed lands in Armagh "the said jurors doe upon their oathes say and present that certain septs and families of the Irishrie hereafter named, have tyme out of mynde, possessed and

inherited, according to the Irish custom, certen townes and parceles of land, hereafter specified, lying within the meares and boundes aforesaid, yeelding unto the archbushop of Ardmagh for the tyme being, in right of his archbushoppricke, onelye the rents and dueties ensuinge, viz., the sept of Pierce McGillechrany and their auncestors, tyme out of mynde, have been seized of, and in Gargagh, Imolchraine, and Balliheredene, contayninge half a towne land, yeelding and paying thereout yerely unto the archbishop of Armagh for the tyme being, ten shillings per ann." Immediately after this statement, the names of many septs are recited, together with the names of the several lands held by them respectively, the jurors further stating on their oaths "that the lord archbishop of Armagh for the tyme being could not att any tyme att his will and pleasure remove the above septs or families, or any of them, nor any of their auncestors, out of their said possessions or freeholds aforesaid."

Besides the immediate question involved in the termon and herenagh lands, there are occasionally curious references to other matters in this Inquisition. Thus, the following passage explains to us where, and why, the *Galloglass country* existed in Armagh. "And further, the said jurors doe upon their oathes say and present, that within the territorie or Irish precinct of land called Toaghaghie, within the baronie of Armagh, the auncestors of Sir Henrie McTirlagh McHenrie O'Neale, Knight, longe before the tyme of Con Backagh O'Neale, were seized by virtue of a guift made longe sithence by one of the predecessors of the nowe lord archbushopp of Armagh, of, and in the townes and landes ensuinge, viz., of and in the townes and landes of Lisdromard, Ballyhoyed, Bothoran, Tawlaghboe, Balliduff, Collintra, Brackawnagh, Tonnagh, Agherefinn, Tree, Balleaghebeg, Balledeanin, and Balleskan, with the appurtenances, yeelding and payinge to the lord archbushopp of Ardmagh for the tyme beinge a small rent, the certentie whereof the jurors know not; and that Sir Tirlagh McHenrie's auncestors have bene tyme out of mynde seized thereof, and being to bear the bonnaght of some of the galloglasses for [the] O'Neale, did give to the said galloglasses foure of the said townes for their bonnaghts." These lands came to be known as the galloglass country, and being forfeited and vested in the Crown by the 11th of Elizabeth, were granted by her to Captain Thomas Chatterton (see p. 64). The latter, however, was soon slain by the men of Orior, and his heirs never ventured to carry out the terms of the grant, which, of course, became void. Sir Tirlagh McHenry O'Neill was naturally anxious afterwards to get back this fragment of his ancestral lands, but could not prevail with the Government to surrender it, although he took a journey all the way to London about his claim. Chichester thought it might be good policy to gratify Sir Tirlagh in this matter, but did not mention that the lands in question had belonged to this ancient branch of the O'Neill family. In his [Chichester's] "notes of remembrances," he says:—"Sir Tyrlagh McHenry has been very earnest with him to enlarge his possession of land of the Fues, the same being more wood and bog than pasture or arable ground. Has promised to be a suitor to his Majesty to bestow upon him a part of Toghrighie [Toaghaghie] which lies adjoining unto the Fues, and thinks it well given if that will make him and his sons honest [loyal to the Government], which he humbly recommends to his Majesty and the Lords."

The concluding paragraph of this Inquisition is sufficiently significant, as showing how much

of the county had been vested in the Crown. As the termon lands were now again found to have belonged to the Irish septs, they had therefore come into the hands of the King by the 11th of Elizabeth, whilst other portions belonged to his Majesty by the attainder of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. "Lastlie, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, present and find, that all the lands of the said county of Armagh are now in the reale and actual possession of the Crown, except the demesne landes belonging to the archbishop of Armagh (4); and except the inheritance [estates] of the heirs of Sir Nicholas Bagnall (5) deceased, in the barony of Orier, and in the barony of O'Neyle; and except the inheritance of Sir Tirlagh McHenrie O'Neale, lying in the barony of the Fues; and except the inheritance of the heires of Sir Henry Oge O'Neale, deceased, in the barony of Toaghtrany; and except the lands belonging to the deane (6) of the cathedrall church of Armagh, or to the prior and vicars chorall (7) of the same church, or to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paule (8); and except the inheritance of Marmaduke Whitechurch (9), and Patrick

(4). *Of Armagh*.—Davys, in his *Abstract of Titles*, says:—"And now, by virtue of a commission taken at Armagh, 12th of August, 1609, to inquire of the ecclesiastical lands in that and other counties, and to distinguish the same from the lands of the Crown, it is found that the Archbishop of Armagh is seised, in right of his archbishoprick, of 26 towns or thereabouts, as of his mensal or demesne lands, and that he ought to have certain perpetual rents and other duties out of 160 towns more (which are not found to be termon or herenach lands) lying in several territories of this county, but the tenants thereof being now Irish, are found to have been inheritors thereof time out of mind, according to the Irish custom of tanistry and gavelkind; and that the lord Primate could not remove the said tenants at his pleasure."

(5). *Bagnall*.—See p. 115. Davys, in his *Abstract*, states that seven towns lying in O'Nealan, parcel of the possessions of the abbey of Newry, were granted to Sir Nicholas Bagenal and his heirs." 4 Edward VI.

(6). *The deane*.—Davys states, in his *Abstract*—"Touching the lands claimed by the Dean and Chapter of Armagh, whose right is also saved by the Statute of 11^o Elizabeth, there are but three towns and odd sessiagh found to belong to the Dean, but there are nine towns and odd sessiagh found to belong to the vicar's choral of that church, to which we think he has no title." This statement of Davys has reference to the following passage of the Inquisition:—"The jurors further finde by an ancient booke showed unto them by the deane of the cathedrall church of Ardmagh, twoe townes of Edenufeagh, Ballyedenkaspagh, Ballrameall, and Ballekhillin, and the half towne of Drumgoose, should belonge to the said deane, and that the towne of Dromagh should belonge to the prior of the vicars chorall; howbeit, the jurors cannot finde that the said landes were at any time in the possession of the said deane and prior, but that the said booke mentioneth that there was paid out of the said town of Dromagh six shillings, one mutton and one lossett of butter unto the prior; and rents to the dean out of the other lands."

(7). *Vicar's chorall*.—According to Chichester's opinion this church machinery was not in a hopeful condition

when he and his attendant commissioners visited Armagh during the autumn of 1605, and soon after his elevation to the deputyship. Writing to the council in London, on the 30th of September in that year, he says:—"They began their labours at Armagh; and first, in the church there, which was much ruined and fallen into decay, they found a number of priests all ordained by foreign authority, and holding their dignities and prebends by Bulls from Rome,—not one man amongst them disposed to celebrate divine service and sacraments according to his Majesty's laws. They found also that certain tithes of great value, intended for the support of a college of 22 vicars choral of that church, were demised in lease, by Mr. Wood, the dean, without any lawful authority. For redress of these enormities they have directed the Lord Primate [Henry Ussher], the Archbishop of that see, and then in their company, with all speed to place a sufficient minister to serve in that church according to his Highness's injunctions, and also have admonished and enjoined himself, who is well able to speak their language, to repair thither in person on every summer season, and there to reside for three or four months, to instruct the people by his preaching, and to reform a number of abuses amongst them. They [the commissioners] have likewise caused him to sequester the tithes and profits of that college, to be reserved for the maintenance of some poor scholars of that province (whereof already they have chosen a few that are of some towardness) to be placed in the college near Dublin, until a competent number of ministers may be provided and placed there to attend the service of that church."

(8). *And St. Paule*.—At least 20 balliboos of this abbey's lands had been granted to Sir Toby Caulfield. This is the number stated by Davys, but the denominations specified in the grant are 37, which may not, however, have included more than 20 balliboos of 100 or 120 acres each. The grant to Sir Toby is dated June 4, 1607. See Erck's *Repertory*, p. 327.

(9). *Whitechurch*.—Davys states in his *Abstract* that Whitechurch had six balliboos of this abbey's lands also. Their names, as recited in the grant (which is dated July 23, 1606, are Agheylogh, Bailitollagh, Clonyntine, Ballylurgakeyle, Aghegletidy, and Aghedenoyle. See Erck's *Repertory*, p. 306.

McPhelomey O'Hanlon" (10).

II.

Having thus made such arrangements in and for the county of Armagh as were deemed necessary, or rather such as they had time and means to accomplish, the commissioners resumed their progress northward, early on the morning of Saturday, the 13th of August. Their chronicler is unfortunately too meagre in his notice of the march from Armagh to Dungannon. "On the Saturday following the 12th of August," says he, "they rose and passed by Charlemount on the Blackwater, through woods and paces [passes], and pitched their tents within three miles of Dungannon (11), and began the assizes and other businesses in the county of Tyrone, the 13th of August, and ended the 23rd of August." The region now to be surveyed and ransacked in various ways, had, until the period then passing, included all O'Cahan's country, and all the county of Armagh, except the one barony of Orior. Thus, from an early time, a noble principality occupied the most attractive portions of Ulster, and to it the other surrounding territories generally looked for protection, and were not disappointed. Sir Thomas Cusake, the Irish lord chancellor, describes this vast region, even so late as the year 1553, as "the fairest and goodliest country in Ireland universal, and many gentlemen of the Neyles [O'Neill's] dwelling therein." But old times had changed, and with them went one fragment after another from Tir-Eoghan, to form the two counties of Armagh and Londonderry, the latter even snatching from the mother territory its ancient and magnificent forest of Glenconkeyne. Yet, after these changes, the present county of Tyrone is of goodly dimensions, measuring upwards of 38 miles in length, from the summit of Croagh mountain a little eastward of Barnesmore, to Caledon, on the Blackwater, and thirty miles in breadth along its western border, over Strabane and Loughderg; its several territorial divisions comprising not much under 900,000 acres.

The county only numbers four baronies, viz., Dungannon, Clogher, Omagh, and Strabane; but these contain vast sweeps of territory, and for convenience sake each barony has been sub-divided. The commissioners divided the whole county into five great precincts, cutting the barony of Dungannon into two almost equal parts, and designating the one half the precinct of *Mountjoy*. In other respects the old baronial divisions were preserved (12); and were indeed all adopted,

(10). *O'Hanlon*.—This servitor's grant included twelve balliboes, but on condition that three were to be surrendered to be granted to Captain Atherton for the fort of Mountnorris. For the terms of this grant to O'Hanlon, see *Erick's Repertory*, pp. 75, 219, 728.

(11). *Dungannon*.—The march on the 12th was one of moderate length, but tedious in consequence of the woods, which were not then sufficiently cleared for the convenience of a large force passing, although several narrow openings or 'paces' had been made. The route of the party lay principally along the right bank of Blackwater, where the surface is low and flat, and where not densely clothed with trees, was then covered with bog. The road at present from Armagh to Dungannon traverses this same district, one-eighth of the extent yet consisting of bog,

but the other seven-eighths now rich wheat-bearing land, in good cultivation. The castle or fort of Charlemont is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west from Armagh, and nearly five south-east from Dungannon. It stands on a height which overlooks the Blackwater, and effectually commanded the ancient and celebrated passage of that river. As the commissioners encamped three miles from Dungannon, they evidently preferred the vicinity of Charlemont where there was then a strong garrison, although O'Neill's old castle at Dungannon had been converted into a military post after his flight, and now contained a ward or small garrison also.

(12). *Preserved*.—These old divisions are well known from a survey made of Tyrone, in 1591, at the urgent solicitation of Hugh O'Neill. (See p. 29). Now, when

with the slight exception now mentioned, as the best arrangement of the county in precincts which could be made. These several divisions on being re-measured, were represented as containing the following quantities of land respectively, and available for allotting to undertakers:—"1. Dungannon, 16,000 acres; 2. Mountjoy, 9,500 acres; 3. Omagh, 11,000; 4. Strabane, 13,500; and 5. Clogher, 12,500 acres. These quantities were exclusive of the church lands of various kinds. In this county the bishops' allotments amounted to 18,275 acres, whilst the incumbents obtained 5,880 acres, after the prescribed rate of 60 acres for glebe-lands in every proportion of 1,000 acres. After the general measurement of the five great precincts or baronies, the next work was the sub-division of each into proportions of the required quantities or sizes. *Dungannon* (13) was marked off into 12 proportions, viz., two great ones of 2,000 acres each; four middle-sized, of 1,500 acres each; and six small ones of 1,000 acres each. The precinct of *Mountjoy* was divided into 7 proportions, viz., two great, one middle, and four small. The precinct of *Omagh* (14) was divided into 9 proportions, one great, two middle, and six small. The precinct of *Strabane* (15) was divided into 11 proportions, viz., one great, three middle, and seven small. The precinct of *Clogher* was divided into 10 proportions, viz., two great, one middle, and seven small. The work of marking off, or 'casting out,' the several proportions was very heavy indeed, and, to have been done correctly, would have required a much longer time in each county than the commissioners had at their disposal.

The holding of the inquisition to distinguish between the crown and ecclesiastical lands in Tyrone, and to determine the legal ownership of the termon and herenagh lands, was postponed until the 23rd, the last day of the commissioners' sojourn, at Dungannon. The same members of the commission sat here as at Armagh, excepting that George Sexten (16), the escheator-general

deprived of its whole eastern portions which constitute Londonderry, Tyrone is described, generally, as extending from Lifford to the Blackwater, which amounts exactly to the same, for the Irish designated the whole extent of water from Leith-bhear or Liffer to the sea as Loch-Feabhail [Lough Foyle]. Thus, "what modern map-makers called the *river* Foyle, the ancient Irish considered as a part of the loch." See *Miscellany* of the Celtic Society, p. 301.

(13). *Dungannon*.—In the survey of 1591, the barony of Dungannon is described as extending from the Blackwater to Mulloghgory [now Mulnagore, a townland near the north-west limit of the barony, in the parish of Pomeroy], and from Kilytraghe to the Closaghe [in the barony of Clogher]. The barony is so called from *Dun-geanainn*, or Geanainn's fortress. It is first mentioned by the Four Masters, at the year 1430, as the residence of Owen or John O'Neill. See Colton's *Visitation*, p. 126.

(14). *Omagh*.—See p. 29. In the survey of 1591, this barony is mentioned as containing the 'country' of the *Sint Arte*, or descendants of an Arthur O'Neill who lived at an early period, and whose chief residence was at Newtown, now Newtown-Stewart, where the whole clan also had its head-quarters. Speed places the clan at Stranorlar, in Donegal, which is too far west; Norden places them between the Lough and river Eske. See

Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 128.

(15). *Strabane*.—This town, anciently *Srath-ban*, the 'fair holm,' has given name to the whole barony. A portion of the ancient Irish territory was called *Ui Fiachra Finn*, or *Ardstratha*, now Ardstraw.

(16). *George Sexten*.—This was one of Chichester's most useful instruments, being his secretary, and the medium through which money flowed liberally to spies. His position gave him manifold opportunities of becoming rich, and he appears to have availed himself thereof to the fullest extent. On the 14th of January, 1605-6, he obtained the office of general escheator and feodary in the province of Ulster, to hold by him and his deputies, with all the fees, wages, and emoluments thereto belonging—and these were no trifling means of wealth throughout the six counties. Parsons was his deputy, generally, but the latter soon also became so rich that the deputyship was resigned into other hands. Sexten also became famous as a "discoverer," and, as such, received enormous grants of lands in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Louth, Meath, Waterford, and Wexford. He was obliged, however, to divide the spoils thus obtained with two other discoverers named Dixon and Waldron, for worthies of this class generally went into partnership. Sexten also had an exclusive grant, dated March 20, 1605-6, to make as much *aquavitae*, *usquebaugh*, and *aqua composita* as he and his agents pleased, in the counties of Dublin, Wick-

for Ulster, was now absent. The following jurors, summoned and appointed to assist on this occasion were, with few exceptions, members from leading families or septs in Tyrone:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Henry McShane O'Neale. | 13. Robert Hovenden. |
| 2. Captain Tirlagh O'Neale. | 14. Captain Daniel Leigh. |
| 3. James O'Shele. | 15. Owen Roe O'Quinn. |
| 4. Edmond Oge O'Hagan. | 16. Hugh McDonnell O'Neale. |
| 5. Bryan O'Develyn. | 17. Shane Roe O'Neale. |
| 6. Patricke Walshe. | 18. Walter Meirse. |
| 7. Shane O'Kenan. | 19. Connor O'Quynn. |
| 8. Murtagh O'Quinn. | 20. Rorie O'Gormeley. |
| 9. Henry McNeal McArte O'Neale. | 21. Henry Oge McQuin O'Neale. |
| 10. Edmond McOwen McIver. | 22. Hugh McShane McOwen O'Neale. |
| 11. Cormocke McShane boy O'Neale. | 23. Owen Oge O'Hagan. |
| 12. Rorie McCullin [M'Quillin?]. | 24. Brian O'Quin. |

These jurors were, in most instances, the same who had served in a similar capacity during the assize and survey held at Dungannon in the preceding autumn of 1608, when, as Davys afterwards stated in a letter to Salisbury, "the Hagans, the Quinns, the Divilins, and the rest of the late earl's followers, gave as diligent attention as they were wont when their fugitive master was present" (17).

At the inquisition in Dungannon of the preceding autumn, 1608, the question as to the legal ownership of the lands, temporal and ecclesiastical, throughout Tyrone came up for special notice; and the following is Davys's account of the decision on this point, in a letter written immediately afterwards to Salisbury, from the vicinity of Coleraine:—"Touching the survey of these countries which are now devolved on the Crown,—Mr. Treasurer [Ridgeway] and himself [Davys], before the surveyor came, took an Inquisition at Dungannon; whereby they surveyed all the county of Tyrone, and found all the temporal land in that county escheated to the Crown by the outlawry of

low, Wexford, Kilkenny, Waterford, Kildare, King's, Queen's, Louth, Meath, Westmeath, and Longford, and the whole province of Leinster. See Erck's *Repertory*, pp. 251, 255, 485, 487, 492, 686, 741. Sexten and Parsons acted as each other's deputies.

(17). *Was present*.—Davys does not represent this matter fairly; probably because he did not know the real state of affairs in Tyrone. The persons who thus diligently gave him their aid and attention as jurors had never been the Earl of Tyrone's followers, but, on the contrary, were always fiercely opposed to him, for in the late struggle, not only had O'Neill's been pitted against each other, but O'Hagans also, O'Quinns, and others. John Leigh, who was sheriff of Tyrone in 1608, has left a short record which is preserved among the *Carew MSS.*, and headed *A Brieve of some things which I observed in the several baronies of the county of Tyrone*. From it we make the following extract, explanatory of this matter:—"I observed that there are certain kindreds or

septs of the Neales [O'Neill's], in divers parts of Tyrone, which ever did, and still do, as much as in them lieth, oppose both against Tyrone and all those of his proper sept and party, namely, in the barony of Strabane, Tyrloghe Oge O'Neale, son to Sir Arthur O'Neale, and all his followers and dependents, as well of the Neales as of the Quinnes, and likewise of divers other septs on that [the Strabane] side of Slewsheese. Also, in the barony of O'Meaghe [Omagh] all that sept of the Neales, called the Sleughte Artes, do deadly hate Tyrone's sept. And likewise in the barony of Cloughier, are two other distinct septs of the Neales who hate Tyrone and his septs; one of which septs are the sons of Shan O'Neale and their followers." (See *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, sixth series, p. 30.) On the foregoing jury list, we find the first name was that of Shane O'Neill's eldest son, and the second name that of Sir Arthur O'Neill's eldest son, the other natives jurors being no doubt the followers of these two leaders, and, therefore, friendly to the interests of the English party.

the earl (excepting only two ballybetaghs [or 2,000 acres] which were granted to Sir Henry Oge O'Neale by the King); and the rest of the lands, which they call church lands, being in the possession of certain scholars called Herenaghes, and whereof they were in ancient times true owners and proprietors, the jury found to be resumed and vested in the Crown, by the statute of 11 Elizabeth, whereby Shane O'Neale was attainted, and never since *divested* by any grant from the late Queen, or from his Majesty." The jurors now, in 1609, came to the same conclusion as to the termon and herenagh lands, and upon much fuller and more satisfactory evidence than they appear to have sought for in 1608. At the Inquisition, now more immediately under consideration, the jurors gave a full and very satisfactory explanation respecting these disputed lands throughout the several parishes of the county in which they were found, together with a statement of the rents and services paid therefrom to the Archbishops of Armagh, and Bishops of Derry and Clogher.

Respecting the original gift of these lands, and the former occupants, we have the following interesting statements from the jurors at Dungannon, in 1609:—"And further they say upon their oathes, that in all places of the said county of Tyrone, where the tiethes are divided betwixt the parson, vicar, and herenaghe, they are to bear the chardge of repairinge and maynteyninge the proper parishe church, equallie between themselves. And the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, finde and present, that the erenagh land was att first given by the temporall lords immediatlie to the first founders of the churches; and that those founders did give the same to severall septs for paying rents and other deuties to the bishoppes, and for repairinge and maynteyning their parishe church, wherein they oftentimes did beare a third parte, and sometymes two third partes of the chardge, and for keeping of hospitalitie; and that these septs or erenaghs have, tyme out of mynde, inherited the said lands according to the Irish custome of tanistrie, and that neither the said lord archbushopp [of Armagh], nor any other bushopp, nor their predecessors, could att any tyme heretofore, or now can, remove the said herenaghs out of the said lands; and, further, they [the jurors] say, that termon land had the same beginninge as herenagh lande, onely they differ in that the termon land hath often tymes more privileges, as sanctuarie and the like, which was not allowed to many of the herenaghs; againe, the chiefe tenant of the termon land was called a corbe [coarb], but in common speech he is called by his sirname, but the chief tenant of the herenagh [land] is alwaies knowne and called an herenagh; and that the corbe, in many places, hath under him one or more herenaghs to whom he giveth a portion of land free, or for rente or customes, and other liberties as he thought fit." This account of these lands will be appropriately followed by certain curious illustrations of herenagh duties and prelatic claims, which occur at the very commencement of the Inquisition, and immediately after the jurors had been "duly sworne uppon the holy evangelists." Thus, they proceeded to inform the commissioners that the "lord archbushopp of Ardmagh is seized in fee, in right of his archbishoppricke of, and in the severall yerely rents, services, and customes under written, issuinge out of certain parcells of herenagh land, within the Barony of Dunganon, in the said county of Tyrone, as followeth:—

"Out of the Erenagh land of Donoghmore, conteyninge thirtene tullaghes, every tullagh conteyninge one balliboe and one sessiagh, every sessiagh contayninge a thirde part of a balliboe,

the yerely rente of forty shillings, and six shillings and eight pence Irish for everie bloodshed (18); and also a yerely cosherie (19) in the said lord archbushopp his visitation, yf he come himself in person, and not otherwise; and, also, out of the erenagh land of Kyllishell, contayninge two small ballyboes, the yerely rente of three shillings and four pence, and one mutton, thirtie cabdell meadors (20) of oates, and a cosherie yerely, if the said lord archbushopp come himself in visitation, and not else, together with fines for bloodshed as before; and also, out of the erenagh lands of Artra, contayninge twelve tullaghes (whereof the erenagh had one free from exactions) the yerely rente of foure markes, and a cosherie for one night yerely, in his visitation, and not otherwise; and, also, out of the erenagh land of Ardboo *alias* Ballileigh, conteyninge thirtene tullaghes (whereof one tullagh was free to the erenagh), the yerely rente of foure markes, and one cosherie yerely, in his visitation, as before, and not otherwise; and that the herenagh of this land was to beare two thirde parts of the chardge in repaireinge and maynteneinge the parish church; and, also, out of the termon land of Ballyneclage, conteyninge fourtene tullaghes (whereof two tullaghes were free to the corbe) the yerlie rent of two markes, and a cosherie, as before; and the herenagh of this place also to beare two third parts of the chardge in repayringe and maynteyninge the parishe churche there." But the doctrine, or rather the Celtic law relating to the occupiers of herenagh lands in Tyrone was, that these lands having been held, time out of mind, by certain septs or families, could never be cleared of these tenants by bishop or archbishop.

Before the commissioners had commenced this northern journey, Davys volunteered to write to Salisbury from their halting places in the several counties, to tell him of their progress, and how it fared with the leading objects of their mission. And Davys, no doubt, kept to his promise in this particular, although his letters from Armagh and Dungannon are not forthcoming in any collections of State Papers yet calendared. We shall have the pleasure of hearing from him, however, at the four remaining stages of their progress. In the meantime, it may be stated that from the date of their start from Dublin, the deputy appears to have been inundated by letters from the council in London, on questions relating to many parts of Ireland, but none having any

(18). *Bloodshed*.—The Celtic law punished crimes even of the most heinous character by the imposition of fines on the criminals in proportion to the extent of their transgressions. The 'bloodsheds' above mentioned were only woundings such as caused blood to flow and did not imply any charges of murder against those who were to be mulcted in 6s. 8d. apiece. This law of *Erick* or *Fine* was introduced by an ancient Irish king, who got the epithet of *Reachtair*, or the 'Law-giver,' from his great anxiety to have good laws. Before his time the law of *Retaliation* was the order of the day—*an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth*—but he substituted the milder punishment of an *erick* or fine, even in the most aggravated cases. The same arrangement afterwards prevailed among the Scots of Alba and the Saxons. Among the Germans murder was punished by levying from the criminal numbers of cattle for the family of the deceased, and when the criminal had no cattle, or not a sufficient number to give, his particular clan or tribe was compelled to supply them. In Ireland the *erick* or fine for slaying a king was 30,000 *thrymsas* [or groats], of which one half

was paid to the family of the slain king and the other to his subjects; the price of an archbishop, and of an earl, was 15,000 *thrymsas*; and so downward to the peasant, whose price was 267 *thrymsas*. See Ware's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 71.

(19). *Cosherie*.—This simply meant food and lodging for a time, but in the case of an episcopal visitation the time was short. The term cosherie is said to be derived from *cias-rí*, the King's cess; and generally it was not, in the case of chiefs, a living or quartering on their subjects, but a compensation to prevent the necessity of this.

(20). *Meadors*.—"The *Meadar*, a vessel so called in Irish, and *Medr* in British, was of no certain capacity, but larger or smaller, according to the artificer's fancy, or the materials he had ready at hand for working upon. It was a Can or Pitcher four-cornered, and made of one piece of timber hollowed into angles with a chisel. The Meader of the county of Donegall is mentioned in this grand inquisition of the six escheated counties to contain two gallons English measure, and in the county of Fermanagh six quarts." Ware's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 223.

bearing on Ulster affairs. Chichester was so absorbed in his occupation that he wrote but few letters from the North. When engaged at Armagh, however, he had time to draw up a few *Briefs of Remembrance*, dated August 8, to be entrusted to Lord Danvers, for the authorities in London. In this document are the following sentences relating to efforts still to be made in Ulster, and expressive, at the same time, of hopelessness on the subject of plantation, unless more energy and greater self-sacrifice could be found for the work :—"Tyrone's return is lately bruited and by many expected, which has given fresh hopes to the discontented. If there be foreknowledge thereof, they must be enabled to encounter him upon his first arrival, otherwise he will soon grow great as well in force as in opinion. Confesses the King's charge here [in Ireland] is very great, and would feign [fain] abate it, but until the North be planted, and men's minds touching the point of Tyrone's coming better settled, it is neither safe nor convenient to advise it [retrenchment]. Care has been taken and some allowance made for fortifying and repairing some of the forts in Munster and that in Galway [against invasion by the fugitive earl]. The like will be had for others in Leinster and Ulster, according to a note lately sent over by him. If all be not presently granted, yet Philliptowne and Maryborough in Leinster, the Derry, Liffer, Balleshanon, and Dungannon, in Ulster, would specially be cared for. Something is done to the rest, but these being places of principal import for keeping and governing the country, are left very weak ; for these they want money to do them effectually. To patch them up were to small purpose. How well soever we wish the plantation of Ulster, according to the project laid down, yet he despairs to see it effectually performed upon private men's undertaking ; for such an act must be the work of a commonwealth, and upon the common charge, towards which a subsidy or two were well given ; and that (if he be not deceived), will save many a subsidy in 40 years. If that be not liked of, let every parish in England contribute towards the planting of a man, two, or three, according to their circuit and abilities ; the men to be sons, or natives of the parish, but such especially to be chosen as are now in employment here, and next unto them old soldiers that have served. By this course towns will be fortified, houses built, men of valour and understanding enabled to plant there, who will defend their own, and make good what they have undertaken ; and the Irish will be put out of hope to weary or overmaster them [the planters], and towards so good a work he thinks every well-affected subject will contribute willingly."

The deputy had, evidently, since coming north, met some specimens of the probable settlers, and must have begun to feel uneasy about the future of his cherished movement in Ulster. He never liked the 'Project' prepared in London ; and he now speaks as if he would be glad to see it superseded by some simpler and more vigorous Scheme. Chichester wrote to Salisbury, from Dungannon, on the 17th of August, complaining that the Bishop of Derry had not then joined the other commissioners, although he [the bishop] was so deeply interested in their investigations. In Montgomery's absence, the deputy sent for the Archbishop of Dublin, and the latter had attended at great risk to his health, but could not be induced to move in any church questions without the co-operation and consent of the primate and the Bishop of Derry. Chichester, therefore, felt disquieted on this point, and had little time,—perhaps less inclination,—to write again to Salisbury

until his return to Dublin. On one point, however, he felt he could speak freely, and with good hope of gratifying all concerned, from the King downwards. The whole lands of the county of Tyrone, temporal, herenagh, and termon, were to be found for the King! In his letter to Salisbury, above quoted, the deputy mentions that the Earl of Clanrickard had visited him at Dungannon, probably with a view to negotiate some terms about accepting of the northern swordmen, and Chichester had taken the opportunity of explaining to him (for the benefit of the London authorities whom Clanrickard was about to visit), the manner of their procedure in Ulster. "At his lordship's being here he [Chichester] acquainted him with the course they hold in this new survey. The work is very intricate and full of labour, and will be chargeable to his Majesty, but when it is finished after the form they have begun (which shall be this journey, if conveniently they may) hopes it will give his Highness [the King] and his Lordship [Salisbury] good satisfaction." He thus refers to the main work of their journey—the clearing of the King's title to the forfeited lands—and as they had commenced so auspiciously at Armagh, and looked even to greater results in Tyrone, he expected they would be able to have a triumph on this head, if on no other, at the close of their northern excursion. And to this end, the Inquisition at Dungannon, contributed not a little, its concluding announcement being as follows:—"And lastlie, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, find and present, that all manors, castles, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the said countie of Tirone (except the lands heretofore granted unto Sir Henry Oge O'Neale and his heirs by letters patent, and except the mensall lands, demesne lands, and the rents, duties and customs above mentioned to belong to any archbishopprick or bishoppricks, and except all lands belonging to any abbeys, monasteries, or religious houses, which were granted by letters patent to any person or persons), are now in the reall and actual possession of his Majesty, by reason of the attainder of treason of Hugh, late Earle of Tirone, and by the Statute of the attainder of Shane O'Neale, made in the 11th yeare of the raigne of the late Queen Elizabeth, and by reason of either of them." Here was, indeed, a complete sweep for the Crown! It so happened that neither the Primate nor the Bishop of Derry had mensal or demesne lands in Tyrone, and the bishop had only a few balliboes in the vicinity of the town of Clogher. The glebe lands in the county contained in all three balliboes, two sessiaghs, and seven acres. The lands that had belonged to the little abbey of Omagh were supposed to be scanty, and had been granted to the Leighs. And nothing was found by inquisition for the prelates but some insignificant chiefries and duties—all the herenagh lands amounting to about 313 balliboes having been found for the King. As if to make matters worse for the Bishop of Derry, it was found that the 11th of Elizabeth which, while attainting Shane O'Neill and his adherents, had saved the right of the Archbishop of Armagh without saving the right of the Bishop of Derry, whose diocese extended partly into the county of Tyrone. "The Bishop of Derry," says Davys in his *Abstract*, "because the right of the said bishoprick was not saved by the Act of the 11th of Elizabeth, cannot in law demand either land or rent [in Tyrone], but is left to his Majesty's grace and favour in that behalf." This temporary humiliation of Montgomery, was soon to be succeeded by the acquisition, on his part, of ecclesiastical spoils of enormous value and extent.

III.

The labours of the commissioners at Dungannon having closed so satisfactorily on the evening of the 23rd of August, they resumed their journey still northward, early on the following day. "The 24th," says their own chronicler, "they marched towards [the county of] Coleraine; the mountains of Slewsishe and Slewannon [Slievegallon] not being passable with carriages, they were constrained to pass by Desert Linn and Glanconkane, near to Kilulter [Killetragh], the greatest fastness of Tyrone. Through the glens in this passage they were enforced to camp three nights." In the preceding autumn, the commissioners, on pretty much the same errand bent, took the same route through the glens or woods, "where the wild inhabitants," as Davys jokingly remarked, "wondered as much to see the King's deputy, as the ghosts in Virgil wondered to see Æneas alive in hell." It is not easy to imagine why the commissioners were required to remain three nights in these woods during their journey in 1609; but such having been the fact, as here recorded, it is remarkable that the chronicler takes not the slightest notice of the cause of such lengthened delay. But, whatever it may have been, they were probably wise in avoiding the road (rather the path) across Slewsishe, or Slewseese, which, with its dense mists in foul weather, would have sorely tried the commissioners, some of whom were old, and unaccustomed to exposure of this kind. The vast mountain range then known as Slewsishe, but now as the Sperrin mountains (see p. 2), extends from the vicinity of Strabane to within four miles of Garvagh, a distance of thirty-six statute miles. The barrier thus presented in the seventeenth century is not so formidable at the present day, as roads have been since made along the four glens by which it is intersected, one running almost parallel with it from Newtown-Stewart to Draperstown, along the picturesque highland defile of Glenelly, which separates the Sperrin range from the Munterloney mountains.

Although Slievegallon was hardly so uninviting to the travellers, it held out little hope of a practicable road or passage, by which they could reach Limavaddie in any reasonable time. This mountain, situate in the parish of Lissan and nearly four miles north-west from Moneymore, forms at once the commencement and highest portion of that chain which extends north by west to the sea at Magilligan Point. The road by Desert-Linn, however, although leading through woods and wilds, was level and had at least one rare attraction for Chichester and Bodley, as conducting them to the celebrated lake-dwelling of Loch-inis-O'Lynn, on which they had determined to erect a fort for the protection of the coming settlers in that district. The planning, and in part building, of the fort, may have probably, indeed, occasioned the delay mentioned by their chronicler, whom we have quoted above. The site of this fort occupied that of an old Irish dwelling on the island in the lake. Bodley was famous at fort-building, and his skill seems to have thoroughly secured this place against assault, when occupied by a sufficient force. In 1641, it was held by Shane O'Hagan; and such, even then, was its strength, that the Irish leader now named was able to bid defiance to a party of English who assailed the little island-fortress with cannon on two occasions. The lake is partly in the townland of Desertmartin and partly in that of Annagh and Moneysterlin, the last name being a corruption of *Mainistir-O'Fhloinn*, and derived from a religious house founded here by a chieftain of the O'Lynns. (See Colton's *Visitation*,

edited by Dr. Reeves, pp. 76, 77.) This position, which was evidently one of importance at an early period, gave its name to the extensive district now known as the barony of Loughinsholin [Lough-inis-O'Lynn] (21). On Sunday, the 27th, the commissioners emerged from the woods at Limavaddie, for the vast forests of Glanconkeyne and Killetragh stretched down in that direction to the shores of Lough Foyle. The chronicler at this point is perhaps a little more communicative than he had been at other places. He states that on the day above named "they obtained [reached] Limavaddie, the chief house of O'Cahan, and the best town of that country, and camped a mile and more from the town. The 28th day of August being Monday, they began the assizes and the rest of their business at Limavaddie, and ended the Thursday following. The Lord Bishop of Derry came to them there and heard the presentments of the jury, but was not at the swearing of them. There also came to them the four agents for London." The county of Coleraine, including only three small baronies, viz., Coleraine, Limavaddie [now Keenaght], and Anagh [now Tirkeeran], was more easily measured and marked off in proportions because of its smaller size; but this county was granted soon afterwards to the Londoners, and planted according to somewhat different arrangements which will be noticed in a future chapter.

The Inquisition to distinguish between the Crown and Church lands was taken at Limavaddie on Wednesday, the 30th, in presence of the same commissioners, some others arriving, however, before the meeting had come to a close. The following is a list of the jurors appointed to serve here:—

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|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Manus McEally [McCoey Ballagh O'Cahan]. | 8. Owen Groom McGilligane. |
| 2. John O'Henry. | 9. Gilleduffe Oge O'Mullane. |
| 3. Fardoragh O'Mullane. | 10. Dermot O'Chane. |
| 4. Richard McOwen O'Cahan. | 11. James O'Mullane. |
| 5. Owen McCawell. | 12. Gilleduffe McHerenagh McCloskie. |
| 6. Patricke McRedy. | 13. William McAtagairt. |
| 7. Rorie McAnalle. | 14. Patrick Oge McEtegart. |
| | 15. Maurice McCawell. |

These jurors report, as others for so far had done, that the termon and herenagh lands were occupied throughout this county by certain septs and families who rendered chiefries and duties

(21). *Lough-inis-O'Lynn*.—In the Survey of 1591, this barony is written *Loghynisolin*, and described as containing Clonconkeyne and Killytragh, or Glenconkeyne and Killitragh. The former is called Gleann-Concadhain by the Four Masters at the years 1526 and 1584. On Norden's map the name is written 'Clanconcan,' and on Speed's map 'Glanconkeyne,' lying between 'Carntogher' and 'Slew Gallon.' This territory, which was clothed in dense woods, forms the western part of the barony of Loughinsholin. Killetragh, correctly *Coill-íochtarach*, or 'lower wood,' was separated from Glenconkeyne by the river Moyola. John Leigh, in his *Briefe of Some Things*, &c., already quoted, has the following reference to this district:—"In the Barony of the Glynnnes, called Lough-inisolin, the inhabitants, consisting chiefly of the Neales,

the Haggans, the Mullhallans, with the McCahirs and the Quinnes, are wholly those which had their absolute dependance upon Tyrone [the earl] and his sept, and in this place, especially about that part of the barony called Killytragh, being a strong fastness, do inhabit the chief nest of those that, upon any sudden occasion offered them, would first show themselves in action for Tyrone's party, they being able, out of this one quarter, to draw together at least 200 able men, and well-armed, within 24 hours. Also, I have observed that, under colour of having liberty to wear arms in the time of O'Doughertie's rebellion, for their own defence, the country is now everywhere full of pikes and other weapons, which their Irish smiths daily make." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, sixth series, p. 31.

to the bishops, but who could not be removed by the latter. The following passage from this Inquisition is curious and interesting:—"And further, touchinge the originall and difference of corbes and herenaghcs, and of the termon lands of the said countie of Colrane, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, finde and say, that Donnell McHugh O'Neale, King of Ireland, did, long before anie bushopps were made in the said kingdome of Irelande, give unto certaine holy men, whom they call *Sancti Patres*, severall portions of land and a thirde part of all the tiethes, to the ende they should say praiers and beare a thirde part in the charge of repairinge and mainteyninge the parishe church, the other two third parts being borne by the parson and viccar, to whom the rest of the tieths is yerely paied, and also for their owne honor and sustentation; and that afterwards the said holie men did give unto severall septs severall proportions of the said lands, and placed one or more of them in everie parishe, and withall gave unto him a thirde parte of the tieths of that parish, to hould both the said lande and the third part of the tiethes forever, according to the course of tanistrie, free from all exactions; and that for that cause the lande was called termon or free, and the tennant thereof some tymes called *corbe*, and some tymes *herenagh*, and that the said corbe or herenagh was to bear a third parte of the chardge in repairinge and mainteyninge the parishe church; and that the said portion of lande and the third parte of the tiethes soe contynued free unto the corbe or herenagh for many yeres, until the Church of Rome established bushopps in this kingdome, and decreed that every corbe or herenagh should give unto the bushopps (within whose dioces he lived) a yerely pension, more or less, accordinge to his proportion, out of his entire *erenachie*, consistinge of the said lande and the said third parte of the tiethes, and that thereunto the said corbes and herenaghs submitted themselves, but held their herenaghie free forever, and could not be removed by anie of the temporall or spiritual lordes or other person whatsoever; and further the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, finde that the difference of termon, corbe, and herenagh, consisteth onlie in this, that the termon is the name of the lande, and all termon land is herenagh land, and hath the privileges of herenagh land, but all herenagh land hath not alwaies as ample privileges as the termon lands." (22).

Respecting the true ownership hitherto of these termon and herenagh lands, the jurors, when mentioning the twelve balliboes of Grangemore, add this statement—"which landes the nowe

(22). *Termon lands*.—"The lands assigned for the endowment of a church or monastic establishment, to its founder, or patron saint, was called by the Irish its *Termon*, a name borrowed apparently from the Latin *Terminus*, a boundary. 'Let the Termon of the sacred place have its marks around it,' says an old canon of the Irish Church on this subject, in the Latin of which the word *Terminus* is used, where the word *Termon* occurs in the translation. The *Termon* land of a church was considered to have by right the privilege of sanctuary, and to be free from any owing of rents or other exactions to temporal lords. . . . The land inherited by a coarb from the Patron Saint who founded the church (which, as we have seen, was called his *Termon*), was regarded as having the *privilege of sanctuary*; so that persons fleeing for refuge to it, from assailants, were considered to be under protection of that saint, and not to

be molested without dishonour to him, and to God, somewhat after the manner of the Israelites in regard to their cities of refuge. The termon lands were considered to possess other immunities also [above mentioned]; but their privileges were very often violated, and the property on them subject to various outrages from the disorderly chieftains of Ireland and their followers, to restrain whose proceedings was passed the *Cashel* enactment [of 1172]. Nor had the aggressors, who dared to violate the privilege of the termon lands, been able, even before the introduction of that enactment, to escape in all instances without retaliation from the monastic bodies, or 'families,' as they were called, connected with those termons; who could, on the contrary, find means for reducing even kings to terms of submission and restitution." See King's *Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, pp. 18, 26.

lord bushopp of Derry [Montgomery] doth sett and dispose att his pleasure, but by what right the said jurors knowe not, but they say that the said bushopp's predecessors never enjoyed or ought to have the said land itself, but only the rent and refeccion aforesaid." Toward the close of this Inquisition at Limavaddie, the jurors dispose of any claim that may have been made on these lands by temporal lords or territorial chiefs, in the following words:—"And further, the said jurors doe uppon their oathes, present and say, that the temporall lords never received any rents or dueties out of the termon or herenagh lands of the said countie of Colrane, but that Shane O'Neale, in the beginning of his rebellion, compelled the tennants of the said termon and herenagh lands to give him sundrie uncertain rents and customes, which the said jurors finde to have bene extorted wrongfullie and *de facto*, as an unlawfull exaction, and not *de jure*, or as a lawful rent." As these jurors, in this and the other counties of Ulster were almost to a man drawn from the septs or families then in occupation of the termon or herenagh lands, they had, no doubt, begun to hope that, as neither the bishops nor the territorial chiefs could remove them, the State would permit them to hold on, and especially as they were thus zealously sustaining the doctrine which Chichester and Davys were so anxious to establish against the northern prelates. But the jurors were "reckoning without their host," and whilst thus cordially 'clearing the King's title,' they had, perhaps, little idea that the commissioners were just then in the act of drawing that fatal weapon—the 11th of Elizabeth—to cut them off from any hope of holding their ancient possessions.

On the 28th, the day after the commissioners reached Limavaddie, Davys snatched from the general work as much time as enabled him to write to Salisbury. The contents of this letter are so interesting as to make us regret that we have not the two preceding epistles to which it refers, and which were written respectively at Armagh and Dungannon. The following extracts, referring to the immediate work or works on hand, we take from this third letter, written at the camp near Limavaddie, in O'Chane's Country:—"They [the commissioners] are now in the county of Coleraigne, which contains O'Chane's fruitful country, and is the third stage in their journey. From thence he gives this third advertisement of their proceedings. They pursue their first course in describing and distinguishing the land. Their geography has had the speedier dispatch, inasmuch as here the county is but little, consisting only of three baronies, and as they had sent two surveyors before to perambulate the country, and to prepare the business by gathering notes of the names, sites, and extent of townlands. This they performed well and readily, being accompanied with but a slender guard. Speaks of a guard as of a necessary circumstance; for though the country be now quiet and the heads of greatness gone, yet their geographers do not forget what entertainment the Irish of Tyrconnell gave to a map-maker, about the end of the late great rebellion; for one Barkeley being appointed by the late Earl of Devonshire to draw a true and perfect map of the north parts of Ulster (the old maps being false and defective), when he came into Tyrconnell, the inhabitants took off his head, because they would not have their country discovered (23). For the

(23). *Discovered*.—With the baronial maps of Ulster, 1609, recently published, and zincographed, there is one, of an earlier date, showing the coasts of Tirconnell or Donegal, which may have been wholly, or in part, the

work of the unfortunate map-maker above named. At Mountjoy's bidding, he had entered, perhaps altogether unwittingly, on an extremely dangerous task. We are told that "the deficiencies and misrepresentations in the

distinction of church lands in this county, they had a jury of clerks or scholars; for the jurors, being fifteen in number, thirteen spake good Latin, and that very readily. These clerks being chosen in the presence of the Lord Primate, should by reasonable presumption, rather be partial for the clergy than the King. They conceived their verdict or presentment in a singular good form and method, and gave them more light than ever they had before touching the original and estate of Heranghes and Termon lands (24). Here, at length, after long expectation, the Lord Bishop of Derry came to the camp, and was present at the getting up of the jurors' presentment; wherein, because it was found that the lands possessed by the Herenaghes and their septs were their proper inheritance, and not the inheritance of the bishops, and that the bishops had only rents out of those lands, and not the lands themselves (though herein they concurred with the verdicts given in Tyrone and Armagh this year, and with all the presentments made the last year being indeed the manifest and infallible truth), yet because it contradicts his lordship's suggestions (25),

Topographia Hiberniae of Giraldus are well known to be owing to his having written, when the 'conquest of the Irish' was so incomplete, that no Englishman dared venture in the Irish regions; the fate of some who had done so having been that, *ubi capti*, as Cambrensis wrote, *ibidem decapitati*. Matters had not much improved in this respect, even during the latter half of the sixteenth century, it being then "as dangerous for an Englishman to attempt a general survey in the country as to take arms in a general conquest [much more so], the Gaelic people having been as hostile to a map-maker as a soldier; for, to their minds, the appearance of either surely portended confiscation." After the defeat and death of Shane O'Neill, old Burghley lost no time in sending, among other emissaries into Ulster, one Robert Lithe, a map-maker, who appears, however, to have done but very little, if anything, in the service of his employer, at least during his first visit. Lithe writes, in the November of 1567, to say that he had abandoned his work in the North, "on account of the short days and dark and foul weather, and the boggy mountaynes, as well as every valley full of mire and water, and the season more opportune for the Irish out-leaps, stealthes, and spoiles, than for the travail of such company as should have guided and safe conducted me from place to place." If it was necessary to send a guard with the map-makers going to O'Cahan's country in 1609, Mountjoy must have been unpardonably negligent in sending poor Barkeley into Tyrconnell in 1602 without protection. See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. iv., pp. 118, 120.

(24). *Termon lands*.—The fact that these jurors in O'Cahan's country could speak Latin so fluently is not a little remarkable; but it is in some degree accounted for when we know that the majority, if not all of them, were brehons, and had carefully studied the ancient 'Brehon law Tracts,' almost then universally written in Latin. Even Bishop Montgomery, speaking of this class, informs us that 'the tenents of the church lands are called Eirenai [Erenaghs], Corbani, or Termoners, and the chiefe tenents were the determiners of all civill questions and controversies among their nyghbours, whence they had their names Eirenacs *apo tes Eirenes* from making peace,

or of Termoners *a Terminandis litibus* from ending of controversies; and the lands of the church being anciently Sanctuary lands, within which no man was followed further by the pursuer in those tymes, were thence also called Termons *a termino*, because there ended the pursuite." The bishop's derivations are rather loose in the foregoing passage, which nevertheless is interesting, especially on the subject of "Schollers." About the year 1825, the writer happened to be in Tamlaght-O'Crilly, and was present at a rustic meeting on midsummer eve, where several boys and young men attended, who wore no coverings on either their heads or feet, but who knew Latin well, and could translate, and make sensible comments on Virgil and Horace, with astounding ease and freedom!

(25). *Lordship's suggestion*.—Davys uses here rather a mild word for the occasion, as Bishop Montgomery flatly affirmed that the bishops were the real owners of the termon and herenagh lands. Probably Davys never saw the tract written by the bishop on the *Antient Estate of the Bishoprick of Derry, Rapho, and Clogher*, which tract may have been only intended for the eyes of the King. Of the septs who occupied the lands in question, under their several coarbs and herenaghs, the bishop writes as follows:—"These tenents were first placed in those lands by the Bishops, and the possession thereof continued unto them by new grants from the succeeding Bishops, after the death of every Eirenagh. Neyther was it lawfull for the sonne of any Eirenagh to meddle with the lands his father possessed till the Bishop made him a grant of the Eirenachy. And, if the Eirenach's sonne came not within a certaine time limited to want his graunt, the Bishop might give the land to another whereof I have seen som presidents [precedents]. And yf the Bishop did see the sonne or next kynsman that demanded the Eiranachay, to be unahble in regard of his poverty, or otherwise insufficient to performe the duties of that place, the Bishop gave the land to another whom he would chuse, whereof I have also seen some presidents. The Bishops altered the rentes of these lands, accordingly as they were disposed to take more or lesse refection from their tenants." See *Ordnance Memoir of Templemore*, p. 51.

made in England with great confidence and assurance, viz., that these lands were the very demesne lands of the bishops, upon which suggestion his Majesty was speedily moved to confer all those lands to their several sees; therefore, his Lordship took exception to that part of the verdict, affirming that he would not believe that they all agreed in that point; and thereupon he examined them by the poll, before the Lord Deputy and the rest of the commissioners; and though he expostulated with them somewhat roundly and sharply (which might have altered such poor men as must live under his jurisdiction), yet every one held his opinion constantly, and every one severally gave such plain and probable reasons of his opinions that the commissioners were fully satisfied, and the presentment was received."

The results, therefore, of this Inquisition were as satisfactory as those arising from the similar investigations at Armagh and Dungannon, and quite as much so as the King and his commissioners could have expected; for the whole county of Coleraine, excepting the lands belonging to a few religious houses and the fishings of the river Bann, from Lough Neagh to the Salmon-Leap, were found for the King. Davys states in his *Abstract* that "there is no part of the temporal lands lying within this county granted to any person, but all remaineth in his Majesty's hands to be disposed of to undertakers, except the moiety of the royal fishing of the Ban." Of the abbey lands there were four balliboes, that had belonged to the abbey of Anagh, granted to Sir Toby Caulfield; but this small quantity could be easily restored to the Church. The jurors at Limavaddie did, in conclusion, "finde and present, uppon their oathes, that all castles, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever (the rents and duties belonging to the said archbishoppricke of Armagh, and all and singular abbaies, monasteries, priories, and religious houses, and the lands above mentioned to belonge thereunto, only excepted), are nowe, or lately came to the actual and reall possession of his Majesty by the said Act of attainder of Shane O'Neale and others, made in the eleventh yeare of the late Queen Elizabeth; and lastlie, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes, finde and present that the said King's Majesty that nowe is being seised in his demesne, as of fee, of and in the whole fishing of the river of the Banne, above the salmon leape, did, by his letters patents, under the Great Seal of Irelande, give and grant the said fishing unto James Hamilton, assignee of Thomas Ireland, who by deed assigned and conveyed the said fishing unto the right honourable Sir Arthure Chichester, Knight, lord deputie generally of the realme of Irelande, and by the said conveyance Sir Arthure Chichester is nowe thereof seised in his demesne as of fee."

IV.

On Thursday, the 31st of August, the commissioners had closed their work at Limavaddie, and proceeded to Derry, either on the afternoon of that day, or on the morning of Friday, the 1st of September, "On Friday, being the 1st of September," says their chronicler, "they began the assizes and business at the Derry, where, in the afternoon, the Lord Primate, the Lord Bishop of Derry, and Sir Oliver St. John, came to them. About this island [of the Derry] grew great contention betwixt the Lord Bishop Montgomery and Sir Thomas Phillips. They themselves and the jury trod

[measured] the island, and swore the Lord Bishop's witnesses on the ground (the Lord Primate interpreting); but yet he [Montgomery] not being contented with their proceeding, they on the Monday adjourned the jury to the Liffer, where they were to meet the Lord Deputy and the rest of the Council, his Lordship [Chichester] having rode to see Enishowen." The Inquisition was taken at Derry on the first day of work instead of being postponed to the last, as had been the case at the three halting-places already passed. The same commissioners sat at Derry, with the additions of Bishop Montgomery and Sir Oliver St. John. The jurors here appointed to assist in the county of the town of Derry were the following, viz. :—

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| 1. Anthony Reygnolds. | 8. Richard Appleton. |
| 2. Jessy Smith. | 9. Andrew Dykes. |
| 3. Richard Griffen. | 10. Hugh Thomson. |
| 4. Humfrye Vale. | 11. Edmond Oge O'Hagarty. |
| 5. Richard Birne. | 12. Manus M'Roarty. |
| 6. William Cotesmer. | 13. Walter Tallon. |
| 7. Anthony Mathew. | 14. Donogh O'Derry. |

The important question as to the termon and herenagh lands is disposed of in one concluding sentence by these jurors as follows :—"And lastlie, touchinge the severall names of herenagh, termon, and corbe, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, finde and present that all termon and herenagh land within the said countie was att the first given by Columkill and the succeeding abbots unto the severall septs before any bushopps were known to be in the countrie; and that the said lande was free and had the privileges of sanctuarie, and other libertics, and was enjoyed by the septs in course of gavelkinde." Respecting the small portions of temporal lands within the county of the city of Derry, which, in the meantime, were occupied by several persons from year to year, Davys states in his *Abstract* that they [the lands] "are come to the Crown by the Statute of 11 Elizabeth, whereby that entire country [O'Cahan's country] by special name was resumed. These lands are not yet granted, but remain in his Majesty's hands to be disposed." Other small portions of temporal lands within the county of the city of Derry, lay on the *western* side of the Foyle, and were also, in the meantime, farmed by tenants at will, awaiting some permanent arrangement on the part of the Crown. Respecting these portions also, Davys states that "the rest of the lands within the county of the city of Derry, that lie in Enishowen are come to the Crown, as well by attainder of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, lately slain in rebellion, as by breach of the condition contained in his letters patent, wherein there is a proviso that, if he entered into actual rebellion, his letters patent should be void, whereof divers inquisitions have been taken." Thus, the lands belonging to the county of the city lie on both banks of the Foyle, and include parcels of what were once the 'countrys' of Sir Donnell O'Cahan and Sir Cahir O'Dogherty. The feud mentioned above as existing between Bishop Montgomery and Sir Thomas Phillips arose in reference to a small fragment of these lands held by the latter, but ceded by him afterwards as rightfully claimed by the Church, and known by the denominational name of Termonbaccagh.

V.

As already stated by the person chronicling the commissioners' movements, Chichester went on Saturday the 2nd of September to look about him in the barony of Inishowen, where he seems to have spent three days, not appearing at the Liffer until Tuesday the 5th. He was naturally anxious to take a good look at that vast and romantic region now destined to become his own, and although a very pious man, it is doubtful whether he did not spend that intervening Sunday galloping hither and thither throughout the accessible portions of Inis-Eoghan. However, "the 5th day," says the chronicler, "the Lord Deputy and Council, coming all thither [to the Liffer] together, they swore the jury for survey and inquiry; and the tenth day they heard the claims of divers of the country of Donegal." The Inquisition was not taken at Lifford until the 12th of September, or the day before their departure from that place. The same commissioners, including the primate and the Bishop of Derry, were here present, and the jurors appointed from the various families or septs throughout the county of Donegal were the following:—

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| 1. Rowland Congall. | 10. Morice O'Kerolan. |
| 2. Phelim O'Doghertie. | 11. Maurice O'Ardens. |
| 3. Cahill bane McDavid. | 12. Hugh Oge O'Donell McGinell. |
| 4. Fferrall McDonell. | 13. James O'Sherin. |
| 5. Donogh O'Morison. | 14. Lewys O'Clery. |
| 6. Gilleduff McGerald O'Doghertye. | 15. Walter McSwayne. |
| 7. Henrie Oge McDavid. | 16. Cahill duff McGatrighie. |
| 8. Pierce O'Donan. | 17. Shane Oge McGillekerry. |
| 9. Neal McGnellus. | 18. Tirlagh carragh McCarvill. |

The chronicler so often quoted, when referring to this meeting at the Liffer, states that "with much difficulty they ended there the 13th day late"—which is accounted for by the fact that the jurors had a lengthened report to make of many curious matters arising in the course of their investigations. Thus, almost at the commencement of the meeting, it was stated that the yearly and ancient rents payable to the bishops of Derry, from four quarters of land in the parish of Faughan were, "out of every quarter ten meathers of butter, everie meather conteyninge two gallons English measure, twentie gallons of meale of the same measure, sixe score meathers of seed oates of the same measure, to be paid att candlemas yerely, and five shillings and four pence per annum out of everie of the said quarters, and two muttons to be delivered in July and August; and also, out of everie of the said quarters one quarter of beofe [beef] per annum, to be levied in winter, and that of all the said chardge (except the said rent paid in money), the parson and vicar ought to pay the seventh parte."

In these Inquisitions, we have certain curious illustrations of the entire and most implicit confidence reposed by the jurors in their traditions—such absolute confidence, indeed, that they did not hesitate to swear by them, or rather on their authority, as readily as if they had been personally cognisant of the circumstances to which they testify! Thus, in reference to the erenagh lands in the parish of Clonmany, Inishowen, containing, it would appear, sir

quarters, they found upon their oaths, that "of the said sixe quarters, three quarters were given in Columkillie's tyme, and that the lord bushopp of Derry hath and receaved, in right of his bushoppicke, out of two of the said quarters, such and the lyke rentes proporcionable as out of the herenagh land in the parishes abovementioned, and that the thirde quarter named Donally, is free to Donough O'Morreesen, who is the abbott's corbe and the bushopp of Derrie's herenagh of those three quarters; and the said jurors doe further say upon their oathes that the other three quarters of the said sixe quarters of church land were given by the O'Dogherties and O'Donells to Columkill as a dedication towards his vestiments when he went to warre, which said three quarters, together with the said other thirde quarter, being free, were given to the auncesters of the said Donough O'Morreesan, who in those daies, were servaunts to Columkille, and are nowe in the possession of Sir Ralph Bingly, Knight; and that the said herenagh paied unto the said bushop of Derrie, out of the bushop's thirds of the tieths of the said lands, the yerely pencon of ten shillings Englishe, and was auntiently accustomed to collect all the bushop's duties throughout the whole baronie of Enishowen; and that in the said parishe are sixe gortes of glebes whereof three gortes belong to the viccar, and the other fower [three] gortes to the keeper of the missagh or ornaments left by Columkill" (26).

The jurors at the Liffer bear the same testimony as others to the real ownership of the termon and herenagh lands:—"And further, the said jurors doe upon their oathes, saie and presente, that in auncient tyme, there weare divers landes given by temporal lordes to saintes or holie men in the said com. [county], for celebrating divine service and prayinge for their soules' healthes, and

(26). *By Columkill.*—"This reliquary, or *Meeshach*, as it is called, was preserved in Inishowen till within the last century, when it was obtained in the neighbourhood of Fahan, by Dr. Thomas Barnard, the eldest son of the then Bishop of Derry. This clergyman, having been successively Archdeacon and Dean of Derry and Bishop of Killaloe and Limerick, died in 1806, and on the sale of his effects the *Meeshach* was purchased by Mr. Vallence, a bookseller of Dublin, from whom it passed to Mr. Jones the auctioneer, then to Sir W. Betham, and from him to the late Duke of Sussex; at whose sale it was bought by Mr. Rodd, the bookseller, for £20, who transferred it at that price to Lord Adare [now Earl of Dunraven]; and thus it found its way to the place of all others best suited to be its depository, the college of St. Columba, where it exists, a monument of ancient art and of recent munificence. In Sir W. Betham's *Antiquarian Researches* there is a drawing of it, which represents not only the part which remains of the original design, but also the incongruous additions which were made to the case, by way of a restoration, by some tasteless mechanic. An important part, however, has escaped in the silver frame of the upper surface, on which is an inscription in Irish letters, that connects the reliquary with the family under notice. It is to this effect:—*Brian Mac Br. I Muirgiussa do cumdaig me A Do. M.CCCCC.XXXIIII.* 'Brian, the son of Brian O'Muirguissan, covered me, Anno Domini, 1534.' With this date agrees the style of the letter, which is angular, and possesses neither the beauty nor the distinctness of the early character."

(See Colton's *Visitation of Derry*, p. 45). "Sir W. Betham, by a strange error (in his *Antiquarian Researches* above-mentioned), interprets the date of the *Meeshach* as being A.D. 503, more than 1000 years before the true date. The article which this reliquary was intended to contain was, no doubt, such as was usually placed in a case of the kind, viz., a copy of the Holy Gospels, or some other sacred Book, which was held in religious veneration among the people in those days. But, whatever treasure of the kind the *Meeshach* once contained, nothing of the sort has been in it for many ages, nor even any tradition to tell what was its original burden. Covers of the kind appear, however, to have shared in the veneration which was paid to the sacred treasures within them; as has been remarked by Dr. Petrie in that learned essay which decided, once for all, the once absurdly conducted controversy as to '*the origin and uses of the Round Towers in Ireland.*' In the same essay, attention is passingly drawn to the circumstance that it formed one of St. Columbkille's occupations (according to the testimony of an ancient poetic life of him preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, in the Royal Irish Academy) to employ himself in making such cases and satchels for books, as were in those days used, for their better preservation, and also (as appears from different anecdotes, quoted by Dr. Petrie, in the same work, pp. 333-337) to facilitate their being carried about, suspended across the bearer's back, from place to place, as occasion might require." *King's Memoir*, p. 48.

that the said saintes or holie men, dedicating themselves onelye to praier and the service of God, did, for their better ease, ordaine and constitute several herenaghes to manure and occupie those landes, which were usuallie a whole sept, and the principall of the sept was named the herenagh, whoe successivelie did enjoy those landes, yealdinge and payinge certaine unto the saintes, and that afterwards bushops being created by the pope, did succeed the saintes in those landes, of whom the said herenaghes held their said severall landes as from the saintes, payinge such rentes and duties to the bishops as they or their sept did formerlie pay to the saintes, and were not to be displaced by the bushopp satisfying the auncient and accustomed rentes and duties unto them, as they doe nowe in those latter dayes ; and that the said herenaghes are to be named by the said bushopps, ever sithence, who take an income and an oathe of fidelitie to themselves of the herenaghes ; and that one sept being deade, the bushopp is to ordaine another sept herenagh in that place, with the advice of the gravest men of the church, which herenagh is alwaies to be the most auncient of the sept, and not to be chosen hereditarie, neither are the said landes inheritable to the chiefe herenagh alone, but that the whole sept of the said herenagh are equallie to inhabit with him, and have their share of the lande according to the severall abilities to paie the bushopp his rente ; and that among them the herenagh hath a freedom above the rest, which, in particular the said jurors cannot preciselie present ; and further, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes present and saie, that the whole countrie of Tireconnell, otherwise called O'Donell's countrie, and all landes, tenements, and hereditaments above menconed to belonge to any bushoppricke, deanerie, abbie, monasterie, or religious house, are nowe in the reall or actuall possession of the crowne, by reason of the attainder of treason of Rorie late Earle of Tireconnell."

On the 10th, or two days before the taking of this Inquisition, the commissioners heard and decided certain claims preferred by several persons in the county of Donegal. To some of these cases, the jurors afterwards referred in the conclusion of their report as follows :—" And further, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes, present and saie, that the whole countrie of Tireconnell, otherwise called O'Donnell's countrie, and all lands, tenements, fishings, royalties, and hereditaments within the said com. of Donegal, except the lands belonging to any bushoppricke, deanerie, abbie, monasterie, or religious house, and except the countrie and lands of Inishowen [granted to Chichester], are now in the reall or actuall possession of the crowne, by reason of the attainder of treason of Rorie late Earle of Tireconnell ; nevertheless, the said jurors doe further saie, that Sir Mulmore M'Swine O'Doe, by vertue of letters patent, unto which letters patent the jurors doe herein refere themselves, whether the said letters patent be good in law or not ; and further, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes saie, that Walter McLaughlin and his auncestors are and have been possessed of Braudsannagh, containinge seaven quarters, by what right they know not ; and that Neal Garvie McRorie O'Donnell and his auncestors were formerlie possessed of the eight quarters of land of Portlough untill the late Earle did dispose his lands in mortgage to Nicholas Weston, of Dublin, alderman."

The claims put forward by these persons were set aside, or rather ignored by the commissioners, excepting that they were permitted to get comparatively small quantities of land as undertakers,

being required, however, to observe the rules and conditions of plantation. They and some others were fortunate even in obtaining any terms, considering the harsh spirit in which Chichester spoke of them in his 'notes of remembrances.' "Divers gentlemen," said he, "claim freeholds in that country, as, namely, the three septs of the McSwynes, Bane [Banagh], Fanaght, and Doe, O'Boyle and O'Galchare [O'Gallagher]; but these men passed over their rights, if any they had, to the earl, which he got from them cautiously, and by unworthy duties; and he [Chichester] is sure every of them has more land than they or their septs will be able to manure and plant in any civil or good fashion these forty years, albeit peace did continue among them; and they for the most party unworthy of what they possess, being a people inclined to blood and trouble, but to displant them is very difficult. If his Majesty dispose the land to strangers, they must be very powerful to suppress them; suggests that if his [the King's] pleasure be to continue them in what they claim, the lands may be divided into many parts, and disposed to several men of the septs, and some to strangers, or others of this nation, leaving none greater than another, unless it be in a small difference to the now chiefs of the name." The claims of the McSwynes, and some others on the coasts of Donegal, formed the principal difficulty connected with that region, but the commissioners adroitly smoothed down the fierceness of these northern chiefs by admitting them into the plantation, although the latter did not receive, perhaps, one-fifth part of the lands they were compelled in each case to abandon.

On the 12th of September, the day on which the Inquisition was commenced, Davys found time to write the following letter to Salisbury, from the camp near Lifford:—"They are now come to the tropic or turn-point of their journey; for, having finished the services which were to be performed in Tyrconnell, they begin to return homewards from hence to Fermanagh; from thence to Cavan; where they will make the last period of this summer's progress or circuit. The description or maps of the lands are made here as in the former counties. Divers persons have exhibited their pretended titles to lands in this country, whereof some are merchants of the Pale, to whom the late fugitive Earl of Tyrconnell had mortgaged great scopes of land for small sums of money (27); others are natives who being chiefs of septs, suppose their long continuance of possession under O'Donnell to be a good title now against the Crown (28). Besides, some of their widows claim jointures and dowers, though, by their own Irish law, no woman may have any estate in the land (29). But all these titles appear to be void or voidable in English law, so that the pretenders

(27). *Sums of money.*—Among these 'great scopes,' perhaps the greatest was that mortgaged by the earl to Nicholas Weston, an alderman and merchant of Dublin, and which scope consisted of no less than 29 quarters of land in Portlagh and Tirebrasil. "Thereupon," says Davys, "termino Mich. 4^o Jacobi, [the earl] did levy a fine and suffer a common recovery of the said lands to the use of Weston and his heirs. This conveyance is void in law." Another case by a Dublin merchant is stated by Davys in his *Abstract* thus:—"Termino Michaelis, 3^o Jacobi [1605], the earl suffered another recovery of certain lands called Kil or Kil McTrien, and other parcels of land in the barony of Kil McCreenan, and did covenant to execute an estate therein unto one

Patrick Conley of Dublin, merchant, and afterwards the said earl and his recoverers did execute a feoffment thereof unto the said Conley, which feoffment is dated in June, 5^o Jacobi [1607], which was not above three months before the earl fled out of this kingdom; this conveyance is also void in law.

(28). *Against the Crown.*—The native chiefs of septs were the three McSwynes, O'Gallagher, and O'Boyle. They were all involved in Tyrconnell's ruin, although they opposed him, and complained of his requiring them to take out new deeds of their ancestral lands.

(29). *In the land.*—These widows were the Earl of Tyrconnell's mother, the widow of O'Boyle, and the widow of an O'Donnell gentleman.

[the rightful owners] are left entirely to his Majesty's grace and bounty. Every title whereupon there shall arise any doubt shall be drawn into a case and transmitted over; but because the dead case, if any question shall be made upon it, can make no reply, perhaps it will be needful that some one 'of the robe' should come to give satisfaction in every point (30). The inquisition taken of the Church land varies but little in substance from their former inquisitions. The bishops have rents and duties out of the Termon lands, but the proprietary is found in the erenaghs and their septs. There are more parcels of land of this nature found in Enishowen than in any other barony, which diminishes not a little the value of the Lord Deputy's portion (31). Thus have they proceeded in this county of Tyrconnell, and thus has he presumed to trouble his Lordship with his weak advertisements out of every county."

The writer here states that the "description or maps" were being made in Tyrconnell as in the other counties, but the map-makers had not completed their outlines until late in the evening of the 13th—the day following the date of the foregoing letter. How they were able to do even this in such a region as Donegal, and also to mark off the several proportions in each precinct during the time given is a mystery. They must have done so much work on the field, however, as enabled them to report. Of the seven sub-divisions or baronies in Donegal, there were only five available for plantation—one [Inishowen] having been granted to the deputy, and another [Tirhugh] in part to Trinity College. The commissioners divided the lands remaining into five precincts, viz., the Liffer, Portlough, Boylagh, Doe, and Fawnett. 1. The precinct of *Liffer*, or *Lifford*, which contained 15,000 acres, was cast into eleven proportions, two great, four middle, and five small.

(30). *In every point*.—Davys had quite a talent, added to a decided taste, for drawing out cases in favour of the Crown as against the native landowners of Ulster, which, indeed, was a comparatively easy task to any lawyer armed with the act known as the 11th of Elizabeth. This that he calls the 'dead case,' would hardly, perhaps, have excited any uneasiness had not the interests of James Hamilton, a special favourite of the King, been somewhat deeply involved. The case was complicated, and made somewhat doubtful by the then recent death of the Earl of Tyrconnell. It was thus stated in substance by Davys:—"The Earl by his deed, dated Feb. 28 [1603], did grant unto Nicholas Weston and his heirs the moiety of the fishing of Loughfoyle, in Tyrconnell, for 1,000 years, upon condition that if the Earl did pay 200*l.* sterling to Weston, that lease should be void, and that after he should hold the same for seven years only; and afterwards, by another deed, dated 26 Feb. [1604], the Earl did grant the said moiety of the fishings of Loughfoyle, so as the same did not extend two miles above Lifford Castle, unto James Hamilton and others, and their heirs, rendering 10*l.* rent per annum. Afterwards, viz., in the Michaelmas term [1605], a common recovery was suffered in the Court of Common Pleas at Dublin, of the said fishings, wherein the Earl was vouched and entered into the warranty and vouchers, which recovery was to the use of James Hamilton and his heirs. These conveyances are void against his Majesty, because the Earl is now dead, and the said recovery was suffered since the treason whereof the Earl is attainted, was committed; besides, we take the fishing of Loughfoyle to be

a royal fishing, because Loughfoyle is a navigable river as far as the Lifford, and ebbs and flows to the latter, but the water is fresh, and so it was never granted to the Earl, and no special mention of that fishing is in his letters patent; and consequently, he had no power to convey the same, but general words of all fishings belong to Tyrconnell, which extends to the river, and the river divides Tyrone and Tyrconnell."

(31). *Lord Deputy's portion*.—Considering the immense extent of the deputy's grant—nearly 200,000 acres—neither he nor his friend Davys need have grudged the herenagh and termon lands therein, except indeed from the circumstance that these fragments were better cultivated than the other portions throughout Inishowen. The following are the herenagh and termon lands reserved in Chichester's grant of the barony of Inishowen, including sixty acres for glebe in each of the parishes undermentioned:—Six quarters in the parish of Faughan, with 60 acres adjoining the parish church of Faughan; two quarters in the parish of Desertryny, with 60 acres adjoining the parish church; three quarters in the parish of Clonmany, with 60 acres adjoining the parish church; three quarters in the parish of Donnaghclantagh, with 60 acres adjoining the parish church; six quarters in the parish of Clonka, with 60 acres adjoining the parish church; three quarters in the parish of Col-dagh, with 60 acres adjoining the parish church; four quarters in the parish of Moyville, with 60 acres adjoining the parish church of Moyville; in all, 27 quarters, or about 6,620 acres. The quarter of a ballybetagh was reckoned at 240 acres Irish measure.

2. The precinct of *Portlough*, containing 12,000 acres, was cast into twelve small proportions of 1,000 acres each. 3. The precinct of *Boylagh*, which contained 10,000 acres, was divided into eight proportions, one great, two middle, and five small. 4. The precinct of *Doe*, containing 12,500 acres, was made into ten proportions, two great, one middle, and seven small. 5. The precinct of *Fawnett*, having 13,000 acres available for plantation, afforded also ten proportions, two great, two middle, and six small.

VI.

By the time these several matters were brought to a close at the Liffey, it was late in the evening of the 13th—so late, indeed, that the camp had gone before ten miles on the road to Fermanagh. "They all," says their chronicler, "but the Bishop of Derry were enforced to ride in the night to the camp. The 14th day, being Thursday, they rose early, being environed with strong waters, and, passed by the Omev, some five miles towards Fermanagh (32). Friday morning, the 15th, the Lord Deputy urged the writer, not being well, to go from the camp to Monaghan to Sir Edward Blainey's for recovery of his health, and the dispatch of the assize there (33), whilst his Lordship and the rest, with Mr. Attorney, were in Fermanagh; which he performed the 12th day [16th day] at night.

(32). *Fermanagh*.—The commissioners travelled along the old road between Coleraine and Enniskillen. The 'strong waters' were evidently the streams now known as the Drumragh and Camowen, which unite to form the Strule at Omagh. The road, to the borders of Fermanagh, lay through the parish of Drumragh in the barony of Omagh, and we can easily understand, from the following modern account of this district, how the 'foul weather' producing floods, caused the 'waters' to appear so 'strong' and 'environing' to the eyes of the commissioners:—"The surface is a somewhat intricate series of devious and almost indefinable valleys, separated by rising grounds, hills, and the spurs of mountains; and it commands, from various points, a sort of profile view of the vast highland district which forms the great tableau between the basin of Lough Neagh and the western ocean. About five-sixths of the land is arable, and the remainder is bog and mountain. Rills and rivulets of different and changeable names, the chief of which is the Camowen [crooked river], combine within the parish to form the Strule." See *Parliamentary Gazetteer*, vol. ii., p. 89.

(33). *Assize there*.—The 'writer,' who was thus to visit Monaghan for the double purpose of recovering his health and conducting the assize business at that place, was Sir Humphrey Winche. This lawyer was knighted in 1606, when about to come to Ireland as chief baron. On the 11th of November in that year a court scribe named John Chamberlain, when writing to Dudley Carleton, has the following brief reference to this matter:—"The King gone to Richmond. On Saturday he knighted little Winche of Lincoln's Inn, who is going as chief baron into Ireland." During his brief sojourn in this country, Winche endeavoured to introduce reform in the manner of keeping the public records here, which must have been so much required at the time. The special evil, however, of which he complained was not remedied for several years afterwards. It is men-

tioned in the following short letter to Chichester from the council in London:—"Information having lately been given by Sir Humphrey Winche, chief justice, of the urgent necessity of providing fitting depositories for the safe keeping of records of attainders, inquisitions, surveys, and other public documents, for want of which they have remained in the custody of officers in their private houses, he [Chichester] is to take order that a fit place be assigned and proper receptacles be provided for the safe custody of the public records. And, with the advice of the chief justice and others of the council, he is to appoint some persons of sufficiency and discretion to take charge of them. Whitehall, 8 February, 1608-9." This important matter had been pressed upon the attention of the Irish government in January, 1603-4, but appears to have remained unheeded. Among certain 'Memorials' drawn up in that year for "the better reformation of the kingdom of Ireland," there are the following:—"That all the King's Records be kept in better order, especially the attainders and offices whereby the King is entitled to any lands. That calendars be made of those records and especial places appointed for the fast keeping of them, for it appeareth that many records of that nature are either embesiled [embezzled] or rated, and yet not well known in whose time, and by whose negligence, and many of the records themselves carried away and kept in private houses. That some strict course be held, that if those that have any of the King's records do not bring them in by a day, undefaced, they shall be grievously punished." Many valuable papers, notwithstanding, have been carried off, and not a few irretrievably lost. For an interesting account of the *Philadelphia Papers*, illustrating the administration of Chichester himself, their migration across the Atlantic, and their recovery, see *Preface* to the first volume of Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, pp. lxxvii.-xciv.

He [the writer] was in his travel enforced to Sir Cormocke McBaron's house, now prisoner in the Tower. His lady gave them house-room, but had neither bread, drink, meat, nor linen to welcome them, yet kindly helped them to two or three muttons from her tenants. At Monaghan he ended the business on Friday, the 22nd of September, and then the Lord Deputy and the rest ended at Fermanagh." Although the deputy had, at first, lauded the position of Lisgoole on the Erne, he afterwards saw reasons to change his opinion in favour of Enniskillen, and he now encamped at the latter place, there being then an English garrison in the old castle of the Maguires (34). With the exception of Sir Humphry Winche, who had gone to Monaghan, the same commissioners were present at Enniskillen. The following were the names of the jurors selected to assist them :—

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| 1. Donnell McGuire, deane of Logherne. | 9. Patrick McHugh McGuire. |
| 2. Shane McHugh. | 10. Brian McDoile McCabe. |
| 3. Brian O'Corchran. | 11. Cormocke O'Cassidie. |
| 4. Owen O'Flannigan. | 12. Hugh O'Flannigan. |
| 5. Brian McThomas. | 13. Gillegaire O'Hoane. |
| 6. Shane McEnabbe McGuire. | 14. Richard O'Hoane. |
| 7. Rorie O'Corrigan. | 15. Cahill McGuire. |
| 8. Patrick McDonnell. | |

The commissioners reached Enniskillen on the evening of the 14th, and continued busily at work until the evening of the 22nd. They adopted as their precincts the six several baronies of Fermanagh, viz., Clancally, Coolmakernan, Knockninny, Magheraboy, Clanawly, and the two half baronies of Coole and Tircanada. 1. The precinct of *Clancally* was found to contain only 5,000 acres available for plantation, which quantity was divided into four proportions, two middle and two small. 2. *Coolmakernan* contained 9,000 acres, in which were found 8 proportions, two middle, and six small. 3. *Knockninny* contained 9,000 acres, this quantity being cast into six proportions—two great, two middle, and two small. 4. *Magheraboy* contained 9,000 acres, which made 6 proportions, two great, two middle, and two small. 5. *Clanawly* contained 6,000 acres available, divided into 4 proportions, two great and two small. 6. The two half-baronies of *Coole* and *Tircanada* contained 10,000 acres, which made 10 small proportions of 1,000 acres each.

While the lands were thus being measured and thrown into proportions, the assizes were held, and the Inquisition taken. The latter court sat on the 18th, and, as in the other counties, the

(34). *Old castle of the Maguires*.—The constable of this castle was Captain William Cole, who had not only the command of a ward therein, but also the superintendence of a certain number of war-boats and barges on Lough Erne. The following year, May 20, 1610, the council in London, writing to Chichester, "recommend to him Captain William Cole, whose name already appears in a list of those fit to be undertakers, furnished by Sir Arthur (see pp. 85, 86). They are satisfied of his sufficiency to maintain a reasonable proportion, and are aware of his merits. And as he has a commission for the

charge of his Majesty's boats in Lough Yearne [Erne], and for the keeping of the castle of Enniskillen, they suggest that he should be assigned a servitor's portion as near as may be to the said castle, which otherwise will be very destitute of demesne, as the lands next adjacent to the castle have fallen to the lot of some Scottish gentlemen in the distribution of the precincts, and cannot be altered." The suggestion here mentioned by such potent advisers was duly attended to, as we shall see, by the lord deputy.

jurors clearly established the fact that the termon and herenagh lands had belonged not to the bishops, but to the native septs. Their account of the origin of these holdings is perhaps more interesting than any statements on this subject by the jurors of other counties. It is as follows :—

“ And further, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes say, that the said herenagh landes were first given by the temporall lordes to certaine saintes free from any duty or exaction whatsoever, to the ende the said saintes should maintaine the church, celebrate divine service, and keepe hospitalitie ; and that of the said saintes some were confessors, some deacons, and some virgins ; and that the said saintes (before they ceased), chose out some septs from the most respected, and gave unto every sept a proportion of lande, to be equally with them and their posteritie inherited forever ; to the same uses and intentes, and to maintaine the same rites for which the said lands were formerlie given to the said saintes, and that thereupon one or more of the said septs were placed in everie parishe for the better maintenance of the church and keepinge of hospitalitie according to the maininge of said saintes ; and that the said septs or the saintes before them, desirous to maintaine the churche and the liberties thereof which they enjoyed, did voluntarilie give unto the bushopp within whose diocese they lived, certain pencions and other duties as they are above sett downe, to the ende the said bushopp should protect them and their liberties ; and that until the said pencions and duties were so voluntarilie given, the bushopp never had, or claimed to have to doe either with the said land or the tenants thereof, and that from thenceforth the bushopp took upon him the protection of the said septs and of their lands, and gave to every chiefe of a sept the name of herenagh, whereof the land was first called herenagh ; and the said jurors also say, uppon their oathes, that the said herenaghe himselfe was to be first elected by the sept amongst themselves, and to be confirmed by the bushopp, and that if the said sept could not agree, then the election belonged to the bushopp, dean, and chapter, but that the bushopp alwaies confirmed the said herenagh soe elected, and that for confirmacion receaved such fees and duties proportionable as for the institutinge anie clerkes into a benefice ; nevertheless, the said jurors say that the inheritance and sole propertie of the land remained in the sept, and that if any time the sept were quite extinct, yet the bushopp had noe power either to detaine the landes in his owne possession, or to dispose of it to any other person, but to such a sept whereof he would chouse another herenagh to performe those duties and rights in the churche that the former herenaghes had done, and that then alsoe the said bushopp could not alter or increase his former rent, pencion, or duties ; and the said jurors alsoe saie uppon their oathes, that it was in the election of the sept to make anie parte of their lande free, payinge the bushopp duly out of the rest, and that if the herenagh, or any other of his sept, had made a forfeiture of his porcion, it came not to the bushopp, but was partible betwixt the whole sept.”

As an illustration of what the bishop claimed and received from these herenagh lands, not only in Fermanagh, but generally throughout Ulster, we extract the following passage from this Inquisition :—“ The lord bishop of Clogher is seised in fee, in right of his bushopricke of Clogher, of and in the rent, refeccions, and duties followinge, issuinge out of the herenaghe land of Maghericoolmanny, containinge two quarters and three acres of the newe measure, making four

quarters one acre and a halfe of the ould measure, whereof Phelim O'Muldowne is the herenagh, and hath three acres of the same free, viz., of and in the yearly rent of two markes per annum, everie marke being but twentie and six groates stirlinge, and two white groates, and alsoe four nights' refeccions in the bushopps' two visitacions, and not else; viz., two nightes in May visitacion, and two nightes at Alhallontide visitacion, and for want of flesh and wine, or aquavite, fower shillinges; and alsoe at everie hallontide halfe a beose, or three shillinges and fower pence, and thirtie firoghans of oate bredde, or five shillinges in lieu thereof." In the concluding paragraph of these jurors' report, they state that, as the late Sir Hugh Maguire was rightful owner of the lands in Fermanagh by grant from Queen Elizabeth to his father, and as he [Sir Hugh] was slain in rebellion, all the estates excepting Church lands therein, were vested in the Crown. Their words are:—"Uppon their oathes that old Coconnaght McGuire did, in the late Queene Elizabeth's time, surrender upp to the crowne the whole countrie of Fermanagh als McGuire's contre, as by the record thereof appeareth, unto which record the said jurors doe herein refer themselves, and that thereupon the said late Queene did, by letters patents under the greate seale of Ireland, re-grant unto the said Coconnaght an estate of inheritance in the said countrie, by virtue whereof the said Coconnaght was seised, and being soe seised thereof died, and that by and after his death the said countrie descended to his sonne Hugh McGuire, who was likewise thereof seised, and that the said Hugh McGuire being soe seised, was slaine in actuall rebellion against the said late Queene Elizabeth." For the events in Fermanagh after Sir Hugh's death, see pp. 61, 109, 110.

On the day of taking this Inquisition—the 18th—Chichester wrote to Salisbury from the camp near 'Enishkeelyn,' referring to the work then in hand as follows:—"Have now with much labour and some difficulty gone through with the survey and other business in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, the county and [of the] city of Derry, and Donegal, and are already entered into the like for this county of Fermanagh. In the first two counties they had the company and assistance of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Primate of Armagh, when the lord chancellor growing sickly and very weak, they, with much ado, persuaded his return, sore against his will. In the county of Coleraine, soon after the Chancellor's departure, they were overtaken by the Lord Bishop of Derry, who has been as well a party as a commissioner, in the lands sought under the title of ecclesiastical or church lands [the herenagh lands], ever since that time; so that they have done nothing in that kind without the presence and test of two prelates of the church; and if this survey and inquiry help them [the prelates] not, it is apparent that they [the commissioners] did but their duty in the last [commission of 1608], and that some of them [the prelates] sought that of right, which they must have of grace, if they possess it all. Wishes they [the prelates] may have it [the herenagh land] according to the King's good pleasure, but cannot so digress from the duty and service he owes to his Sovereign as to feed the unsatiable humours of craving men, when they tend to his Majesty's loss or dishonor, in order thereby to preserve himself from their envy and complaints. The labour and travel ended, it will require good time to digest it into form and method fit to be presented to his Majesty and his Lordship [Salisbury]; so that he thinks it will be near Christmas before they will send it" [the result of the surveys and inquisitions].

Two days after the date of Chichester's letter, from which the foregoing is an extract, Davys wrote to Salisbury his periodical account of their progress, and his communication from Fermanagh is certainly not the least interesting of the series. "Hitherto," says he, "has not omitted to advertise his Lordship briefly of their proceedings in every county wherein they have executed their commission. Have now finished their service in Fermanagh, which is so pleasant and fruitful a country that if he should make a full description thereof it would rather be taken for a poetical fiction, than for a true and serious narration (35). The fresh lake called Lough Erne (being more than 40 miles in length, and abounding in fresh water fish of all kinds, and containing 100 dispersed islands), divides that county into two parts; the land on either side of the lough rising in little hills of 80 or 100 acres apiece, is the fattest and richest soil in all Ulster (36). Here is a Dutch merchant called Maximilian [van der Lever], who, like the rest of his nation, is diligent and industrious to improve the commodities of this kingdom. He makes suit to the Lord Deputy that a colony of Hollanders may be planted on the islands in this lough. If his demands be not unreasonable, they wish his suit may be granted; for a plantation of the Dutch in this place will be a great encouragement and benefit to the undertakers; for by their industry all the commodities will be wrought and vented, and the lake will be so full of boats and barks, that they will be a great strength to all the civil inhabitants round about (37). About the inquiry of the church lands in

(35). *Serious narration.*—Davys was careful to show his high appreciation of the beauty and fertility of Fermanagh, as well by words as in the more practical way of becoming an undertaker of lands therein. We shall see that he secured for himself a middle-sized proportion in its choicest soil and most charming scenery, near Lisgoole and adjoining Enniskillen. The lands thus selected by him lie in that part of the parish of Rossory which belongs to the barony of Glenawley, and are now owned by a gentleman named Jones. The estate is situate along the left bank of the Erne, where the surface presents a meadow-like appearance, and consists evidently of first-class soil. That Davys had a keen and clear eye for the beautiful in nature may be fairly inferred from the fact that the whole parish in which his proportion lay, whilst backed by hills, was then almost literally surrounded by pleasant waters. A little river flows through the parish in an eastward direction to the Erne; whilst the surface is varied by the four little loughs of Laragh, Rossole, Lankill, and Ballaghmore. This district, however, was not only attractive in its natural aspects, but thoroughly so by its historical associations, and Davys, no doubt, felt that the value of his lands here was enhanced by the fact of their adjoining the ancient and renowned abbey of Lisgoole. The early annals of Ireland contain many passages referring to the deaths of its abbots and learned men, and many others which record the burial in its cemetery of Maguires, lords of Fermanagh. Almost adjoining the banks is *Iniskeen*, 'the beautiful island,' once the site of the principal church of the district including Enniskillen. "Portions of stone crosses of early Irish type indicate the very ancient importance of the place, and the cemetery is still, next to that of Devenish, the most sought for place of sepulture, amongst the old families of the district." See Wakeman's *Guide to Lough Erne*, p. 58.

(36). *In all Ulster.*—See p. 106-111. This brief reference to the Lough and its islands by Davys is interesting because characteristic of the man, who was able, although not knowing much of the district, to touch the leading topics of interest in his own attractive style. The few statements he makes on this subject are generally correct, indeed surprisingly so, when we consider how little time he had to take notes, and how many grave matters were then pressing on his attention. He speaks only in general terms, however, as to the size of the lake, the number of its islands, and the country on each side. The area of the Upper Lake is about 9,453 acres, and that of the Lower Lake 27,645 acres. The county of Fermanagh includes 36,348 acres of the entire area of the lakes; the county of Cavan, about 749 acres; and the county of Donegal only one acre and 22 perches. Davys's description of the land on each side of the Lough as "rising in little hills" is generally correct, for undulations, slopes, gently swelling hills, form the greater part of both the margin and sky-line of the grand valley, although there are low meadowy flats broadly fringing large portions of both the upper and lower lakes.

(37). *Round about.*—Perhaps there is no period known in the ancient or modern history of Ireland in which these northmen, under one name or other, were not found, either as invaders or traders, prowling about the bays and loughs of Ulster. Lough Foyle and its shores appear to have had for them special attractions; and we have heard of a *Dutch Tract*, printed towards the close of the sixteenth century, and containing proposals from certain Dutchmen to colonise the shores adjoining that inlet. That such a proposal was made, there can be no doubt, as it is distinctly referred to in 1604 by a lawyer named Richard Hadson, in a *Discourse touching Ireland*, as follows:—"And that the offer made by Dutchmen to inhabit Loughfoyle, upon the borders of the country of the Earl

this county, there has grown a difference between the old Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Derry and Clogher, who, in the right of his bishoprick of Clogher, claims all the patrimony of the archbishop in these parts, for the archbishop's father was a corb or erenagh of the termon wherein St. Patrick's Purgatory stands, called Termon Magrath. The archbishop long since, in Queen Elizabeth's time, obtained letters out of England that his father's surrender should be accepted, and a grant made by letters patent, which was done accordingly, and the archbishop inherits that land by virtue of the Queen's grant. Howbeit, because the Bishop of Clogher has a rent out of that termon, he claims the possession by virtue of his Majesty's letter (38). The estate of the

of Tyrone, upon such conditions as shall be thought fit by his Majesty, be accepted, and certain of his civil subjects be joined with them, whose trades and example may draw the people [the Irish] to grow civil." This proposal no doubt, fell through from the fact that, in the year mentioned, the two northern earls had received re-grants of their estates, and were not particularly anxious to introduce colonists from Holland to lands which were occupied by native tenants. These immigrants, however, were encouraged in England principally because they were protestants, and had been driven out of their own land by religious persecution. The Spanish authorities were disquieted because of the Hollanders finding a refuge in the British islands; and, when rated afterwards by an English ambassador, for their kindly reception of Irish exiles, they retorted by referring to the case of the Dutch refugees. In a dispatch from Sir Ch. Cornwallis to the council in London, dated March, 1609, the writer states that when the Spanish secretary was pressed on the point of his government's sympathy for O'Neill and O'Donnell, "he retaliates about the harbouring of the Dutch in England; and when answered that the cases are very different, as the Dutch repaired to England in order to flee fire and not in order to kindle it, he shrinks up his shoulders, and says that the King has obligations to some of these poor Irish and to the rest in charity." Wherever any of these Dutchmen settled in Ireland they soon made themselves known as industrious and enlightened members of society. Some of them were well known as engineers. Chichester, writing to the council in London on the 28th of February, 1608, informs them that he has "two engineers here, Dutchmen, whom he was required by his Majesty's letters heretofore to discharge out of entertainment [employment]; yet he has, notwithstanding, in all dutifulness, thought fit to retain them here still, knowing that there will be necessary uses for them, if the works be taken in hand. To the one he gives some small entertainment of the King's, to the other, of his own. For he knows that Sir Josias Bodley cannot alone superintend the several works in all places at once, nor yet curiously the works and workmen, in such sort as he wishes and purposes shall be done." The Dutchman, Maximilian Van der Lever, however, whom Davys recommends so strenuously in connection with the islands in Lough Erne, failed in obtaining a foothold for his contemplated colony, just as his brethren had failed in their designs on Lough Foyle. The islands of Lough Erne appear to have been rather too attractive to be thus summarily handed over to persons from a foreign land, especially as the undertakers could fully

appreciate their attractions, and turn them, perhaps, to as good account.

(38). *Majesty's letter.*—Bishop Montgomery was generally able to defeat his antagonist when the struggle happened to arise about the possession of land, but in confronting old Mulmorie or Myler Magrath, he met his match, and in a game where the stakes were really worthy the peculiar genius of both. The termon for which they contended was a noble one, and if it could have been won Montgomery would have had it, but the old Archbishop of Cashel was able to show a card which decided the conflict in his favour, and which he had received from Queen Elizabeth in part payment for his temporary renunciation of the Pope. This was no other than a grant of the lands in fee over which his (Myler's) father had been herenagh, and which grant even King James could not set aside for the gratification of his 'black bishop,' as he styled Montgomery. On the contrary, the termon in question was re-granted from the Crown, in 1610, to James Magrath, the old archbishop's son. The following are the terms of this grant, which are interesting, especially as marking the boundaries of the Termon:—"Grant from the King to James Magrath, of Termon-Magrath, Esq., in the confines of the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Donegal. The site, &c., of the late priory, monastery, or friary of canons of Loughderge, with the lands of Termon-Magrath, containing one ballybetagh, or four quarters; Termon-Imoghlan [O'Mungan] ballybetagh, four quarters; whose bounds extend in length from the bog or rivulet called Eabher-Roe, in the west near the confines of Tire-Eadha [Aedh] otherwise Tirehugh, near O'Donnell's country, to the river Gleassie Termon-Imoughan, and thence to Curraghroe, in the east part of Termon-Imoughan; and in breadth from Curranliurge, Fermanagh county south, to Barnesmore mountain near O'Donnell's country north, bounded by the river Avaghleitrath, and thence towards the bog and river called Eabher-Roe, thence towards the river Owenboy, thence to the rivers Mynaghtereog and Leaghcarreaghan; and so as the river Sraghan runs as far as the tenement formerly occupied by Cornelius Fiend, and thence along the course of the river Liathanagh, to the Red River, otherwise Dearghe, towards the river Avanloghanboy, and towards the ford of Greanaghdearg to the bog and rivulet of Seskeanetullchaland until that water falls into the lough of Seifnane, and so on to the river Avanteearmon, towards the river or brook of Tullaghlarge, and in the circuit of the mountain or hill of Tullaghlarge towards the mearing of the lands of Curranliurge, near the bog called Monetermond, and so return-

erenaghcs and tenants of the Termon lands is found the same here as in the other counties. The description of the country in maps is also exactly done, and the people are satisfied with the administration of civil justice. And now they are passing to the last period of their journey, the county of Cavan. The camp in Fermanagh (39), 20 September, 1609."

VII.

It would appear that Sir Humphrie Winche's indisposition must have been slight, as he and his travelling companions from the Liffey to Monaghan (who were not more than half a dozen in number, if so many) were able to discuss "two or three muttons" with which poor Lady O'Neill supplied them during their stay in her desolated castle. Winche says nothing about Sir Edward

ing to the river Avantermond, and from thence to Lough-erne, into which the said river and that of Avalettragh fall. Licence to hold a Saturday market, and a fair on 16th July and the day after, at Cowlenver. To receive the moiety of fugitives' and felons' goods. Licence to divide the premises into several precincts of 1,000 acres each at the least, and to impose distinct names thereon, that each may become a manor, with a demesne of 300 acres or thereabouts, to build a capital house within seven years, and to have a court baron in each manor. Rent, 2*l.* Irish. To hold forever, as of the Castle of Dublin, in common soccage, for a fine of 10*l.* Irish. 22 December, 1610." See Patent Rolls, James I., p. 187. The remains of an old building, probably the 'capital house' above-mentioned, stand in the parish of Templecrone, barony of Tyrhugh, and on the lands anciently constituting the Termon of St. Daveog, of Lough Derg, of which the Magraths were hereditary termoners. Tradition ascribes the building—which appears to have been a sort of fortress—to Myler himself, when he was bishop of Clogher, to which diocese he was appointed on the 18th September, 1570, by Queen Elizabeth. He commenced his career as a Franciscan friar, and was soon appointed by Pope Pius V. to the see of Down. Father Mooney speaks of him in 1617, as follows:—"Magrath is still alive, extremely old, and bedridden; cursed by the Protestants for wasting the revenues and manors of the ancient see of Cashel, and derided by the Catholics who are well acquainted with his drunken habits. Nevertheless, from all I have been able to learn of Magrath, there is some reason to hope that he will return to the Church; and, if I be not misinformed, he would now already exchange the Rock of Cashel for that of the Capitoline, where he spent his youth." See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 81.

(39). *In Fermanagh*.—The deputy and commissioners, when visiting Fermanagh on previous occasions, had their encampment at the shore of Lough Erne opposite the island of Devenish. On their memorable visit in 1606, Davys informs us that journeying from the abbey of Clones in Monaghan, "we came the second night after to the south side of Lougherne, and pitched our tents over against Devenish, a place being prepared for the holding of our sessions for Fermanagh in the ruins of an abbey there." It was on that occasion, and in that ruined abbey of Devenish once so celebrated, that Davys met

an old brehon, named O'Bristan, of whom he has left us the following curious and interesting record:—"Touching the certainty of the duties or provisions yielded unto [the] McGuyre out of these mensall lands, they [the jurors] referred themselves unto an old parchment roll, which they called an indenture, remaining in the hands of one O'Bristan, a chronicler and principal brehon of that country: whereupon O'Bristan was sent for, who lived not far from the camp, but was so aged and decrepid, as he was scarce able to repair unto us. When he was come, we demanded of him the sight of that ancient roll, wherein, as we were informed, not only the certainty of McGuyre's mensall duties did appear, but also the principal rents and other services which were answered to McGuyre out of every part of the country. The old man seeming to be much troubled with this demand, made answer, that he had such a roll in his keeping before the war, but that in the late rebellion it was burned among other of his papers and books by certain English soldiers. We were told, by some that were present, that this was not true; for they affirmed that they had seen the roll in his hands since the war; thereupon my lord chancellor (being then present with us, for he did not accompany my lord deputy to Ballishannon, but staid behind in the camp) did minister an oath unto him, and gave him a very serious charge to inform us truly what was become of the roll. The poor old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that it was dearer to him than his life; and therefore he would never deliver it out of his hands, unless my Lord Chancellor would take the like oath, that the roll should be restored to him again; my Lord Chancellor, smiling, gave him his word and his hand that he should have the roll re-delivered unto him, if he would suffer us to take a view and a copy thereof. And thereupon the old man drew the roll out of his bosom, where he did continually bear it about him; it was not very large, but it was written on both sides in a fair Irish character; howbeit, some part of the writing was worn and defaced with time and ill keeping. We caused it forthwith to be translated into English, and then we perceived how many vessels of butter, and how many measures of meal, and how many porks, and other such gross duties, did arise unto McGuyre out of his mensall lands; the particulars whereof I could have expressed, if I had not lost the translated copy of the roll at Dublin." See *Historical Tracts*, pp. 253, 254.

Blayney's hospitality, and it is probable he did not visit that knight at all, else he would have said something on the subject. That he grew rapidly convalescent is evident from the fact—stated by himself—that he had done the assize business at Monaghan, on Friday, the 22nd of September, travelling thence to Cavan on the following day, and taking his place, as before, among the commissioners. There were eleven of the latter present at Cavan, including Robert Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh (40), who was concerned, however, only to a trifling extent, in the enquiry on the subject of herenagh and termon lands. Whilst the assize and other work was progressing at the town of Cavan, Parsons and Bodley were engaged throughout the county in measuring the land available for plantation, and marking it off in proportions. They divided the county into seven precincts, or rather adopted the baronial divisions, known as Loughtee, Tullochconco, Clanchy, Tullagha, Castlerahin, Clanmahon, and Tulloghgarvie. 1. The precinct of *Loughtee* was found to contain 12,000 acres available for plantation, which quantity was cast into 11 proportions, viz., three of the middle size and eight of the small. 2. The precinct of *Tullochconco* was found only to afford 6,000 acres, and was sub-divided into six small proportions of 1,000 acres each. 3. The precinct of *Clanchy* [now Clonkee, or Clankee], contained also 6,000 acres of available plantation land, this quantity being cast into 4 proportions, viz., two of the large size and two small ones. 4. The precinct of *Tullagha* contained 9,000 acres, which formed 8 proportions, viz., two middle and six small. 5. The precinct of *Castlerahin* contained 9,000 acres, making 6 proportions, two large, two middle, and two small. 6. The precinct of *Clanmahon* contained 7,000 acres, which quantity was sub-divided into six proportions, viz., two middle and four small. 7. And the precinct of *Tulloughgarvie* was found to contain 7,500 acres, forming 7 proportions,—two great, one middle, and four small.

The Inquisition was taken on Monday, the 25th, the commissioners being assisted by the fourteen undernamed jurors:—

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|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Garrett Fleminge, Esquire. | 8. Shane O'Gowne. |
| 2. Thomas Kernan. | 9. Donell McFerall Oge McKernan. |
| 3. Hugh McDonell Brady. | 10. Tirlagh Oge McKernan. |
| 4. Thomas Brady. | 11. Felim McGauran. |
| 5. Patrick Brady. | 12. Cormock McKernan. |
| 6. Owen boy O'Ferrally. | 13. Shane McCalmoye Brady. |
| 7. Mulmore McCale [Cahill] Reilie. | 14. Mahowne McOwen Brady. |

Among the more interesting and important of the lengthened statements put forward by these jurors is their account of the *termon* lands, confirming as it does the testimony of other jurors on

(40). *Kilmore and Ardagh*.—The diocese of Kilmore extends into the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Connaught. Dr. Beaufort estimates its area at 497,250 Irish acres, of which 281,000 acres are in the county of Cavan, 184,750 in the county of Leitrim, 29,300 in the county of Fermanagh, and 2,200 in the county of Meath. The bishoprick of Ardagh is generally supposed to have

been founded by St. Patrick about the year 458. From 1603 until 1742, the see was united to that of Kilmore; from 1742 until 1833, although all lying within the ecclesiastical province of Armagh, it was held *in commendam* by the archbishops of Tuam; and by the act of 1833 it was consolidated with Elphin and Kilmore.

the same subject, and even throwing additional light on the origin and history of these peculiar properties. These facts will be our apology for here submitting the evidence *in extenso* :—" And touchinge the originall of the termon land, the said jurors doe uppon their oathes finde that before the distinguishinge of parishes in these partes, there were certen religious men, in nature of hermittes, who, sequestering themselves from all worldlie busines, did severallie retire themselves into private places, where they betooke themselves to praier, and to other godlie actes for the soule's healthe ; and in testimony of their zeale and devocon, every of them for the most parte erected a church, and that to every of the said religious persons the temporall lordes gave a severall porcion of lande, free for ever, to the intente that the said religious persons should maintaine hospitalitie, praie for the soules' health of the said lordes, and repaire and keepe the said churches, and otherwise to advance the service of God in that place, whereon hee lived ; and that the said religious persons ceaseinge, every one of them made choice of the most sufficient person about, and to that person and his sept he gave his porcion of lande, to be inherited by him and his sept forever, to the same uses and intentes for which the said temporall lordes first gave them to the said religious persons, and that to the said landes weare annexed certen liberties and freedomes, as sanctuarie and the like, for which cause the said lande was called termon, or free and protected lande, and the chiefe tennant thereof in some places called *corbe*, and in some places *herenagh*. And that afterwards, when the temporall lordes in their severall warres, and uppon other occasions, began to charge and tax the said *termon* landes, with divers exactions and imposicions, the said corbes and herenaghes fledd unto the bushopp of the dioces wherein they lived, and besought his protection against the wronges and injuries of the temporall lordes, and therefore gave voluntarily unto the bushopp a rent or pencion out of their landes, and sometimes they besought the protection of such of the temporall lordes as they thought would defende them against the rest, and unto such temporall lordes some of the corbes and herenaghs gave certen rents or pencions out of their landes, untill which tyme the bushopp had never anything to doe either with the landes or with the tennants there. But from thenceforthe, the bushopp undertooke the protection of the said herenaghes and of their landes, and in the process of tyme tooke on him a power to confirm every corbe and herenagh in their land, and, upon the alteracion of every corbe or herenagh, to them certen duties whereunto the said corbes and herenaghes voluntarilie yielded, the rather to contynue themselves in the said bushopp's protection, and that the corbe and herenagh was ever to be eleeted by the sept among themselves, and was commonlie the ancientest of the sept, but if the sept could not agree in the election, then the bushopp and whole clergie assembled and did elect one of the same sept, but still the bushopp confirmed and allowed him. And, if the whole sept at any time were extinct, the bushopp could not either detaine the said lande in his owne handes, or dispose them to anie particular person, unless it weare to another sept out of which the new herenagh or corbe is to inherit the said land to the same uses for which it was formerlie given, which the said bushopp could not doe without the assent of the whole clergie, and that then hee could neither alter nor increase his rent or pencion. And, if the corbe or herenaghe, or any of the sept under him, had made a forfeiture of any parcel of the said land, that came not to the bushopp, but was partable among the rest of the sept ; and that the difference betwixt a corbe and an herenagh is

this, that the corbe, called in Latin *pleibanus*, is head of a greater familie or sept, and sometimes of severall septes, and hath sometimes under him severall herenaghs, but the herenagh was head or chiefe of a smaller number of people, and seldome had under him more than his owne sept" (41). See also King's *Memoir*, pp. 50, 51.

These Cavan jurors found generally that the county lay in the diocese of Kilmore; that the bishop had several polls of mensal and demesne lands; and that from the termon and herenagh lands he received, as in other counties, certain small rents and duties. In connexion with these, certain curious particulars are mentioned. Thus, from a poll of land, called M'Connyn's poll, which formed part of the *termon* lands of Kilmore, in the barony of Loughtee als Cavan, he received "six shillings eight pence, and twentie breads with butter proportionable, eight day laborers, and a sixth parte of cesse, coynny and other charges, per annum; out of the poll of Tullagh six shillings eight pence, twelve breads, fower mathers of butter, and eight daie workmen per annum; out of the termon land of Annagh, containing one poll, three shillings fower pence, and three reape hookes per annum, and so in various other instances." (See King's *Memoir*, p. 50). By these jurors' report, also, it appeared that the glebe lands, as in all the other counties, were absolutely insignificant; and that the abbey-lands had been granted away to certain servitors. As to the temporal lands, they had already vested in the Crown by the deaths in quick succession of three chiefs of the O'Reilly's, viz., Sir John O'Reilly, his brother Philip, and their uncle Edmond, who were all slain fighting on the side of Hugh O'Neill Earl of Tyrone, and whose estates, therefore, fell to the Crown by a law in this country which, under such circumstances, dispensed with the necessity of any legal proceedings. All that had to be done was, simply to ascertain by inquisition whether they had fallen when in actual rebellion, and this fact was sufficiently established by an investigation at Cavan, on the 19th of August, 1606. The commissioners and jurors in 1609 were, therefore, saved any trouble as to the general question of temporal lands; and they had only to report that a grant had been made by the Crown to Baron Delvin (42) and his mother, of certain parcels in the barony of Clanmahon, and another

(41). *Owne sept*.—Referring to the evidence of the Ulster jurors generally, on the subject of herenagh lands, the learned author of the *Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, says:—"Allowing for some inaccuracies in these Papers of the northern jurors, not unnatural, where their information seems to have been derived chiefly from tradition, and which we are enabled to correct by the aid of the old Irish Annals, the light which they throw on the history of the *coarbs* and *erenachs* is still valuable and important. . . . Independently of such inaccuracies, their statements relative to the original independence of the *coarbs* and *erenachs* of any episcopal jurisdiction,—the circumstance that their lands had never, at any time, belonged to the bishops,—that their submission to the latter, and consenting to pay them rents, was a voluntary procedure, with a view to obtaining protection in their possessions, and that it was, in fine, the Church of Rome which had effected the bringing about of the change which established bishops, with ordinary diocesan jurisdiction

in Ireland,—are altogether worthy of attention, as conformable to what is, by other historical evidence, made sufficiently certain. . . . The real state of the case, however, was, that the Termon and Erenach lands had been originally the property of the Church, but certainly never at any time in the possession of the bishops. The authorities of the Church of Rome, during the days of her sway in Ireland, had never been able to secure full possession of them; but they remained part of the old church property of Ireland, created by the Irish themselves, ere they had submitted to her rule, and subjected afterwards to various abuses and exactions, yet independent of any foreign controul or ownership, until subjected to the sovereign prerogative of James I." See pp. 51, 52.

(42). *Delvin*.—On the 10th of August, 1603, the Lady Marie, widow of the late Christopher Baron Delvin, petitioned the King, stating that her husband had a warrant from Queen Elizabeth for 100*l.* by the year, to be granted from escheated lands in Cavan

grant to Garrett Fleming (43), Esq., in the barony of Clanchy [Clonkee].

At the close of the commissioners' labours in Cavan, the last county of the six, Davys penned his concluding epistle to Salisbury, evidently in high spirits that his opinion on the subject of the termon lands had been amply borne out by special examination, and that he was about to leave Ulster in profound peace! "We are now come to the Cavan," says he, "which is the last period of our long progress, and have there performed our several services in the same manner as in the former counties. In distinguishing the Church land from the rest, find also in this county that the tenants of the Termon lands were the true proprietors and inheritors thereof, and that the bishops had only certain rents and refectations; so that the universal consent of all the jurors in Ulster proves their [the commissioners'] offices taken the last year to be true in that point, and not false, as it was suggested by the Bishop of Derry with a little too much confidence; and they assure themselves that, if the like inquisitions were taken in Munster and Connaught (for there are also Termon lands within those provinces), the like presentments would be made there, and everywhere throughout the kingdom; for the Archbishop of Cashel (44), who was present with them in

and Longford. In reply, the King ordered Mountjoy, the then deputy, to have a grant made out for Lady Delvin, including her son's name in the instrument, for as much land as would amount to 60*l*. On the 29th of Nov., 1608, the King directed Chichester, then deputy, to increase the original grant by as much additional land as would amount to 80*l*., above all reprises, and in special regard to the young baron's conformity and that of his mother also—the youthful Delvin having been then recently in prison for disloyalty. On the 20th of July, 1609, an extensive grant was made to Mary, Lady Delvin, and her son Richard, Lord Delvin, including portions of the escheated lands of the O'Reillys of Cavan. The names and quantities of the lands thus granted in Cavan are mentioned in Erck's *Repertory*, p. 584; see also pp. 24, 511, 512.

(43). *Fleming*.—On the 22nd of December, 1608, this servitor received an extensive grant from the Crown of escheated lands in several counties, including Cavan. The lands in Cavan thus granted were those that had belonged to the rectories or parsonages of Killyn, Knockbride, Castleraghan, Templeporte, and Crodragh. In this grant was included sufficient houseboote and fireboote—which meant wood for fuel; hayboote and hedgeboote, which meant wood for fencing; and carteboote and ploughboote, which meant timber for making ploughs and carts.

(44). *Of Cashel*.—See p. 183. For details as to the appointments heaped on Myler Magrath, the reader may refer to Ware's *Works*, vol. ii., pp. 188, 206, 483, 538, 652, 660. He was, perhaps, the most troublesome and expensive convert ever drawn from the mother church. He had been converted to protestantism so early as 1570. In 1604, Chief-Justice Saxey describes the protestant prelates generally as "more fit to sacrifice to a calf than to intermeddle with the religion of God. The chiefest of them [Magrath], an Irishman, sometime a

friar, is Archbishop of Cashell, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Bishop of Killala." In Davys's well-known account of Munster, May, 1606, he states that in *Cashell* there was then "found only one inhabitant that came to church, for even the Archbishop's own sons and sons-in-law, dwelling there, are obstinate recusants." The Archbishop of Dublin was appointed, in 1607, by the lord deputy, to visit Magrath's four dioceses of Cashel, Emly, Lismore, and Waterford, for the purpose of inquiring into flagrant abuses alleged to have been committed by this precious convert. The Archbishop of Dublin, in his report, "entreats for means to be prescribed for the establishment of God's service in those parts, which have scarcely known whether there be a God," and recommends that several leases of church livings should be revoked, "which have been passed by his [Magrath's] procurement, and confirmed by himself to the use of his children and allies, which it is meet should be reserved for sufficient incumbents. . . . They have discovered such abuses and enormities through the Archbishop's misjudgment (especially in those two dioceses of Cashel and Emly) as he never could have believed on the report of others, and he [Dublin] is indeed much grieved that a man of his profession, so much graced by her late Majesty, and so highly advanced in the church as to have the charge of four several bishoprics, should so far neglect his pastoral charge, or rather quite pervert it." In November, 1607, Magrath complained to the King and council that his enemies in Ireland were endeavouring to imperil his reputation and even his life, because of some good services he had formerly rendered to the State; and the King, in reply, directs Chichester to take no proceedings against complainant without first informing him [the King]. In April, 1608, Chichester wrote to the council in London, informing them that the Archbishop of Cashel had been tried and convicted on a charge of having said that "O'Neile was greatly wronged when he was dispossessed of the

Fermanagh, affirmed of his own knowledge, that the Bishops of Munster and Connaught are so far from removing those tenants or enhancing [raising] their rents, that they would be glad to receive all the duties contained in their registers without demanding the land itself; for they find divers duties mentioned in their registers which the tenants refuse to pay, because the payment thereof has been discontinued for some space of time. And now although they have ended this journey, for this day their camp is broken up (45), they have not yet ended their business; for the making up of these inquisitions in form of law, the drawing of the titles into the cases, the engrossing, enrolling, and exemplification thereof, the absolute finishing of the maps, the limiting and setting forth of the parishes, precincts, and proportions, which must be done upon the maps, with divers other real parts of the main service, are to be performed after they return home, which will require extraordinary labour and diligence, and two months' time at least. They have left the province of Ulster in more complete peace and obedience than has ever been seen since the Conquest (46). For the Lord Deputy has taken in all the woodkerne and loose people in every county, and has bound them with sureties to depart into Sweden with Colonel Stewart, who is like to prove a better justice of gaol delivery in clearing the country of malfactors than the Lord Chief Justice and he [Davys] have been; for two persons only have been executed by their doom in all this long circuit (47). From the camp upon the border of Meath, near Lough Raen (48), 30 September, 1609." On the 3rd of October—as soon as the commissioners were able to return to Dublin—the

fishings of the river Banne, and that he had better right unto them than any English or Scottish; yea, and that he had better right to the crown of Ireland than any Englishman or Scottish man whatsoever." Magrath protested that he was innocent of this charge, and as he had sometimes been a spy for the government, his crime now was overlooked. In 1611, William Knight was appointed co-adjutor of Magrath, because the latter had become infirm and seldom resident in his see or sees, having gone back to spend the remainder of his days on the family property of Termonmagrath. Knight, "an ancient Master of Art," was a sad tippler, and became wearied of his duties in Ireland. He was often seen so degradingly incapable through drink, that he returned to England, and gave up all hope of preferment. Magrath lived to be very old, and died in 1626. His son James, to whom Termonmagrath was granted (see p. 183), became a hopeless recusant.

(45). *Broken up*.—Winche concludes his *Relation* by stating that after finishing at the Cavan on Michaelmas day, the cavalcade marched nine miles on their way to Dublin. "The next day," says he, "the last of September, the camp was discharged, and they returned towards Dublin;" so that, when Davys was penning the above, the camp, as he also states, had been "broken up."

(46). *Since the Conquest*.—This was not saying much for the real peace of the province after all, for it is, indeed, a deplorable fact that, from the time of De Courcy's raids in Ulster, until the date of Davy's letter, there had been no halcyon times of peace, and perhaps no single day on which there was not war, or rumours of

war, in one district or other, throughout our northern province.

(47). *Long circuit*.—This picture glows with the touches of a master hand, but it is drawn very largely from Davy's own imagination. The only 'woodkerne' whom Chichester was able to 'take in' were such persons, generally sword-men, as were bound by recognisances to appear at the assizes in each county, and who came forward voluntarily. There can be no doubt that 'the doom' of Davys and Winche would have fallen heavily and bloodily on many more than two prisoners, had not the intended victims been spared as recruits for Sweden. This was Davys's own account of the matter, when writing from the camp of Limavaddie. "In this little county" [of Coleraine], says he, "they have had a great gaol delivery [*i.e.*, a large number of prisoners to try], but no execution of any prisoner; for the Lord Deputy has spared and reserved them all to fill up the companies that are to be sent into the wars of Swethen." So, also, Chichester himself stated to Salisbury.

(48). *Lough Raen*.—This lake is now known as Lough Ramor, and is situate in the barony of Castleraghan, county of Cavan. It is nearly four miles in length, and, on an average, about one mile broad, comprising an area of more than 102 acres in the parish of Lurgan, 774 in the parish of Castleraghan, and 965 in the parish of Munterconnaught. Numerous little islands, adorned with woods, are dotted over the lake, and its eastern and northern shores are made pleasant by many well-cultivated farms. The town of Virginia lies on its southern side, and the plantations of Lord Headfort's fine deerpark stretch around its western shore.

Chief Justice Winche wrote to Salisbury, giving him a meagre account of their northern journey, and requesting leave to return again to England (49).

(49). *To England*.—Winche appears to have been much trusted, but was probably rather impracticable, and constantly complaining of one abuse or other in the public service. He was anxious to return to England, alleging that the air of this country did not agree with him. Before leaving, he addressed a few letters to Salisbury. In one of these, written in February, 1609-10, he states that he has "sent a copy of the declaration drawn out concerning the King's titles to the escheated lands in Ulster. Has set down some exceptions to Wakeman's patent of the fishing of the Ban (see p. 100), which was not set down at first, but has since been added. Mr. Attorney [Davys] brings the true copy of Wakeman's grant, and the letter that should warrant the patent. Has

inserted the names of all the natives who were summoned to appear in those counties last summer at the end of the book to show the number of those of any account in those shires." These names are no doubt the jury lists in the six counties already quoted, and probably those of some other persons who were summoned but not required to act. Winche's son, also named Humphrey, was a commissioner of the Admiralty, and in 1654, purchased the estate of Hawnes in Bedfordshire. He was created a baronet in 1660. His wife was Rebecca, a daughter of alderman Martin Browne, of London. He died without male issue in 1703, and the title became extinct. His daughter Judith married Sir Humphrey Forster, of Aldermaston, in Berkshire.



CHAPTER VI.—RESULTS AND ARRANGEMENTS.

I.



ON their return to Dublin, the commissioners were expected to report to the King and council the results of their northern journey before the end of December. The King, when authorising their appointment, had expressed a decided wish that the account of their labours might be laid before him even so early as 'Hallowmas,' that he could thus have the whole winter, to read, learn, and inwardly digest. There was delay, however, after their arrival, in consequence of the absence of Chichester, who had gone to Carlingford to witness the shipping of swordmen for Sweden; and, also, because of the scattering of the other commissioners to their several places of residence after such a lengthened period of anxiety and hard work. Even so late as the 19th of October, Davys reported to Salisbury that "since they returned home from the northern circuit, the commissioners for the Plantation have been scattered, so that little has been added to their former labours, by reason of the absence of the Lord Deputy, who has ever since been detained upon the borders about the levying and embarking of soldiers for Sweveland." When the necessary hands, however, did get to work, it was found that the materials of various kinds, collected during their peregrinations in Ulster, could not be arranged or made presentable, in less than double the time which even Davys had supposed would have been sufficient. In his letter to Salisbury, from the camp at Lough Raen or Ramor, he had mentioned that 'two months' time at least' would be required after their arrival in Dublin, to make up the inquisitions in legal form, draw the titles of the King and others into clear and easily understood cases, and finish the maps by setting forth the parishes, precincts, and proportions thereon. These various tasks, however, instead of being completed in two months, were not brought to a close before the last days of February, 1609-10. On the 20th of that month, Chichester wrote a somewhat apologetic letter to Salisbury, accounting for the delay, and stating that he had sent, with the persons who would deliver all the papers, certain observations of his own, on the questions to be considered and decided without loss of time. He "fears they have long deceived his [Salisbury's] expectation in sending Mr. Treasurer [Sir Thomas Ridgeway] hence with the return of their labours in the new survey of the escheated lands, but when he shall have seen and perused what is done, hopes he will excuse them, for they have so prepared the work that his [Salisbury's] labours will be greatly eased. Has sent some remembrances of his own to guide him in the distribution of those lands, and for the more effectual settlement of the plantation; besides which, the Treasurer has seen most of the escheated lands in each county, and will give him good satisfaction touching this work of plantation. Hopes that his [Ridgeway's] long stay there may not hinder the beginning of the plantation this summer. It is said that he [Salisbury] intends to be an undertaker in the plantation, which made him [Chichester] presume to name him in his notes delivered to Mr. Treasurer, where he advises the work to be undertaken in baronies, and to his [Salisbury's] noble designs his [Chichester's] best furtherance shall not be wanting."

Chichester's 'remembrances,' referred to in the foregoing letter, are preserved among the State Papers under the title of *Certain Considerations touching the Plantation of the escheated lands in Ulster, delivered to Mr. Treasurer, the 27th January, 1609-10*. As a first and most important 'consideration,' the deputy takes care to explain that the King's title to all the lands that had belonged to the fugitive earls and their adherents shall be established clearly and without delay from the materials now collected in Ulster. "Before all things," says he, "the King's title is to be cleared, which will be done now upon sight of the cases which are to be examined and weighed by the judges, and their opinions confirmed in Parliament, held here if thought requisite, at the King's pleasure, and in the meantime no claim or plea to be admitted in any court for any lands which the judges shall lay down to be the King's upon sight of the cases." His next 'consideration' affirms that the lands to be planted ought to be distributed in baronies to noblemen of high standing and great wealth, to be divided by them [the noblemen] in proportions, and on liberal terms, to persons of humbler rank, who were to have the trouble and responsibility of planting the lands and erecting the necessary buildings, at least for their own accommodation. The undertakers of baronies would be required to give the scheme the stability and protection of their names, in order to secure its success, but would not be expected to do so from any motives of personal advantage. In this connection it was that Chichester, as he states, introduced Salisbury's name, or rather the name of his office. In developing the plan, the deputy states that he "would have one or two admitted by the chief undertakers [of baronies] to be next themselves in the baronies undertaken, to give countenance and assistance to strangers. Knows some who are willing to undertake a whole barony, even in the worst part of Ulster; and unless this be the manner of undertaking, or unless the subjects of England will plant upon a common purse, he has no hope that the plantation will take effect as it ought." Other "considerations" have reference to the positions which powerful undertakers ought to occupy for the safety of the rest,—to the necessity of granting ample time for the erection of buildings and settling tenants on the lands,—to the nature of the tenures according to which lands should be granted,—to the proper management of the natives,—and to the terms which ought to be exacted from the bishops, in lieu of the very large grants of lands which they were almost certain to obtain from the King. See pp. 90, 91.

When all the documents connected with this absorbing subject had been duly prepared, including a true copy of the deputy's remaining advices or remembrances concerning the plantation of Ulster, they were sent off in the keeping of Davys and Ridgeway, for presentation to the King and his ministers. With these commissioners the deputy also sent the following note to Salisbury, written on the 19th Feb., the day before that on which he had penned his letter of introduction for Ridgeway, above quoted:—"Recommends to his Lordship, Sir John Davys, who is about to travel to England with the Treasurer [Ridgeway]. The Bishop of Derry has preferred a petition in the Lord Primate's name and his own, for an addition or alteration of what was hitherto done in the matter of survey of ecclesiastical lands, and in the point of Termon and Erenagh lands. He [Chichester] writes this because he [Montgomery] might complain that he was not heard by them [the council] and righted in what he propounded; but the Treasurer can assure him

[Salisbury] that the petition was not presented until yesterday." The deputy was evidently afraid that Montgomery might misrepresent the party opposed to him in Ireland on the question of the termon lands; and, therefore, he wrote specially, in conjunction with the members of the Irish Privy Council to the council in London to guard them against the bishop's statements. This joint-letter also was dated February 19, and was in substance as follows:—"The Bishop of Derry being now returned thither [to London] to give the King and their Lordships an account of what has been done concerning the Church lands in Ulster, they thought fit to let their Lordships know by him that, as a commissioner, he has left nothing undone to forward the business committed to his care. They [the commissioners] have concurred with him so far as they might in justice, yet finding him not thoroughly satisfied, they here certify what they have done in accordance with his Majesty's directions. All the demesne and mensal lands belonging to their several sees, and all the rents and duties reserved, found in any of the offices [inquisitions] for the bishops of that province, they caused to be restored to them. But the Erenagh and Termon lands being found rather to belong to the King than the bishops, by such juries as best knew to whom the right appertained, they did not deem it their duty to let the bishops have those lands (considering the large quantities of them in the several counties to be planted and how they lie dispersed, which would hinder the plantation, and the settlement of particular parish churches), until the King and the Lords shall consider the matter. The Lord Bishop of Derry and the Treasurer will deliver what may be said on either side touching the whole business. P.S.—The Bishop of Derry reminds them at the signing of this letter, that some of the juries, in the finding of these Termon lands, professed to give no credit to the bishops' register books, but to do as they were led by their own knowledge, notes, observation, and tradition, and that they [the deputy and council] promised to certify as much to them" [the council in London].

But still another letter, more than ordinarily interesting as explanatory of the work done during the northern journey, was forwarded a few days later to Salisbury. This letter was written by Sir Josias Bodley (1), and contains a curious account of the method of survey

(1). *Bodley*.—See p. 153. In Bodley's account of his visit to Sir Richard Moryson, in January, 1602-3, at Downpatrick, his descriptions are graphic, and lead us to infer—as was indeed the fact—that he was not the sort of man to secure broad lands in Ulster, as his companions did. He tells of dinners and dogs, of suppers and maskers, with an occasional fling at some of the then great authorities in Ireland, varied by a hit at Hugh O'Neill, who had recently surrendered, but not before giving the English officers, and Bodley with the rest, some serious trouble. "That Tyrone," says he, "is the worst rascal, and very wary and subtle, and wont be beaten, except on good terms." Among many similar passages in this sketch we have the following:—"But how can we now tell about the sumptuous preparation of everything? How about the dinners? How about the suppers? How about the dainties? For we seemed as if present (as you would suppose) at the nuptial banquet to which some Cleopatra had invited her Anthony; so many varieties of meats were there, so many kinds of

condiments; about every one of which I would willingly say something, only I fear being tedious. I shall, therefore, demonstrate, from a single dinner what may be imagined of the rest. There was a large and beautiful collar of brawn, with its accompaniments, to wit, mustard and Muscadell wine; there were well-stuffed geese, such as the Lord Bishop [Thomas Jones, then Bishop of Meath and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, and a commissioner of plantation in 1609] is wont to eat at Ardbraccan, the legs of which Captain Caulfield [Sir Toby] always laid hold of for himself; there were pies of venison and of various kinds of game; also some of marrow, with innumerable plums; others with coagulated milk,—such as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London almost always have at their feasts; others, which they call Tarts, of divers shapes, materials, and colours, made of beef, mutton, and veal. I do not mention, because they are called vulgar, other kinds of dishes wherein France much abounds, and which they designate *Quelq'choses* [*Kickshaws*, according to our older novelists, meaning

employed, and of the difficulties which prevented any very accurate admeasurement of the lands. "It may please your Lordships," says Bodley, "having been employed these six months past in the chorographical description of the northern parts of Ireland, as preparative to the intended plantation, I thought it my duty in these few lines, notwithstanding the information which your Lordship may have at large from others [Ridgeway and Davys], to give an account of our proceeding, for the better justifying our labours therein, if any way they should be open to exceptions. It was required that these escheated counties should be so plotted [mapped], as that readily, and by the eye, the known boundary of every county might be discerned; the Church land distinguished from the temporal; the land already granted from that which was to be disposed of; the shares for undertakers to be laid out with their apparent limits, according to certain conceived proportions of different quantities; the goodness or badness of the soil; with the woods, mountains, rivers, bogs, and loughs; and other particularities importing that business, in their several places to be specified. It was late in the year ere this service was set on foot (see p. 124), and the shortest way for dispatch that might be was taken. To have gone to work by the strict rules of survey would have asked long time, and drawn on a deep charge, and yet, save in the matter of dimension only, but meanly have answered the points in charge (2). For which reason we thought it our readiest course that, whilst the Lord Deputy and commissioners in their inquisition concerning the Bishops' claims, bestowed their time in those counties, we should take unto us out of every barony, such persons as, by their experience in the county, could give us the name and quality of every balliboe, quarter, tathe, or other common measure in any the precincts of the same, with special notice how they butted, or meared interchangeably, the one on the other. By which means, and other necessary helps, we contrived those maps which are now transmitted to your Lordship; and therein the method we observed was such as might easily warrant us from any

trifles. Neither do I relate anything of the delicacies that accompanied the cheese, because they would exceed all belief." See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii., pp. 88, 89.

(2). *In charge*.—"The matter of dimension only," which Bodley appears to have considered of small consequence, came very soon afterwards to mean something serious. Bodley does not really pretend to say that they had 'gone to work by the strict rules of survey'; on the contrary, he leads us to believe that such 'rules' would have been unsuitable, if not impracticable under the circumstances. His then fellow-worker, Parsons, had the reputation of doing strange things in his surveys for himself and *his friends*; and assuredly some such jobs must have been perpetrated in that survey. Arable lands must have been represented as bogs and morasses,—or *unprofitable*,—as in very many instances the proportions were soon afterwards found to have expanded to an almost incredible extent. These expansions could not have been accounted for by the reclamation of wastes during the short interval between 1609 and 1633, yet we have Wentworth, at the latter date, writing to Coke on this matter as follows:—"Now, giving myself leisure to look into it, I find that their [the Ulster undertakers'] estates (being in a manner all forfeited for want of performance of

Covenants of Plantation, and so devolved back), in these new Re-grants are all remitted, without righting the Crown, either in the overmeasuring of their Proportions, or in the Tenures; in both which it [the Crown] had sustained, in this chiefly, as in other Plantations, shameful injury, by *passing in Truth ten times the Quantities of Land expressed in their Patents*, and reserving throughout base tenures in soccage, which being the only two main general Mischiefs which the Crown suffers, under these cases through the whole kingdom, not only in Profit, but mainly too in Point of State (the reserving Tenures *in capite* being the greatest Means of drawing the Subjects to depend on his Majesty, which, as in all kingdoms, so in this, is most principally to be attended and laboured for), I thought good to stay, cast awhile about, and search if it were possible to play an After-game so well as to reduce them in these principal respects to Reason and Justice, as I must endeavour to do in all the rest of the Plantations here." See Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches*, vol. i., p. 132). Wentworth played his 'After-game' rather too successfully for his own safety, as these northern undertakers, although they had received their lands from the father of the King whom Wentworth was anxious to right, proved the bitterest enemies of both, and assisted to bring both to the scaffold.

fraudulent dealing of our informers; whilst their least error or mistaking, by examination and conferring of the several parts, might presently be discovered. Somewhat also it will make for our endeavours herein, that we have found many thousands of acres for his Majesty more than by any survey heretofore have come to light. And albeit we could not deliver the precise number of acres of every parcel otherwise than as they went in ordinary computation of the country, by which they exceed the acres mentioned in the printed book of articles by more than one half by reason of the difference of the perch here used and the statute perch there named, yet can it little disadvantage his Majesty, if it shall be thought fit, in contracting with the undertakers, that some clause be inserted of reservation to a more exact survey hereafter; which, whensoever, it shall take effect, there is no question but his Majesty's revenues from those parts shall be augmented by above a third (3). And thus much I have presumed, under your Lordship's favourable construction, to deliver concerning this business."

Davys and Ridgeway had not long reached London when they were permitted to spread out their attractive wares before the admiring but puzzled faces of the authorities there. The baronial maps of the escheated counties must have attracted much admiration were it only for the varied and glowing colours in which they were drawn. But after the two commissioners' arrival, some little time was required to have their several collections of papers becomingly bound for presentation. It was not until about the middle of March that the maps, in this respect, were made presentable; and then they were forwarded to Salisbury by Ridgeway, who accompanied them by the following letter:—"May it please your Lordship,—The mapps of the 6 escheated counties, besides the Derry [the county of the city of Derry], being but now newly bound in 6 several bookes for his Ma^{ties} view and the light of the intended plantacon, I humbly send them herewithal unto your Honour with the humble desire to receive some advice from your Lordship by Mr. Newton or otherwise, whether I shall sett downe in y^e plaine-leafe at the fore front of each booke the contents of the same shire in this very forme of the enclosed summary note of Calculation, or ells leave it for a time unwritten to be afterwards filled up according to such other forme as any alteracon upon the now course in hand may happen to produce. Alsoe, I humblye present unto your Lordship, for your Honour's owne use and perusal at your best pleasure, halfe a dozen like Bookes of my owne, which (Imitation onely) I extracted in the campe and att my owne house, forbearinge to fill up the very compliments with descriptions, or the other blanck leaffes any notes till I receave somewhat from your Lordship in generall, what will best sorte with the same mappes, and with your Honour's lyking. Whereuppon all shall be performed accordinglye, in brieffe, and yet particularly within 3 or 4 days at fardest. The true copy of the Lord Deputy's remaining Advizes concerning the plantation, I have, sythence your Lordship's vouchsafed admittance and audience yesterday, (for which I reste humbly bound) selected and singled out from among other his Lordship's Remembrances, both publyk and private, the later impartable at your Lordship's better leasure. The Heads, and true state of all ells requirable of me by your

(3). *Above a third.*—This increase to the King would arise, among other causes, chiefly from the introduction of

the English statute measure instead of what was afterwards known as plantation measure.

Honour (this of the plantation being the *Hoc Age*, first and principall part of my employment from Ireland hyther), I will not faile, God willing, even in *ipso puncto* sincerely and proudly to sett downe and send, about the middle of next weeke, for your Lordship's perusall att your owne best tymes. My ever good God in heaven continue and increase to your Lordship all honour, healthe, and happyness. Even soe forbearing your Honour's further trouble, I humblye and ever remain your Lordship's wholly to dispose of,

THOS. RIDGEWAY.

"From my
Lodging in ye Strand,
March 15th, 1609."

"I humbly present also to your Lordship the Irish Conceived pedigrees of their great Lordes" (4).

"The enclosed Summary of contents," referred to in the foregoing letter has been preserved among the State Papers, and now re-appears as a most interesting specimen of the manner in which the lands were distinguished and distributed. The part thus done was selected as an illustration of the whole, and forwarded under the title of "Summary of the Contents of the County of Ardmagh, and Explanation of Conventional Signs on the Map:—

"The whole county of Ardmagh consists of 835 balliboes of several contents [of different sizes], making in all 81,160 acres, whereof

Ecclesiastical land, coloured *green* in the maps.

Baronies.	Balliboes.	Acres.
Fewes	30½ of 100 acres the ballibo	3,050
Ardmagh	63 " "	6,300
Orrier	7 " "	440
Toghrany	64 " "	6,400
Onealan	16 " "	1,600

Abbey lands distinguished with this $\frac{1}{O}$ mark, and coloured *green*.

Fewes	13 of 100 acres in the ballibo	1,330
Orrier	10 of 120 acres in the ballibo	1,200
Onealan	16 3 of 60 acres and 7 of 100	880

Temporal lands already granted, left white in the maps and marked \times .

Fewes	35 of 100 acres to Tur. McHenry	3,500
Ardmagh	2 of 100 acres to Charlemount	200

(4). *Great Lordes*.—These pedigrees filled a book, which, it may be supposed, Salisbury did not often consult. The contents of this book appear to have been compiled by some person wholly unfitted for the task. The book "was made in the year of Christ —," and professed to contain "the descents of the mere Irish families, with the severall monarchs of them which ruled in that

land, whose government continued until that Henry II. conquered and suppressed them. The same was formed by sundry collections of the Earl of Thomond, and was corrected by divers of the nation according to the true orthography of the Irish nation." If so, it must have been afterwards sadly confused and disfigured by some ignorant scribe in Sir George Carew's office.

Baronies.	Balliboes.	Acres.
Orrier	31 of 120 acres to Newry and Mountnorris	3,720
Toghrany	49 of 100 acres to Sir Henry Oge O'Neale	4,900
Balliboes, in all	330½	Acres, in all 33,890

Which sum of 330½ balliboes, making 33,890 acres, being deducted out of the whole content of the county, there remains 504½ balliboes, making 47,280 acres, to be disposed of in several proportions, and other allotments, as follows :

Baronies.	Balliboes.	Acres.	Acres.
Onealan	150¾ of 60 acres each } 84½ of 100 acres each }	17,490	{ Great, 2 ... 4,240 Middle, 3 ... 4,770 Small, 8 ... 8,480
Ardmagh	62¾ of 100 acres each	6,270	{ Middle, 1 ... 1,590 Small, 3 ... 3,180
	For the College at Dublin	...	1,500
Fewes	63½ of 100 acres each	6,360	{ Great, 1 ... 2,120 Small, 4 ... 4,240
Orrier	143 of 120 acres each	16,130	{ Great, 2 ... 4,240 Middle, 3 ... 4,470 Small, 7 ... 7,420
	For a Freehold	...	730
	Acres in all	...	47,280

Every proportion circumscribed on the maps with red lines.

Great in yellow colour marked ⊙

Middle in violet „ „ ⊖

Small in carnation „ „ ⊙

The lands laid out for corporate towns, freeholds, College of Dublin, and such like, remain white, unmarked."

II.

Of the 'Six several books' of beautifully executed maps, presented to Salisbury, in March, 1609, four have been discovered in the State Papers office, London. The credit and honour of this discovery are entirely due to W. H. Hardinge, Esq., who has supplied to the Royal Irish Academy the following account of the treasures thus brought to light in the year 1860:—"I asked at the State Paper Office to be shown those [maps] of the counties enumerated of the year 1609,—when the second volume of maps relating to Ireland, embracing all the MS. specimens of the reign of King James I., was placed before me; and one of the first objects that attracted and fixed my attention, on opening the volume, was the survey I was in search of; I knew it at

sight, and, upon inspection, found that there were four county books, each vellum bound, and illuminated with coats of arms after the fashion of the day, representing Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Tyrone, and containing separate maps of each barony, in each respective county, within which were pricked out the several proportions of land therein, and their subdivisions by name, as required by the articles of instruction annexed to the commission of survey (see p. 126). These several subdivisions were, as appears to me, afterwards successively coloured off, to distinguish the townlands granted from those remaining undisposed of, and in the hands of the Crown, until, by repeated processes of colouring of different hues, to denote different grants or properties, all were distributed (5). It is much to be regretted that the maps of Coleraine and Derry [the county of the city of Derry], and of Donegal, which would complete the six escheated counties, are not forthcoming. Yet, I cannot but hope that they will be found, as they should be reposing in some unexplored corner of Her Majesty's State Paper Office. . . . I have compared closely the maps of some of the baronies with our modern Ordnance Maps; and although there exists, as I anticipated, from the great perfection to which the art of surveying has attained since 1609, when it was but in its infancy, considerable difference of configuration, and still more marked discrepancies in the names of denominations, yet the maps in such juxtaposition identify with tolerable accuracy the past with present features and outlines; and where, as in the greater number of instances is the case, the title of present possessors grows out of and is dependent upon the plantation grants, although the greater portion of the names by which the townlands were granted have disappeared in the stream of time, sufficient identifying incidents remain to satisfy equity and common sense that certain names and features on the Ordnance maps are represented by certain other names and features laid down on the maps of 1609.

"There is, however, one barony of the four escheated counties, the maps of which have turned up, that represents an appearance the very reverse of truth. It is the barony of Armagh; the lands on the right hand boundary of the map, and so internally to its centre, should be on the left; and *contra*, the left arrangement should be on the right. In considering the cause of such displacement, it occurred to me that the outlines of the map, when originally traced, and before writing in the names of the townlands, might have been reversed, and that then the names were written into their reverse boundary outlines (6). And having tested this by an exactly similar counteraction, the

(5). *Distributed*.—This was a natural enough conclusion to anyone who had not been aware of the fact that the lands intended, or laid out in the maps for corporate towns, freeholds for natives, forts, free schools, and the college, remained *white* and unmarked. All the available lands for undertakers were *originally* described by various *marks* and *colours*, so that the maps were never re-touched after passing into Salisbury's hands. The colours, it is evident, in many instances, have seriously given way, if the copies made at the Ordnance Survey office truly represent the originals. The great proportions were drawn in yellow colour and the small proportions in carnation, but the distinction now between them is hardly, in several instances, perceptible; whilst the marks peculiar to each have become faint in some cases,

and in others portions of these marks have altogether disappeared. The middle proportions were drawn in *violet* colour, which appears to have retained its original hue better than the others.

(6). *Outlines*.—A learned friend writes as follows:—"There is no steady rule of North and South in the 1609 maps. Even in the two maps of Oneilan there is not exact harmony, for though the compass points reversely as regards north and south, in the first the north is S.S.W., and in the second S.S.E. In the first map we have the *Challan Flu* on the left side which is right, and yet if the map be turned upside down, it will be on the right, which is wrong. In this map *Leavallyglis* lies nearest to Armagh, which is quite right; and Monymorierty farther [off], which is quite right: but turn the map up-

true originally intended map came into view. The error is all the more unaccountable, as more than one half of the barony is ecclesiastical property, in the defence and preservation of which the commission of survey included as commissioners *all* bishops having spiritual jurisdiction and charge within the six escheated counties. The mistake would have proved of more consequence in any other barony than that of Armagh, as the entire property in that barony was (except a few balliboes) vested in the Archbishop of Armagh, in right of his see; in right of the fort of Dungannon [Charlemount]; and, in Trinity College, in right of its grant under the great seal of England, dated at Westminster, the 29th August, in the eighth year of the reign of King James I. [1610]. The general utility of the maps may be exemplified by this plantation grant to the College. The grant passes the territory of Towaghy, but does not name the balliboes or townlands of which it consisted; neither does the inquisition of the ecclesiastical lands in the county of Armagh;—the map of the barony names them all, and defines their respective outlines and relative position to each other. . . . These maps are very beautiful specimens of the art of photo-zincography—a name given by Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E. and K.C.B., to a process invented, I believe, by himself. They were executed by directions of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, under the colonel's superintendence, at the Ordnance Survey Establishment for England, at Southampton, for the use of the Landed Estates Record Office, Dublin, where their practical utility and value are likely to be well and frequently tested." *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy*, vol. viii., pp. 48-51.

It was not long until the test now mentioned was applied, and the result sufficiently established the truth of Mr. Hardinge's estimate as to the value of these maps. The foregoing extract has been made from a Paper read at a meeting of the Academy in December, 1861; but at a somewhat later period, and in a communication *On the Earliest known Manuscript Census Returns of the People of Ireland*, he returns to the subject, and supplements his former statements by the following highly interesting particulars:—"It is a gratifying result of industry that I have been permitted on so many occasions to communicate to this Academy the discovery of long concealed and even historically unnoticed manuscripts, affecting Ireland, of characters most interesting and valuable. . . . As an important instance of such discoveries, I may adduce the original admeasurement townland survey of four of the escheated counties of Ulster. That survey was taken in the autumn of 1609, in the presence of a strong detachment of the army of King James I., and under the immediate observation and control of the most eminent ecclesiastical, military, legal, and other civil functionaries in the kingdom. . . . These original mapped representations of the townlands, territories, and precincts, passed away by Letters Patent from the Crown to its several grantees, should, so soon as the Plantation purposes were accomplished, have been sent back to Dublin, and deposited in the office of the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands, for public use and preservation; but from supineness and inadvertence, they were allowed to slumber among the State Paper Office Records in London,

side down, which is the true position, and then Levallye-gish will be thrown to the remote East. In these maps are all the materials for ascertaining the positions of places, and by comparison with the Ordnance Maps it

can be seen how far they swerve from exact correctness. The survey of 1609 is wonderfully good, considering the means and opportunities of the parties employed." These remarks apply more or less to all the baronial maps of 1609.

where the knowledge of their existence was ignored, when, in the year 1860, I attended at the Public Department, and requested a sight of them. I persisted in my demand, and had the good fortune to identify, as the Academy are already aware, four out of the six counties escheated and surveyed; and, the better fortune still, through the Treasury, of restoring them, or rather the practical use of them, by means of photo-zincographic copies, to the Irish nation. A higher testimony to the faultless perfection of the results of the photo-zincographic art could not be conceded, nor a higher proof of the unprejudiced and clear perceptions of the learned judge placed upon record, than the admission in evidence of a copy from these copies of the original maps, by Lord Chancellor Brady, in a recent case depending in the Court of Chancery (7). This decision establishes the new principle of the reception of a copy from a copy, while the original is yet in existence. It also establishes the further principle that the non-use of public documents for centuries, provided their origin and object are clearly shown, and that when discovered they are found in a pertinent public depository, does not invalidate their application to explain the uses that their origin and object were intended to effect, and to which they were originally made subservient. These observations are the rather worth publishing, as, since the year 1609, there has been very little re-forfeiture of the titles under which the Plantation county lands are held; and, therefore, present proprietors may apply the maps in question in illustration of the names and bounds of the townlands, territories, and precincts granted by their respective Letters Patents, in exactly the same way as the better known Down Survey Maps are applied by present possessors, deriving titles to lands forfeited in 1641, and passed by Letters Patents, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. In the instance of this discovery, I think the Academy must acknowledge that very important consequences have already resulted." See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv., pp. 317, 318.

In the course of their labours in Dublin, after their northern tour of nine weeks, the commissioners appear to have drawn up summaries of the lands available in each county, exclusive of Coleraine, which was to be granted to the corporation of London. The discrepancies in these documents are occasionally such as to attract attention, but generally the causes of these discrepancies are obvious enough, although in some instances, it would be difficult to account for them. The following tabular form aims at not only showing the quantities of land for English and Scottish undertakers, but the number of proportions for each of the several classes:—"A note of the several proportions of the undertakeable land, besides the Londoners:—

(7). *Chancery*.—See judgment of the Lord Chancellor in cause of Sir Thomas Staples and others, petitioners, Thomas H. Harper and others, respondents, January 17, 1865. The following is a list of the baronial maps discovered by Mr. Hardinge, and since copied and zincographed by order of the Lords of the Treasury:—Half ye Baronie of Knockninnie; Parte of the Baronie of Knockninnie; The Baronie of Cloncall; The Baronie of Clinawley; The Baronie of Maghera Steffanah with ye two Halfe Baronies of Coole and Tircannada; The Baronie of Mahhera Boy; The Halfe Baronies of Lough and Cole Mackernan; Parte of ye Baronie of Donganon; Part

of the Baronie of Donganon; Parte of ye Baronie of Loghinisholin; Parte of ye Baronie of Loghinisholin; Parte of the Baronie of Strabane; Parte of ye Baronie of Strabane; The Baronie of the Omey; The Baronie of Clogher; The Baronie of Loghtie; The Baronie of Tollagh Garvie; The Baronie of Clanchy; The Baronie of Castle Rahin; The Baronie of Clonmahowne; The Baronie Tollachconco; The Baronie of Tollagh Aghe; The Baronie of Orier; The Baronie of Fves; Parte of the Baronie of Oneilan; Parte of the Baronie of Oneilan; The Baronie of Ardmagh; The Baronie of Toghrany.

					Great.	Middle.	Small.	Acres.
Ardmagh,	...	...	...	Britons	3	4	12	24,000
"	...	...	...	Servitors	1	3	2	
"	...	...	...	Natives	0	2	5	
Tyrone,	...	...	...	Britons	6	10	23	50,000
"	...	...	...	Servitors	1	2	7	
"	...	...	...	Natives	1	2	7	
Donegall,	...	...	...	Britons	6	9	17	38,500
"	...	...	...	Servitors	3	0	6	
"	...	...	...	Natives	0	0	12	
Fermanagh,	...	...	...	Britons	3	2	6	21,000
"	...	...	...	Servitors	1	1	4	
"	...	...	...	Natives	2	1	4	
Cavan,	...	...	...	Britons	4	6	12	29,000
"	...	...	...	Servitors	1	3	5	
"	...	...	...	Natives	2	3	10	

Sum of acres for Britons [English and Scottish].

162,500

Proportions for Britons, great 22, middle 31, small 70=123; besides Londoners, &c., [*i.e.*, all lands for other undertakers, corporations, schools, and the college].

Among the papers carried by Davys and Ridgeway to London was the following tabulated form of the numbers, names, and quantities of the great precincts [or baronies] in the escheated counties, "which may be clearly disposed to undertakers":—

In Armagh, 4, viz. (8).

							Acres.
1. Orrier (9),	...	...	...	...	...	...	15,500
2. Oneilan (10),	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,500

(8). *Armagh*.—The county of Armagh now contains the eight baronies of Armagh, Upper Fewes, Lower Fewes, East Oneilan, West Oneilan, Upper Orior, Lower Orior, and Tyranny. The last-named barony is not included in the list given above, because its lands were not available for plantation, being pre-occupied (see p. 156). It contains upwards of 27,397 acres. The Blackwater traces the whole of its northern boundary and an extensive part of its western boundary, so that the right side of the pleasant valley of that river is almost identical with the northern half of the barony. It contains part of the parishes of Derrynoose, Eglish, Keady, and Tynan, its principal villages being Middleton and Tynan.

(9). *Orrier*.—Upper Orior contains about 45,397 acres, and Lower Orior 32,535 acres. Of the former, a large portion of the surface is mountainous, containing the Slievecullen and Newry mountains, with their several spurs and slopes. This barony contains the whole of the parish of Jonesborough, and part of the parishes of Forkhill, Killeavy, Loughgilly, and Belleek. Its only town is

part of Newry, and its principal villages are Forkhill, Jonesborough, and Belleek. By the act 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 84, nine townlands of the parish of Loughgilly were transferred to this barony from the barony of Lower Fewes. In the barony of Lower Orior the surface is undulating and beautiful, with a fertile soil. This barony contains the whole of the parish of Ballymore, and part of the parishes of Forkhill, Kilclooney, Killeavy, Kilmore, and Loughgilly; its towns being Tanderagee and part of Poyntspass, and its principal villages Acton and Mountnorris. Two townlands were transferred from Lower to Upper Orior by the above-named Act.

(10). *Oneilan*.—East Oneilan contains 34,498 acres, and West Oneilan about 59,502 acres. The former division contains part of the parishes of Magheralin and Shankill, and the whole of the parishes of Seagoe and Muntiagh, its towns being Lurgan and part of Portadown, and its principal village Charlestown. West Oneilan contains the whole of the parishes of Drumcree and Tartaraghan, and part of the parishes of Newry.

3. Fewes (11),	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,000
4. Ardmagh (12),	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,500
In Tyrone, 5, viz. (13).							Acres.
1. Dungannon (14),	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,000
2. Mountjoy (15),	...	...	...	...	...	...	9,000
3. Omagh (16),	...	...	...	...	...	...	11,000
4. Clogher (17),	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,000
In Tirconnell, 6, viz. (18),							Acres.
1. Portlough (19),	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,000
2. Liffor (20),	...	...	...	...	...	...	14,000

Armagh, Clonfeacle, Grange, Killyman, Kilmore, Loughgall, and Mullaghbrack, its towns and villages being Richhill, Loughgall, Derryscollop, Maghery, Milltown, and part of Portadown.

(11). *Fewes*.—The two modern divisions of this barony called Upper and Lower, together form a long upland stripe from the vicinity of Richhill to the south-west extremity of the county. The barony of Upper Fewes contains 47,433 acres, and Lower Fewes 29,758 acres. In the former are situated the whole of the parishes of Ballymyre and Newtown-Hamilton, and part of the parishes of Creggan and Lisnadill, its towns being Newtown-Hamilton and Crossmaglen. In the latter, or Lower Fewes, are situated part of the parishes of Kilclooney, Lisnadill, Loughgilly, and Mullaghbrack; its only town being Markethill, and its principal villages Belleek and Hamilton's-Bawn.

(12). *Ardmagh*.—The barony of Armagh contains 47,866 acres. It comprehends no entire parish, but in it are situate parts of the parishes of Armagh, Clonfeacle, Derryoose, Eglis, Grange, Keady, Lisnadill, Loughgall, and Tynan.

(13). *Tyrone*.—See pp. 92, 94.

(14). *Dungannon*.—There are now three baronies of this name, or, more correctly, perhaps, three divisions of the same extensive region in Tyrone so designated. These are known as Upper, Middle, and Lower Dungannon, the three taken together, extending 22 miles from east to west, and about the same length from north to south. These three divisions, although separately dealt with as three baronies, are represented on the Ordnance Survey maps as if undivided, and they only formed one barony in the survey of 1591. It is so extensive, however, as to include almost all the varieties of surface in Tyrone, presenting rich meadow-lands on the flat shores of Lough Neagh, fertile grain-bearing undulations along the banks of the Blackwater, and dismally bleak uplands towards the centre of the county. The upper division or barony contains about 85,722 acres; the middle, 87,619; and the lower, 42,769; the three together including part of the parishes of Arboe, Artrea, Ballinderry, Clonfeacle, Derryloran, Killaman, Lissan, and Tamlaght; and the whole parishes of Aughloe, Ballyclog, Carranteel, Clonoe, Descreaght, Donagherry, Donaghmore, Drumglass, Kildross, Killishal, Pomeroy, and Tullaniskin. The chief towns are Dungannon, Caledon, Aghnacloy, Moy,

Cookstown, and Stewartstown; and the chief villages are Pomeroy, Coalisland, Grange, Carrateel, Tullyhog, Castle-Caulfield, Donaghmore, Coagh, and Newmills.

(15). *Mountjoy*.—This name, which the commissioners of plantation introduced to designate a portion of the barony of Dungannon, was soon abandoned, the division so named being since known as one of the three baronies.

(16). *Omagh*.—This region has been also, for convenience, recently divided into East and West Omagh. It contains, east and west, 224,647 acres, including part of the parishes of Cappagh, Donaghcavey, Magheracross, and Termonmacguirk, with the whole parishes of Clogherny, Dromore, Drumragh, Kilskeery, East Longfield, West Longfield, Skirts of Urney and Ardstraw, and Termonamungan; the chief towns and villages being Omagh, Baragh, Sheskinore, Dromore, Trillick, Drumquin, Castlederg, Sixmile-Cross, and Termonrock. In this barony there are ten mountains varying from 540 to 1,260 feet above the sea.

(17). *Clogher*.—This barony contains 97,569 acres, and includes part of the parishes of Aghalurcher, Donaghcavey, and Errigal-Trough, with the whole of the parishes of Clogher and Errigal-Keerogue; its towns and chief villages being Clogher, Agher, Ballygawley, and Fintona.

(18). *Tirconnell*.—Early in the seventeenth century, the name *Tirconnell* was superseded by that of *Donegal* for the county. The present county contains six baronies—Inishowen on the north, Raphoe on the east, Tyrhugh and Boyleagh on the west, Bannagh on the south-west, and Kilmacrenan on the north-west. Inishowen is not mentioned in the list of plantation precincts, as this barony had been granted to Chichester.

(19). *Portlough*.—This precinct now forms part of the barony of Boyleagh and Bannagh, and its name has become obsolete.

(20). *Liffor*.—This precinct forms the greater part of the barony of Raphoe, which contains 220,723 acres, including part of the parishes of Conwall and Arney, with the whole of the parishes of All-Saints, Clonleigh, Convoy, Donaghmore, Killea, Kiltrevogue, Leck, Raphoe, Raymoghly, Stranorlar, and Taughboyne; its towns and principal villages being Newtown-Conyngham, Ballindrait, Convoy, Castle-Finn, Carrigans, Raphoe, Manor-Conyngham, Ballybofey, Killygordon, Stranorlar, Creagh-doss, St. Johnston, and part of Lifford.

3. Doe (21),...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,500
4. Faynacht (21),	...	...	...	...	...	...	13,000
5. Boylagh and Banagh (22),	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,000
6. Tirlugh (23),	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,000

In Fermanagh, 6, viz. (24),

1. Knockninny (25)	...	...	...	...	...	...	Acres. 9,000
2. Clancally (26),	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,000
3. Clinawley (27),	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,000
4. Coole and TyrCanada (28),	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,000

(21). *Doe and Faynacht*.—These two precincts now form the barony of Kilmacrenan, which contains 310,656 acres, including part of the parish of Conwall, with the whole parishes of Aughanuncheon, Aughnish, Clondehorky, Clondevadlock, Gartan, Kilgarvan, Kilmacrenan, Mevagh, Raymunterdony, Tullaghobegley, and Tullyfern. The towns and chief villages of this barony are Letterkeenny, Ramelton, Dunfanaghy, Doaghbeg, Rathmullan, Creeslough, Ballyrooskey, and Tawny. Fanaght or Fannat forms all the eastern district of the barony, whilst the ancient district of Doe along the western coast is now principally comprised in the parish of Clondehorky.

(22). *Boylagh and Banagh*.—This plantation precinct now forms the two baronies so called. The barony of *Boylagh* contains 158,480 acres, including the district of the Rosses in the north, and 12 inhabited islands off the west coast. This barony comprehends part of the parishes of Inniskeel and Lower Killybegs, and the whole of the parishes of Lettermacward and Templecroan; its chief villages being Glenties and Dungloe. The barony of *Bannagh* contains 177,822 acres, including part of the parishes of Inniskeel and Lower Killybegs, and the whole of the parishes of Glencolumbkille, Inver, Kilcarr, Killaghtee, Upper Killybegs, and Killymard. Its towns and villages are Killybegs, Ardara, and Mountcharles.

(23). *Tirlugh*.—This precinct now forms the barony of the same name, on the extreme south of the county. It contains 127,902 acres, including part of the parishes of Innismacshane and Templecarne, and the whole of the parishes of Donegal, Drumholm, and Kilbarron. By the act 6 and 7 of William IV., cap. 84, the townland of Drumlongfield, in the parish of Templecarne, was transferred from this barony to that of Lurg, in the county of Fermanagh.

(24). *Fermanagh*.—There are eight baronies in the present county of Fermanagh, viz.,—On the left or west side of Lough Erne, Knockninny, Glenawley, and Magheraboy; and on the right side Coole, Clonkelly, Magherasteffana, Tyrkenedy, and Lurg. *Magherasteffana* is not mentioned among the precincts above named, because it was believed at first that it would belong exclusively to Connor Roe Maguire.

(25). *Knockninny*.—This barony contains 30,604 acres, extending from the head to nearly the foot of Upper

Lough Erne, and including about one-third of that upper lake and its islands. The surface of this barony may be described, indeed, as an expanse of lakes, swamps, meadows, low-lying fields, varied by patches of arable lands and bogs. It contains part of the parishes of Kinawley, Tomregan, and Galloon.

(26). *Clancally*.—This name is now written Clonkelly. The present barony, situate in the extreme east of the county of Fermanagh, is comparatively small, although much more than six times the size of the available quantity of land in the precinct above named. The barony contains 30,922 acres. Its northern border is upland, and the rest of its surface is low, declining to the southwest, and belonging to the east side of the basin system of the Erne. This barony comprises only part of the two parishes of Clones and Galloon; and can boast of but one little village named Rosslee.

(27). *Clinawley*.—This name is now generally written *Glenawley*, and occasionally *Clanawley*. The barony, which lies along the west side of Fermanagh, contains 75,469 acres. It comprises the whole of the parish of Killesher, and part of the parishes of Bohoe, Cleenish, Kinawley, and Rossory.

(28). *Coole and TyrCanada*.—These two precincts now constitute the two baronies of Coole and Tyrkenedy. The barony of Coole, which contains only 21,017 acres, is situate in the south-east corner of the county. It is divided into nearly two equal parts by the east road from Cavan to Enniskillen, or that running through Newton-Butler. A considerable portion of bog is found still to occupy the centre of the barony, but the districts along the margin of Lough Erne, and those including the Castle-Sanderson and Belmont demesnes, are fertile and richly wooded. This barony contains part of the parishes of Currin, Drummully, and Galloon; but it has only one village, Newtown-Butler, which from its position is pretty generally known and admired. The barony of Tyrkenedy, which lies on the eastern or right side of the Lough, contains 54,685 acres, its water area comprising a considerable portion of the lower part of Upper Erne; also of that part of the river Erne which connects the two lakes, together with a number of small lakes. The barony contains part of the parishes of Cleenish, Derrybrusk, Derryvullane, Enniskillen, Magheracross, and Trory. The only town is part of Enniskillen, and the chief villages are Lisbelaw, Tempo, and Ballinamallard.

5. Maghery Boy (29),	...	...	...	...	...	9,000
6. Coolemckernan and Lurge (30),	...	...	...	...	...	9,000

In Cavan, 7, viz. (31),

						Acres.
1. Loughy (32),	...	...	...	...	...	12,500
2. Tullaghgarvey (33),	...	...	...	...	...	9,000
3. Clanchy (34),	...	...	...	...	...	6,000
4. Castlerahen (35),	...	...	...	...	...	9,000
5. Tullaghagh (36),	...	...	...	...	...	9,000
6. Clonmahon (37),	...	...	...	...	...	7,000
7. Tullaghtoe (38),	...	...	...	...	...	6,000

III.

But of the various documents which have come to light as explanatory of the commissioners'

(29). *Maghery Boy*.—The barony is still so named, and lies in the north-west of the county. It contains 94,171 acres, and includes the whole of the parish of Devenish, and parts of the parishes of Bohoe, Cleenish, Enniskillen, Innismacsaunt, Rossory, and Trory. Its only town is part of Enniskillen, and its chief villages are Churchhill and Derrygonnelly.

(30). *And Lurge*.—These two districts are now comprised in the barony of Lurg, in the extreme north of the county. Lurg contains 82,939 acres, including Boa Island, and at least two-thirds of all the islands in Lower Lough Erne. It contains the whole of the parishes of Belleek, Drumkerran, and Magheraculmoney; and part of the parishes of Derryvullane, Magheracross, Templecarne, and Trory. Its towns and chief villages are Belleek, Lisnarrick, Lowtherstown, Ederney, Kesh, Lack, and part of Pettigoe.

(31). *Cavan*.—The present county of Cavan is divided into eight baronies, viz., Tullaghagh, in the north-west; Lower Loughtee, in the north; Tullaghgarvey, in the north-east; Clonkee, in the east; Castleraghan, in the south-east; Clonmahon, in the south; Tullyhunco, in the west; and Upper Loughtee, in the centre.

(32). *Loughy*.—This precinct is now represented by the two baronies of Upper and Lower Loughtee. Upper Loughtee occupies the centre of the county, and contains 66,449 acres. Its north-western portion is specially attractive as containing the beautiful scenery of Lough Oughter. The barony includes part of the parishes of Crosserlough, Denn, Killinkere, Kilmore, Laragh, and Urney; and the whole of the parishes of Annagcliff, Castletern, and Lavey. Its towns and villages are Cavan, Ballyhaise, Butler's-Bridge, and Stradone. Lower Loughtee contains 29,568 acres. The river Erne bisects the barony from end to end, i.e., from the foot of Lough Oughter to the head of Upper Lough Erne. This barony contains part of the parishes of Annagh, Tomregan, and Urney, and the whole of the parish of Drumlane.

(33). *Tullaghgarvey*.—This barony contains 59,902 acres. Its eastern corner is made attractive by a number of

natural lakes, whilst the western district is occupied by a beautiful district around Castle-Saunderson and a part of the pleasant Annalee valley. Tullaghgarvey comprises part of the parishes of Annagh, Drumgoon, and Laragh; and the whole of the parishes of Drumg and Kildrumsherdon.

(34). *Clanchy*.—This name is now written *Clonkee* and *Clankee*. The barony contains 64,377 acres. Clonkee comprises the whole of the parishes of Knockbridge and Shircock, and part of the parishes of Balieborough, Drumgoon, Enniskeen, and Moybologue. Its towns are Balieborough and Kingscourt, and its only village is Shircock.

(35). *Castlerahen*.—This name is now written Castle-Rahan. The barony contains 71,121 acres, and comprises the whole of the parishes of Castle-Rahan, Lurgan, Mullogh, and Munterconnaght, with part of the parishes of Balieborough, Crosserlough, Denn, Killinkere, and Loughan. It contains the towns of Ballyjamesduff and Virginia; and the villages of Kilnalock and Mullagh.

(36). *Tullaghagh*.—This name is generally written *Tullyhaw*. The barony contains 90,701 acres. It comprises part of the parishes of Drumreilly, Kinawley, and Tomregan, with the whole of the parishes of Killinagh and Templeport. The principal villages are Swanlinbar, Ballyconnell, and Bawnboy.

(37). *Clonmahon*.—This name is generally written *Clanmahon*. The barony contains 54,346 acres, and comprises the whole of the parishes of Ballintemple, Drumlonan, and Ballymachugh, with part of the parishes of Crosserlough, Denn, Kilbride, and Kilmore. The beautiful Lough Sheelin renders this region much more attractive than it could otherwise appear.

(38). *Tullaghtoe*.—This precinct is now represented by the barony of Tullaghonoho, or, more generally known as *Tullyhunco*. It contains 40,891 acres, and comprises the whole of the parishes of Kildallon, Killeshandra, and Scrabby. Its towns and principal villages are Killeshandra, Arvagh, and Scrabby. By far the greater part of the water area of the barony is comprised in parts of Loughs Gawna and Oughter.

work not only in Ulster, but on their return to Dublin, and, subsequently by their representatives in London, one of the most interesting is a statement from the pen of Davys, reporting progress, and containing certain very practical suggestions. This statement, which was drawn up after he had been about a month in England, is dated March 19, 1609-10, and is as follows:—

“A Brief of the Proceedings of the Commissioners for the Plantation in Ulster since July last, as well in Ireland as in England.

“In Ireland.—About the end of July last they began their journey into Ulster, where they lay in camp nine weeks, and during that time performed two principal things. 1. They took Inquisitions in every county whereby they distinguished the Crown lands from the ecclesiastical lands, consisting of the bishops’ demesne and mensal lands, and of the termon and erenagh lands; and therein supplied divers omissions in the former surveys touching the quality of lands belonging to the King and to the Church; but touching the title, the termon and erenagh lands were found for his Majesty, and that the bishops had only rents and pensions. 2. The counties being divided into baronies [they called them precincts], they made a description of every barony in a several map and card [chart], as well by view as by the information of the inhabitants, which is so exactly and particularly done, that the name and situation of every ballibo, tate, and poll is expressed, besides every castle, fort, mountain, lake, river, brook, wood, bog, and all other notorious landmarks and distinctions, so as the most obscure part of the King’s dominions is now as well known and more particularly described than any part of England (39). These two services they performed in their journey, besides the sessions of justice [assizes], which were held in every county, wherein pretended titles were examined, possessions quieted, and many causes heard and ended, and withal 1,000 loose and idle swordsmen were sent away into Swethen, which tended very much to the preparation of the plantation (40).

“After their return [to Dublin], they finished their former work in three principal points. 1. An abstract was made out of many records as well of the King’s titles as of his subjects’ titles to all the lands within the escheated counties, which are reduced into a book of cases, signed by the chief judges and the Attorney-General, wherein appear what lands the King may dispose to undertakers by a good and just title (41). 2. The Inquisitions were drawn into form of law, examined by the bishops, engrossed and returned, and lastly exemplified under the great seal of England (42). 3. The maps were finished, and therein as well the proportions for undertakers of all sorts, as the Church lands, and lands already granted and assigned to forts, corporate towns,

(39). *Of England.*—This was saying a good deal for the maps; and certainly more than either Parsons or Bodley would have ventured to assert. The bogs, and woods, and mountains, are indeed largely and distinctly represented, but there was too little time to go accurately into the details here mentioned.

(40). *The plantation.*—The real number of swordsmen sent from Ulster here comes out. Of about 25,000 in this province, only 1,000 were actually shipped; but the vessels that carried them were driven back by storms into English harbours, and many even of the one thousand made their escape. There were, however;

really very few “loose and idle swordsmen” sent, for persons of this description lived in the woods, and only those were caught who were bound to appear at the assizes, those who were reprieved at gaol deliveries on condition of their enlisting, and a very few who went voluntarily.

(41). *Just title.*—This *Abstract* has been calendared by Russell and Prendergast.

(42). *Of England.*—These Inquisitions, seven in number, from which we have largely quoted (see chap. v.), are published as an Appendix to the printed *Inquisitions of Ulster*.

free schools, &c., are distinguished by sundry marks and colours. All which, viz., 1. The book of cases; 2. The Inquisitions exemplified; 3. The maps, together with sundry advices from the Lord Deputy touching the plantation, are transmitted by the hands of the commissioners now sent out of Ireland—[to wit, Davys himself and Sir Thomas Ridgeway].

"Since the coming over of the commissioners [to London], business has proceeded in this order,—the commissioners for Irish causes (43) residing here, with those sent over, were called before the Lords [the council in London] to consider of the Church lands, which are of two kinds, demesne and mensal lands, and termon and erenagh lands.

"1. For the demesne and mensal lands there arose no doubt, the bishops are possessed of them without controversy.

"2. For the termon and erenagh lands it was resolved (albeit they were not found to be the bishops' lands, but the King's), that the bishops should have those lands entirely, as of his Majesty's free donation, whom they are to acknowledge not only as a patron, but a founder in regard to the endowment. But because it was conceived by the Lords that a great inconvenience would arise to the plantation if so great a scope of land [60,000 acres] should be possessed only by the Irish without any other civil plantation, the Bishop of Derry was moved to confer with the commissioners, and to propound how much of those lands he would plant with Britons, and upon what conditions.

"Upon conference, the bishops consented to plant one-third of the erenagh lands with Britons, according to the project; and if the septs of the erenaghs were not sufficient to manure the other parts, they would also plant the surplusage with Britons, so as his Majesty would give liberty to the bishops to grant leases of those lands for 60 years, but afterwards they are to be restrained from granting any larger estates than leases for three lives, or 21 years.

"Touching the temporal lands which are to be distributed to Britons, servitors, and natives, they [the commissioners] have proceeded thus far:—1. They have divided those lands into 28 great precincts, which have several names and quantities. Of these 28, it is thought convenient to allot to the Britons 16, viz., eight to the English and eight to the Scottish undertakers. 2. That the other 12 be allotted to the servitors and natives who are to be planted together in every precinct. —*First*, because the servitor knows the disposition of the native and can carry a better hand and eye over him than the Briton. *Secondly*, the servitor has been so used to command in Ulster, that, if he be placed with the new undertaker, he will seek to predominate over him, whereupon dissensions will arise and hinder plantation. *Thirdly*, the plantation of the Britons is to be without Irish, but the servitors will plant with Irish [see chap. ii.].

"Thus far have the commissioners proceeded, so that now there only remain two things to be done for the conclusion of the business here in England. 1. A particular distinction is to be made what great precincts by name are to be allotted to the English and Scottish severally; to the servitors and to the natives jointly. When this is done, 2. The King may be pleased to name

(43). *Irish causes*.—These commissioners for Irish causes were Sir Roger Wilbraham, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir James Ley.

eight principal undertakers of the English precincts, and eight more of the Scottish, who are to draw other undertakers to plant with them, which inferior undertakers are, notwithstanding, to hold directly from his Majesty, of whose estates and sufficiency the commissioners may consider. And touching the servitors, because all that are named in the list neither can nor will undertake, the King may be pleased, on perusal of the list, to make choice of such as are of the best merit and ability (44), and for the natives to refer their choice to the Lord Deputy and the commissioners. This is as much as is needful to be done here in England."

Davys must have felt rather 'small' during the conference with the bishops to which he has referred in the foregoing letter, seeing that he had so stoutly opposed their claims to the termon and ernenagh lands. The conference took place on the 16th March, and under the imposing circumstances which he has above so clearly described. The paper recording the leading questions discussed at this meeting is headed "*The Propositions of the Commissioners unto the Bishops within the seven [including the county of the city of Derry] escheated counties in Ulster, concerning the plantation of the Termon and Herenagh lands there granted to the Bishops by the King's Bounty, to be planted by them; with the answers of the Bishop of Derry in behalf of the Lord*

(44). *And ability.*—From such a crowd of this servitor class, it would have been difficult for the King to make the selection required. "1. There were those high officers of State who were willing or might be induced to undertake; among whom may be mentioned the Lord Deputy, Treasurer Ridgeway, Marshal Wingfield; St. John, the Master of the Ordnance, who aimed at obtaining part of Orier, 'about Tanraggee;' Sir Oliver Lambert, a barony in Fermanagh; and Sir Gerrott Moore, part of a barony in Armagh or Fermanagh. 2. Such others of the council in Ireland who may be invited (if there be cause, or defect in the number or quality of the English undertakers), viz., the Lord Chancellor [Th. Jones], Earl of Clanrikarde, Earl of Thomond, Lord President of Munster, Sir Henry Harrington, Sir Edward Brabazon, Sir Henry Docwra, Sir Henry Power, Sir Richard Moryson, Sir Francis Stafford, Sir John Jephson, Sir James Fullerton, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John King, besides the judges and Mr. Attorney [Davys]. 3. Captains of companies, who have also certain houses, or places of the King [forts] in Ulster, which they affect to continue, and by whom the lands adjoining such houses are most fit to be undertaken, viz., Sir Foulke Conwayne, the country called Braselowe [Clanbraxill]; Sir Henry Folliot, Ballyshannon; Sir Edward Blayney; Sir Toby Caulfield. I [Chichester] wish him Clancann, but he rather affects lands in O'Nealan; Sir Richard Hansard, somewhere near the Liffey in Donegal; Sir Francis Roe, lands near Mountjoye, Mounterdelvin, &c.; Sir Fr. Ruish, about Belturbet in Cavan; Sir Thomas Phillips, in the county of Coleraine; Captain John Vaughan, Dunnalonge. 4. Captains of companies who have no settled house or place of garrison, and yet are willing to undertake in or near the place where they are garrisoned, viz., Lord Howth, Lord Cromwell, Sir James Perrott, in Orier; Sir Thomas Roper, Captain Newce, Captain William Stewart, about Strabane; Captain Patrick Crawford, in the county of Donegal, near Liffey; Mr. John Hamilton

desires to join with Mr. Crauford for the lands he takes. 5. Constables of castles and captains of boats in the North, by whom some lands next adjoining is most fit, for the public service and their own better settlement also, to be undertaken, viz., Sir Francis Berkely, Sir Thomas Chichester, in Donegal, as near Enishowen as he may; Captain Atherton, about Mountnorris, in Armagh; Captain Fortescue, Captains Trevillian, Hope, Clotworthie, and Basill Brooke, the castle and abbey of Donegal; Captain Culme, in the county of Cavan; Captain Donnington, Dungivin, in the county of Cole-rayne; Captain Cole, in Fermanagh; Captain Illing, about Castle Doe; Captain Leigh, about the Omey; Captain Anthony Smith, in Upper Orier; Archye Moore and Captain Henry Skipworth, Culmaktrenan, and 18 quarters of land in Donegal. 6. Other knights, servitors, and pensioners, in pay, who may and will undertake of themselves, with some helps and encouragements, and some of them without helps. [Here follows a list of 76, very few of whom obtained lands in the distribution.] 7. Servitors not in pay willing to undertake, viz., Sir Th. Williams, part of Orier or Onealan; Sir Edwd. Fetyplace, Sir Thomas Coach, Sir Ralph Bingley, the barony of Kilmacrenan; Sir Roger Jones, Sir Nicholas Wyte, Sir Tho. Ashe, Sir Wm. Taaffe, in Armagh; Capt. Sackford, Captain Pynner, Captain Jo. Ridgeway, Mr. John Chichester, Captain Ellis, Captain Henry Vaughan and Captain Gore, in Boylagh and Banagh, county of Donegal; Captain Hart, Mr. Langford, Mr. John Dobb. 8. Servitors and pensioners in pay, who will be content to undertake with some principal undertakers, their friends, but not build castles, bawns, &c., themselves. [On this last-named list of wise men there are the names of 24 recorded, only a few of whom afterwards appear as undertakers]. The Lord Cursie [Courcy] and Lord Delvin have been requested to be set down for undertakers."

Primate of Armagh, and the rest of the Bishops within the counties aforesaid unto the said Propositions; and the reply and approbation of the Commissioners unto the answers of the Bishops." Bishop Montgomery appropriately came to the front in this business, being much more deeply interested than even the Primate; for, by this munificence of the King, at other people's expense, that prelate, in virtue of his three bishoprics of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe, now found himself the possessor, in addition to his other church lands, of about 33,000 acres of termon and herenagh lands, including 5,000 acres in Monaghan. This class of lands throughout Ulster was of such enormous extent that the deputy and commissioners felt nervous lest they should be permitted to remain in the hands of natives, and, therefore, the very first question propounded to the bishops was—How and by whom they intended to people and plant those lands? The bishops had discovered that their answers to this and other significant questions must square pretty closely with the well-known wishes of the council in London, and, accordingly, they replied that "by the project of plantation it was thought fit to plant some of the natives upon the bishops' lands and the glebes of the parsons [see chap. iii.], which course of plantation we [the bishops] undertook to perform; and, in our opinion, will be no hindrance unto the plantation, and will be a great means of bringing the natives to civility, loyalty, and religion, whereof we are ready to give very pregnant reasons, if they be required; yet, if it be thought fitter to plant the said lands with Britons, the bishops will be ready to follow that course, so the natives may be removed without the bishops' trouble, when the Britons shall be brought to inhabit the church lands." This answer was the most politic that could be made, for whilst it disarmed the jealousy of the council, it quietly at the same time threw upon the latter the difficulty and odium connected with the removal of the natives to make way for the strangers. Indeed, the reply of the bishops on this occasion was the "soft word that turneth aside wrath"—with a vengeance. "It was never intended by the project," responded the commissioners, "that the bishops might plant Irish upon the Termon or Erenagh lands, but liberty was left with them to plant Irish or others upon their mensal lands." The commissioners might truly say this, for they never at first intended or supposed that the bishops would get the termon lands at all. "But we are of opinion," they add, now when the bishops were really to be owners, "that they shall plant Britons upon one-third part of the Erenaghe lands, and if the Septs of the Erenaghs inhabiting these lands be not of sufficient number to manure the same, a greater quantity to be planted with Britons."

2. The next question was also significant, and as satisfactorily answered by the bishops.—What number of castles, bawns, and other necessary buildings, did the bishops intend to erect upon their lands? "We will endeavour," reply the latter, "to plant so many houses, castles, and bawns, as in the article of plantation is prescribed; every inhabitant, according to the quantity of ground shall be granted unto him, if the bishops may be allowed to grant estates accordingly." To this the commissioners respond—"We think the answer reasonable, so as the buildings be upon the land to be planted by the Britons."

3. The third question or demand of the commissioners was important, as showing an anxiety on the part of the government to protect the interests of tenants on the bishops' lands. "What

estates [tenures] will they [the bishops] grant to their undertakers, and what power will they require to be enabled by the King for the granting of estates to others?" "We are contented," say the prelates in reply, "to grant estates of 60 years to the first undertakers, being Britons by birth or descent, for their better encouragement if they will accept of no shorter estates; and we pray that, by letters patent for the erection of the bishoprics, we may be warranted so to do, or to grant further estates as may be thought convenient for the plantation, and that all the second leases and grants may be limited for 21 years or three lives." The commissioners reply—"We also think this answer reasonable, expounding the second leases to be all the succeeding leases after the first expired."

4. The fourth question was perhaps somewhat invidiously conceived—"What caution [security] shall be given on the bishops' part for the performance of the covenants?" To this the prelates meekly reply—"We hope that the King will expect no other cautions [securities] of us for planting the lands than he doth for discharging our episcopal functions in other points of greater moment, which we will perform with our best endeavours. Also, these lands not being assured to our posterity, but left unto our successors, we cannot bind our posterity for performance of the covenants." The commissioners settle this point by the assurance that "provision shall be made in the letters patent of grant to the bishops by way of *volumus* and *mandamus*, or otherwise."

5. To the question of the commissioners—"Within what time the bishops would undertake the performance of their covenants?" it was answered, "We will use all endeavours, within five years to perform those covenants." This reply was not altogether satisfactory, for the commissioners rejoined—"We think four years a convenient time."

6. To the question—"What they [the bishops] would reserve upon the land in succession?" the ready reply was—"The best rent we can raise, nor not under five marks English upon any quarter of land of the greatest [or Irish] measure, and so proportionately." To this the commissioners' answer was—"We deem it reasonable that four or five marks English, or a rent between the two sums, or more if it may be raised, be reserved, having respect to the greatness or smallness of the quarters, which rent is to continue to their successors."

7. To the question—"What answer the bishops were prepared to give respecting other cautions or guarantees required in the printed book of plantation [the orders and conditions]?" it was replied:—"We will endeavour to perform such other points of plantation mentioned in the printed book of articles as are fit for us and shall seem convenient to the King upon his donation of the lands." This answer the commissioners considered "very reasonable." On which, the agreement or arrangement was signed, on behalf of the bishops, by George Montgomery and "Mr. Usher, son to the Archbishop of Ardmagh;" and on behalf of the Government, by Sir Roger Wilbraham, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir James Ley, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir John Davys.

Although the bishops here speak of the "King's donation" of the termon and herenagh lands as if yet to be made, the gift had even then been virtually bestowed, for the King's letter ordering it was issued before the commissioners began their journey to the North. Among the State Papers is

preserved the following 'Note,' showing the extent of these lands in Ulster, together with the proportions in which they were found in each county :—"The Termon lands escheated to the Crown in Ulster, which the bishops claim as their demesnes in possession, amount to 39,921½ acres, viz., in Tyrone, 18,275 acres; in Coleraine, 6,090 acres; in Tirconnell, 9,168 acres; in Fermanagh, 3,022 acres; and in Cavan, 3,366 acres. Of these lands the Bishop of Derry claims, as belonging to his three bishoprics of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe, 27,280 acres, viz., in Tirone, 9,000 acres; in Coleraine, 6,090 acres; in Tirconnell, 9,168 acres; in Fermanagh, 3,022 acres; besides, in Monaghan, he claims at least 5,000 acres,—making in all 32,280 acres." In the foregoing note, there are no termon or herenagh lands mentioned in connection with the county of Armagh, but it is not, therefore, to be inferred that the primate had no share in this great spoil, for in his diocese there were no fewer than 27,120 acres. The following statement on this subject is preserved among the Carew MSS. :—"The *Quantity* of the Bishops' demesne and mensal lands, and of the Errenagh and Termon lands within the Escheated counties of Ulster. Demesne and mensal lands, viz., the Archbishop of Ardmagh, 3,390 acres; the Bishop of Derry, 428 acres; Raphoe, 3,728 acres; Clogher, 320 acres; Kilmore, 120 acres. The Errenagh and Termon lands, viz., in the diocese of Armagh, 27,120 acres; Derry, 17,619 acres; Clogher, 6,625 acres; Raphoe, 6,378 acres; Kilmore, 3,204 acres; and Ardagh, 24 acres. In all, 68,956 mensal, termon, and herenagh lands." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, sixth series, p. 40.

Whether the Primate, or the Bishop of Kilmore, made any efforts in bringing 'Britons' to Ulster, we cannot discover, but it is only justice to Bishop Montgomery to state that his zeal in planting his termon and herenagh lands was in proportion to their great extent, and that it continued as long as he lived; for, although he was transferred soon after the conference above mentioned to the see of Meath, he was permitted to hold that of Clogher also, *in commendam*, until the time of his death in 1620. He grand-nephew, William Montgomery, the writer of the well-known *Montgomery Manuscripts*, has rendered due homage to the bishop's zeal in this matter of plantation, by which so many of his kinsmen were brought from Scotland (45). "Now," says he, "as to his Lordship's usefulness in advancing the British plantation in those three northern dioceses [Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe], the footsteps of his so doing are yet [1680] visible; so that I need but tell the reader that he [the bishop] was very watchfull, and settled intelligences to be given from all the seaports in Donegal and Fermanagh, himself most residing at Derry but when he went to view and lease the bishop's lands, or settled preachers in parishes (of which he was very careful). The ports resorted from Scotland were Derry, Donegal, and Killybegs (46); to which places the most that came were from Glasgow, Ayr, Irwin, Greenock, and Largs, and places within

(45). *From Scotland*.—In the Calendar of Patent Rolls, of the reign of James I., are recorded the names of many from Ayrshire and other adjoining shires, who obtained letters of denization as settlers in the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Donegal, and who were thus encouraged to come to Ulster by the inducements held out by Bishop Montgomery. See pp. 306, 307, 339.

(46). *And Killybegs*.—The natural harbour at Killybegs is the safest on the whole coasts of Donegal, and several hundred vessels large and small have been frequently crowded into it at the same time, and in perfect safety, during the herring-curing season. It affords the very best rendezvous for the fishing vessels, although they could not sail from it in a strong west or south-west gale.

a few miles from Braidstane (47), and he ordered so that the masters of vessels should, before dislodging their cargo (which was for the most part meal and oats), come to his Lordship with a list of their seamen and passengers. The vessels stayed not for a market (48). He was their merchant and encourager to traffic in those parts, and wrote to that effect (as also to the said towns wherein he was much acquainted and esteemed); and had proclamations made in them all at how easy rents he would set his church lands, which drew thither many families; amongst whom, one Hugh Montgomery (49), his kinsman, a master of a vessel and also owner, who brought his wife and children, and effects, and were settled in Derrybrosk, near Enniskillen, where his son, Mr. Nicholas (50), my long and frequent acquaintance, aged about 85 years, now lives in sound memory, and is a rational man, whose help I now want to recount particulars of that bishop's proceedings in that country, whilst his Lordship stayed there, which was at least till near anno 1618. One other Montgomery, named Alexander, a minister, his Lordship settled near Derry. He was prebend of

(47). *Braidstane*.—This had been the residence of the family of Montgomerys to whom the bishop belonged. The ancient lordship so called, in the parish of Beith, bailliary of Kyle, and county of Ayr, was in the possession of this branch from the year 1452 to 1650. Sir John Shaw, of Greenock, had a mortgage against the property, which was sold to him by the bishop's brother, Hugh first Viscount Ards, in the year last mentioned. The Shaws occasionally resided in the old castle of Braidstane, until after the year 1700. "The barony had all been fued out at or prior to that period, except the Castle-farm, consisting of about 60 acres; so that when the barony was included in the entail of Greenock in 1700, it consisted only of the superiority and feu-duties, and the castle farm of sixty acres. The ruins of the castle remained till towards the end of the last century, with some vestiges of the garden and an avenue of old trees; but on the occasion of building the farm-steading, the tenant was allowed to have his own way, when he took down the remains of the castle, and used the stones in the new building. The avenue of trees and vestiges of the garden have all disappeared, so that there is now no remnant of its ancient state left. It is to be regretted that the castle was taken down, as it was a kind of landmark, and must have been the building in which Con O'Neill [of Castlereagh] was sheltered on his escape from Carrickfergus." See Patterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 285.

(48). *For a market*.—There was not there just such great convenience in supplying the wants of the new Scottish settlers as in the Ards of the county of Down, planted a few years previously by the bishop's brother, Sir Hugh Montgomery. "I have heard honest old men say," says the writer of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, "that in June, July, and August, 1607, people came from Stranraer, four miles, and left their horses at that port, hired horses at Donaghadee [after their passage], came with their wares and provisions to Newtown [in the Ards], and sold them; dined there, staid two or three hours, and returned to their houses [four miles beyond Stranraer] the same day by bed-time, their land journey but 20 miles. Such was their encouragement from a ready market, and their kind desires to see and supply

their friends and kindred." See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 60.

(49). *One Hugh Montgomery*.—This settler prospered in worldly affairs after his coming to Fermanagh. The author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* has the following notice of himself and his family:—"He was in esteem with our two first viscounts [of Ards] as being come of Braidstane, and his Coat Armoriall is the same with the beareing of the old lairds of Braidstane, with the distinction of a Cadet, but the kindred I know not; the coat is the same with Bishop George. . . . Sr. James Montgomery [nephew of the bishop], when he courted his 2nd lady [Margaret, Sir Wm. Cole's daughter], stayed several nights in this Hugh's house; and the morning he was Bridegroom, went from thence, being attended by him and many Montgomerys (his tenants, all well-mounted), of which surname I saw near one hundred living within the 12 tates of Derrybrosk, when I was there." When William Montgomery was there, he stayed at the house of this Hugh's grandson, also named Hugh, and residing at a seat called *Derrygonnelly*, near Derrybrosk, and having for his wife the granddaughter and heiress of Sir John Dunbarr. This lady had brought him as her dowry Sir John Dunbar's estate, of which Derrygonnelly was the chief mansion-house. (See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 389.) The original residence, Derrybrosk, was situate in the southern district of the parish of that name, and is now superseded by a much larger and handsomer house, the seat of a family named Deering. The grounds are beautiful, and distant about four miles south-east from Enniskillen. The Derrygonnelly mansion stood at or near the site of the present village of that name, in the parish of Inismacsaint, and about seven miles north-west from Enniskillen.

(50). *Mr. Nicholas*.—Of this gentleman, the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* has added the following:—"This Mr. Nicholas is aged 84 yeares, and was made Master of Arts in Glasgow, and his father was Mr. Hugh Montgomery (see preceding note) whom our Bishop George settled there, and made his receiver of his rents in that part of Clogher diocese. This Hugh died before that the rebellion broke out of Anno 1641."

Doe, and he lived until about 1658 (51). Thus by the Bishop George's industry, in a few years the plantation was forwarded, and church revenues increased greatly. I was credibly told that for the encouragement of planters on church lands he obtained the king's orders to the governors, and an act of council thereon, that all the leases he made which were for 31 years, should not be taken from the planters [the planted], or their posterity, at the expiration of their term, but renewed to them as they held the same, they paying their bishop one year's rent for a renewal of their lease to the other 31 years, which was a very encouraging certainty for planters [settlers]; but the parliament, since that time, have taken other measures, more for bishops' than tenants' profits." See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edit., pp. 99-101.

IV.

Chichester, although at first strenuously opposed to the surrender of the termon and herenagh lands to the church, soon changed or suppressed his opinions on the subject, when he found that the King, under Montgomery's management, had been brought to look on this surrender as the right thing. The deputy was not slow in recommending what he had previously shown his decided wish to oppose; but with his recommendings he coupled an appeal on behalf of the incumbents or working clergy. In his *Certain Considerations*, prepared in January, 1609-10, and sent over with Davys and Ridgeway, he discusses these points in the following terms:—"For the bishops, he wishes the King would confirm to them all the lands found for them in demesne and chiefry, where the said lands have come to him by attainder, Act of Parliament, or other lawful means; for he holds the Termons, Corbs, and Erenaghs, that claim them to be unfit and unworthy of them, otherwise than as any other tenants allowed by the bishop at his will and pleasure; out of which lands he would have the parson or vicar have his proportion, be it 60 or 100 acres, to be laid out by the commissioners, together with a site for house and garden, &c., and with convenient wood and turbary. This will be but a small deduction out of the bishops' great scopes; for the parishes are very large and few, and without this provision the parsons and vicars cannot for the most part have any land within two or three miles of the church, and in some places farther off; which is a great inconvenience (see p. 127). The bishops, no doubt, will not gainsay this; and if the King be inclined to grant them their own asking, and they to depart with all that kind of land [termon and herenagh land], then they may have so much land of the King's, lying farther off, in lieu of the other deducted for the use of the parsons. The Lord Primate and Bishop of Derry have consented thereto, and he knows they may well depart with so much to the ministers without any recompense; considering

(51). *About 1658*.—This Alexander Montgomery was a member of the Hessilheid branch, and supposed to be the son of the elegant Scottish poet, Alexander Montgomery, author of the *Cherry and the Slae*. The reader may see the reasons for this supposition stated in a note to the new edition of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 100. This clergyman was afterwards thrust out of his pulpit and living by the covenanters. William Montgomery states that when he [Alexander] "was debarred by the Presbyterians to use the Word, he took the sword, and valientlie wielded the same against the Irish, and he got

a comma id in which he served divers yeares, in the beginning of the grand Rebellion in Ireland, and never turned taile on the King's cause, nor was Covenanter." In his epitaph occur the following lines:—

"One man, ye have seldom seen on stage to doe
The parts of Samuel and of Sampson too;
Fitt to convince, or hew an Agag down,
Fierce in his Arms, and priestlike in his gown.
Now judge with what a courage will he rise
When the last trumpet sounds the great Assize."

Montgomery Manuscripts, new edition, p. 392.

it is but the relics of the King's oblation unto the church, by which the bishops are likely to be benefitted beyond one [any] of their predecessors. Wishes the bishops may be enjoined to build one substantial strong house for their own habitation in each diocese; and that they may be likewise enjoined to bring as many civil men out of Great Britain, or this kingdom, as possible to inhabit their lands; and to cause their tenants to dwell together in villages to be conveniently seated for the defence of the country and defence of passengers, and generally to abandon creaghting and removing from place to place. Suggests for consideration whether the bishops shall not have the donation of benefices throughout their dioceses, excepting a convenient number for the college here, and some principal benefices in each diocese for the Lord Deputy to prefer his chaplains unto, or other learned men at his discretion. That the bishops be enjoined to set their lands for three lives or 21 years, and not under, with reservation of good rents (52)."

In Davys's 'Brief of the Commissioners' Proceedings,' he glances at another specially important work that had been done during their northern journey, viz., the division of the whole lands for plantation into 28 great precincts, each precinct having its special name, with the quantity of available land therein. These 28 precincts, it is to be remembered, were comprised in the *five* counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, for it had been then decided that the remaining county of Coleraine was to be planted by the corporation of London. A more delicate, if not so laborious a task was the allotment of a certain number of these precincts to the English undertakers, of an equal number to the Scotch, and the remaining ones to the servitors and natives. Of the 28 great precincts, eight were given to the English, eight to the Scottish undertakers, and the remaining twelve to the servitors and natives, who were placed together in the same precincts or baronies for the reasons already mentioned by Davys. These round numbers of the precincts for each class of undertakers were thus stated, although they were somewhat modified by the quantities of land in the several proportions of each precinct. Thus, in the following view of the "Distributions of Precincts to the various Undertakers," the English are represented as having more land than the Scotch, although the former get one precinct less and one proportion less than the latter:—

(52). *Good rents*.—The plea put forward by Chichester in the above extract on behalf of the incumbents, and supported by the primate and the Bishop of Derry, was admitted by the Government, as we find by the following "Note of the Number of Acres allotted to the Bishops and Incumbents," which Note, however, in some points, is not altogether correct:—

		Acres.
"In Tirone.		
The bishops have ...	...	18,275
The incumbents have, after the number of 60 acres for each 1,000 acres...	...	5,880
In Coleraine.		
The bishops ...	...	6,390
The incumbents ...	...	2,040
In Tirconnell.		
The bishops ...	...	12,752
The incumbents ...	...	6,600

		In Fermanagh.	
The bishops	3,022
The incumbents	1,920
		In Cavan.	
The bishops	3,366
The incumbents	2,340
		In Armagh.	
The bishops	2,480
The incumbents	4,650
In all—Bishops, 5		...	45,905
Incumbents, 310		...	23,940

In the former project there were 227 proportions, whereof there are deducted 15 proportions, viz., of the greatest, 2; of the middle, 2; of the least, 11—for glebe land."

THE PLANTATION IN ULSTER.

ENGLISH.						
Counties.		Precincts.		Proportions.		Acres.
Ardmagh	...	Oneylan	..	<div>Great 2</div> <div>Middle 3</div> <div>Small 8</div>	13	16,500
Tyrone	...	Mountjoy	...	<div>Great 2</div> <div>Middle 1</div> <div>Small 4</div>	7	9,500
Tyrone	...	Strabane	...	<div>Great 1</div> <div>Middle 3</div> <div>Small 7</div>	11	13,500
Donegal	...	Liffer	...	<div>Great 2</div> <div>Middle 4</div> <div>Small 5</div>	11	15,000
Fermanagh	...	Glancally	...	<div>Great 0</div> <div>Middle 2</div> <div>Small 2</div>	4	5,000
Fermanagh	...	Coolemakernan	...	<div>Great 0</div> <div>Middle 2</div> <div>Small 6</div>	8	9,000
Cavan	...	Loughtee	...	<div>Middle 3</div> <div>Small 8</div>	11	12,500
Total					65	82,000
SCOTTISH.						
Ardmagh	...	Fewes	...	<div>Great 1</div> <div>Middle 0</div> <div>Small 4</div>	5	6,000
Tyrone	...	Clogher	...	<div>Great 2</div> <div>Middle 1</div> <div>Small 7</div>	10	12,500
Tyrone	...	Omev	...	<div>Great 1</div> <div>Middle 2</div> <div>Small 6</div>	9	11,000
Donegal	...	Portlough	...	<div>Great 0</div> <div>Middle 0</div> <div>Small 12</div>	12	12,000
Donegal	...	Boylagh	...	<div>Great 1</div> <div>Middle 2</div> <div>Small 5</div>	8	10,000
Fermanagh	...	Knockninny	...	<div>Great 2</div> <div>Middle 2</div> <div>Small 2</div>	6	9,000
Fermanagh	...	Magheriboy	...	<div>Great 2</div> <div>Middle 2</div> <div>Small 2</div>	6	9,000

RESULTS AND ARRANGEMENTS.

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Counties.			Precincts.		Proportions.		Acres.
Cavan	Tullochonco	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Great} \quad 0 \\ \text{Middle} \quad 0 \\ \text{Small} \quad 6 \end{array} \right\}$	6	6,000
Cavan	...	...	Clanchy	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Great} \quad 2 \\ \text{Middle} \quad 0 \\ \text{Small} \quad 2 \end{array} \right\}$	4	6,000
					Total	66	80,500

SERVITORS AND NATIVES.

Ardmagh	...	...	Orrier	...	{ Great 2 Middle 3 Small 7 }	12	15,500
Tyrone	...	...	Donganon	...	{ Great 2 Middle 4 Small 6 }	12	16,000
Donegal	...	...	Doe ...	...	{ Great 2 Middle 1 Small 7 }	10	12,500
Donegal	...	...	Fawnett	...	{ Great 2 Middle 2 Small 6 }	10	13,000
Fermanagh	...	...	Clanawley	...	{ Great 2 Middle 0 Small 2 }	4	6,000
Fermanagh	...	...	Coole and Tircanada	...	{ Great 0 Middle 0 Small 10 }	10	10,000
Cavan	...	...	Tullagha	...	{ Great 0 Middle 2 Small 6 }	8	9,000
Cavan	...	...	Castlerahin	...	{ Great 2 Middle 2 Small 2 }	6	9,000
Cavan	...	...	Clonmahon	...	{ Great 0 Middle 2 Small 4 }	6	7,000
Cavan	...	...	Tulloghgarvy	...	{ Great 2 Middle 1 Small 4 }	7	7,500
					Total	85	103,500

"It is to be observed that, whereas, the inequality of the precincts will not admit an equality of division among the Britons, and that the precincts cannot be broken; what is wanting in one county shall be added to another.

CORPORATE TOWNS AND FREE SCHOOLS.

Counties.							Acres.
Donegal	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,121
Cavan	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,536
Fermanagh	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,160
Tyrone	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,735
Ardmagh	...	...	...	...	...	...	730
Total							8,282 (53)

COLLEGES.

Counties.							Acres.
			Precincts.				
Ardmagh	...	...	Ardmagh	...	...	...	6,000
Donegal	...	...	Tirhugh	...	...	...	4,000
Total							10,000 (54)

"Total Precincts, 28 (55). Proportions, 221. Acres, 284,282. The Brittaines' portion is one and a-half to the proportion jointly allotted to the servitors and natives, and 7,500 acres more, which is allowed to avoid breaking the precincts; and the portion of the natives being severed from the servitors' is one and a-half to the portion of the servitors."

A second copy of the foregoing paper on the *Distribution of the Precincts* has the following note appended:—"Places of intercourse and meeting of the English and Scotch in the several counties aforesaid. County Ardmagh—At the markets of 1, Ardmagh; 2, Mountnorris; 3, Charlemount; at the quarter sessions and assizes held at Ardmagh. County Tyrone—At the markets of 1, Dungannon; 2, Mountjoy; 3, Clogher; 4, Omey; at the quarter sessions held at Dungannon, where they shall be joined in juries and other public services, and the like in all other counties."

The following "Summary of the Contents of the Six Counties," was forthcoming about the same time as the foregoing papers:—

"Counties 7 [including the county of the city of Derry]; baronies, 32; parishes, 159; Irish countries, ; persons [parsons?] presentative, 139; vicars presentative, 138; curates, 12."

(53). *Total*, 8,282.—These figures are very much under the mark, as we shall see in subsequent chapters. The lands granted for five free Schools alone amounted to something over 20,000 acres.

(54). *Total*, 10,000.—We shall see that the lands granted to the college of Dublin in the three counties of

Armagh, Donegal, and Fermanagh was at least *ten times* the quantity here stated.

(55). *Precincts*, 28.—From the foregoing paper on the *Distribution of Precincts*, it appears that all the undertakers of every class only got 26 precincts amongst them. The remaining two were probably intended for corporate towns, free schools, and the college.

				Acres.
Errenagh land.—Ardmagh [diocese of]	27,120 [acres];	Derry, Raphoe, and		
	Clogher, 30,142; Kilmore, 3,228.	In all	...	60,490
Demesnes.—Kilmore, 120 [acres];	Raphoe and Derry, 4,148;	Clogher, 320;		
	Ardmagh, 3,390.	In all	...	7,978
Ecclesiastical land—Bishop's demesnes,	7,978	{		
Errenagh and Termon lands,	60,490		...	68,468
Abbey land	...		...	20,786
Temporal land granted [to towns, schools, forts, &c.]...			...	38,214
Proportions with glebe land lying together, viz.,		{ Great 31 Middle 45 Small 139 }	215	284,829

These figures are all set down exactly as they appear in the Calendars.

V.

So soon as that notable conference, in Feb., 1609-10, (conducted principally by Davys and Ridgeway with the commissioners for Irish causes and in the presence of the lords of the English council) had been brought to an end, other arrangements required immediate attention. Among the more pressing of these arrangements were the drawing up of new and more liberal conditions for the undertakers, the preparing of forms for assigning the precincts to the several classes for whom they were intended, the agreeing on the terms to be inserted in the bonds, with the order of proceeding in passing the letters patent. Whilst the conditions were made more agreeable, because more advantageous to the undertakers, they were to be enforced by additional restrictions. Besides the seemingly stringent enough terms of their patents, the undertakers were now required to enter into bonds for the honest performance of the conditions—these bonds being drawn for £400, £300, or £200, proportioned to the three sizes of the estates to be held by the respective grantees. In these bonds the undertakers were held to the erection of their houses and bawns within the space of three years instead of two, as originally required. They were allowed the same time, also, to settle the specified number of families on their several proportions; and they were made free from the payment of any rents until the year 1614,—reckoning in each case from Easter, 1610. The following copy of the terms in one of the bonds will enable the reader to see the nature of these documents at a glance:—"At Edinburgh, 31 July, 1610. Act of Cautionry by Wm. Stewart of Dunduff, for Patrick Vans of Laybreck—that the latter shall, within three years after Easter last, build a dwelling house of stone or brick, with a strong court or bawne about the same, upon the proportion of 1,000 acres of land allotted to him, called the Boylachoutra, within the barony of Boylagh in the county of Donegal, and that he shall plant upon the said proportion of land 24 able men of the age of 18 or upwards, being born in England, or the inward parts of Scotland—which shall be reduced to 10 families at least, to be settled in this manner, viz., the said Patrick and his family to be settled on a demesne of 300 acres; two fee-farms to be made by him upon 60

acres each ; three leaseholders for life, or for 21 years, to be settled on 50 acres each, and the rest of the land to be settled by four families or more, of husbandmen, artificers, and cottagers. The said Patrick shall reside on the said land during five years after Michaelmas next, or by Patrick Murray, eldest son to John Murray of Broughton, as agent, in person, unless from sickness, or upon a licence from the Lords of Council of England, or by the Lord Deputy, to be absent for a time ; and that he shall not alienate the said land, under the pain of 200*l.* sterling." *Warrants of Scottish Privy Council.*

Among the *native* undertakers with whom special arrangements required to be made was Art McBaron O'Neill, who was to be removed from his own estate in the barony of Oneilan to a proportion of 2,000 acres in the barony of Orier. In cases of this nature, Chichester politically shifted the responsibility from himself to the commissioners for Irish causes, who were resident generally in London. The deputy wisely admitted that such principal natives as had escaped the gallows, or transportation to Virginia in America, would require some means of support, but he declined becoming responsible for their location, or for their future loyalty to the throne. Though virtually the instigator or inspirer of the commissioners, he meekly took his instructions from them, and appeared, whilst moving the helpless natives from their hereditary lands, to be acting under an authority which even he was unable to resist. This Art McBarron's case we mention as an illustration of several others (see p. 131) then requiring to be dealt with. He had early in the war deserted the cause of his half-brother, the Earl of Tyrone, and taken the side of the English, and the pittance which he received in Orier for abandoning his large estate in Oneilan, he got only for life, the reversion remaining in the Crown. He was then [1609] a very old man, and he appears to have requested that the 2,000 acres in Orier might be passed to him and his wife, so that, should he die first, she would not be left in want during the remainder of her life. Sir Oliver Lambert, who visited London towards the close of the year 1609, was instructed by Chichester to recommend to the council a ready compliance with this modest request on the part of the old Ulster chief, which compliance might induce him to remove from his home in Oneilan quietly and in good will, his example thus acting, it was to be hoped, as "a great furtherance towards the removal of the rest of the natives." The council in London at once adopted this suggestion, directing Chichester to grant the lands to Art McBaron on the terms he had requested, and forwarding an order to this effect signed by three of the commissioners for Irish causes. This small concession had the desired effect, for the deputy writing to Salisbury in the December following, states that "Art McBaron's example in accepting his portion, and his removing from the place of his long continued habitation (56) by promise at May next, has prevailed with the multitude

(56). *Continued habitation.*—This territory of Oneilan was the special and favourite district of the O'Neill family. In it Hugh Earl of Tyrone frequently resided, but its real owner appears to have been his half-brother Art, who was older than he, and who was always distinguished from other kinsmen of the same Christian name by being styled *Mac Baron*—"the son of the baron." On an old map of Ulster, circa 1560, Oneilan is mentioned as "Arte McBaron his contree," and the lake-

dwelling there, "Lough Galie," as "Arte McBaron his chiefe house and hould." Lough Galie is now Loughgall. It is mentioned also in old documents as Loughcoo, and Magheriloughcoo. The lough is now much smaller than in the time of Arte McBaron, and those settlers who took possession have adorned its shores with fine mansions and tastefully arranged woods. There is now the respectable village of Loughgall in its immediate vicinity.

according to his [Chichester's] expectation, so that he thinks they [the government] will sooner remove most of the natives than bring others with goods and stocks to sit down in their places."

Chichester well knew that the example of Art McBaron's alacrity in removal could only influence a few of his immediate neighbours in Oneilan, and that the business in which he [the deputy] must soon engage of driving the natives generally from their houses and lands, was one of the gravest and perhaps the most dangerous he could undertake. In an 'Advice' from London, in reference to this general clearing out of the inhabitants, it is stated that it was "a matter of greatest moment, and would require the greatest and most serious consideration." Yes, truly; but Chichester, before receiving this admonition from head-quarters, was thoroughly alive to the critical nature of the work required, and especially of the necessity of being forearmed by the preparation of a sufficient army, not of occupation but eviction. Thus, so early as the month of January, in the year of this fearful eviction, 1610, we find him busily arranging matters in his own mind, although the active or actual work was not to commence before the autumn. "It is a matter worthy of consideration," says he, in a paper headed *Remembrances concerning the Public*, "when [at what time] the commissioners begin their journey into Ulster, and which county they first take in hand, that the undertakers in each county may so sort their journeys as to repair unto them [the commissioners] in fit time, when the business of that county is in hand, otherwise their journeys will be unpleasant if they find no inns or houses to receive them, and more so if they [Chichester and the other commissioners] have not warning and means to provide for them, and the army, for which he must procure money beforehand. They [the commissioners] must begin either with the Cavan or Armagh; if with the Cavan, must from thence go to Fermanagh, and so to Donegal, from thence to Coleraine, Tyrone, and lastly, to Armagh. If they begin at Armagh, they must end with the Cavan, which must be set down in certainty for the aforesaid reasons, but the time of their stay in each county will be as the business requires, and in that point uncertain, for three or four days must not be stood upon."

We shall find that as the period approached for the commencement of this next northern journey, its serious nature was becoming still more deeply impressed on the deputy's mind, and that, in the meantime, another source of disquietude and anxiety was added, by the fear that even after the great risk and odium of clearing the lands had been incurred, the undertakers would be incapable of appreciating how much was thus done for them, or of rising, in fact, "to the height of the great argument," by promptly and numerously entering upon the lands thus made smooth before them. He feared the discouragement and loss of time that might be incurred, if the commissioners would not only be obliged to distribute the lands in small proportions to those agents or servants whom the undertakers would send to represent them, but to settle the disputes that would almost of necessity arise in the progress of *such* a business. "In managing this affair," says the deputy in his *Remembrances* already quoted, "he [Ridgeway] must acquaint the Lords [of the council in London] how difficult it will be for the commissioners to distribute the lands by single, middle, or double proportions, to such as shall come from Great Britain in the name of undertakers, and what a long time that course of distribution will take up, to the hindrance of the new commissioners and the King. Besides which, contentions will arise; and perhaps a farther

mischief, [as to] who shall be placed first, and for the place itself, which will weary the commissioners, and displease the undertakers."

The 'new commissioners' above referred to were the old or former commissioners, with only one or two unimportant exceptions; and their new duties were of a special character, to wit, the removal of the human trees and plants, who were indigenous to the soil, to make way for others of a foreign, and supposed to be of a more vigorous growth. Of these new or old commissioners, Ridgeway and Davys were now absent from Ireland, having remained in London from the time of their arrival there, in February, assisting to make a selection from the long lists of servitors sent over by Chichester (see p. 207), and to decide as to the most suitable districts for locating of the principal natives—two important questions which Chichester wisely refused to consider, at least ostensibly. In the discharge of these and other duties connected with the grand movement in Ulster, the two distinguished commissioners above-named were engaged until the 2nd of June, when Davys left London to look after his private affairs before returning to Dublin, whilst Ridgeway was detained with the council until the 5th of July. In the preceding month of May, Chichester had forwarded to Ridgeway and Davys a paper headed—*Memorials for the dispatch of Mr. Treasurer and the King's Attorney for Ireland*. These 'Memorials' were principally to remind the two plantation commissioners, whilst at head-quarters, to have arrangements made for the following objects:—"1. To authorise the Lord Deputy to renew the commission touching the plantation in such points as he and the council [in Dublin] shall think fit. 2. That the Lord Deputy be authorised to award a commission to himself, the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Chief Justice, the Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir Richard Cooke, or to any five of them, of whom the Lord Deputy to be one, and two of those above-named to be other two, for passing of the several proportions of escheated lands in Ulster unto the British undertakers and their heirs, according to the several assignations, the copies whereof are transmitted to him [Chichester] and the commissioners under the hands of the King's privy council. 3. That the like authority be given unto him and the same commission, to pass unto servitors and natives, to such persons and in such quantities as he and the commissioners shall think fit. 4. That a like authority be thereby given to pass their proportions to natives in the precincts assigned to servitors and natives, in such quantities as the commissioners shall think fit. 5. That the present letters shall be his warrant to put in execution such further instructions as he shall receive under the hand of the King and Privy Council concerning the plantation. 6. That he draw together such companies and forces to attend him and the commissioners in this summer's journey for settling the plantation, and to leave so many of the said companies in such several places, for securing the undertakers, as he shall think fit. 7. And that he begin his journey at such time as shall best serve for the expedition of the plantation this season." In reply to the foregoing demands from the deputy, the King forwarded to him a warrant, signed by his own hand, on the 9th of June, and granting not only power to form a new commission, but to carry out every detail specified by the deputy as required in connection with this additional journey to the North. The King speaks in complimentary terms of Ridgeway, "whose sufficiency he highly approves." His Majesty also nominated certain

influential persons, English and Scottish, to stand at the heads of the several companies or consorts of British undertakers, as their representatives and advocates, but not necessarily themselves the owners of proportions, although a few of them were.

As the summer wore on, it brought the deputy, if not 'grief,' yet a sinking of the heart when he thought of the work before him in Ulster. On the 27th of June, he wrote to Salisbury a long letter, apparently for no other object than to give expression to his querulous and unquiet thoughts. "Not having heard thence of long time," says he, "and therefore ignorant in what is resolved touching the plantation of the escheated lands in Ulster. The season of the year is far spent; winter in that province is at hand; and no undertakers are yet arrived here. The charge of a journey hither [to Ulster] is very great; where making but a short stay little will be effected, and the very motion [moving in the matter] will disquiet the people as much as the thing [the journey] itself; and how they stand affected his Lordship may perceive by what Sir Toby Calefelde has written, which herewith he sends as it came even now to his hands (see p. 152). He was ever, and is still, of opinion that those people [the natives of Ulster] will not be removed from one place to another, though it be from the worse to the better, without trouble and disturbance; and, therefore, they must go provided to withstand and suppress them if they will not otherwise be brought to reason. Has prepared the small army to be in readiness upon a short warning; and has a reasonable quantity of bread and other provisions in store; yet, if the undertakers were come, and if he were directed to set forward this day itself, he could hardly be prepared to remove from hence, for such a journey as is fitting and convenient for honour and safety, within 28 days; which he has thought fit to recommend to his [Salisbury's] consideration, with the further addition, that he [Chichester] shall be ready, as well in winter as summer, to proceed as he shall be directed, for the furtherance of so good a service; but he knows that some that must be of the commission will hardly endure the winter tempests of those parts in the open field, where no houses or other shelter is to be had, but such tents as they carry with them."

Sir Thomas Ridgeway returned, greatly to the deputy's comfort, early in July; and Davys, although detained in England longer than he expected, was able to reach Dublin in good time to aid in the important expedition to the North. On this occasion, Davys was not a member of the commission, but was required to accompany it as the King's advocate, employed to persuade the native people of Ulster that they had no right in the lands which their ancestors owned and cultivated time immemorial. When such was the doctrine now to be practically carried out, it is not surprising that even Chichester, callous as he was, quailed at the contemplation of his work. We find him, indeed, actually endeavouring to invest it with a kind of mock solemnity, as if that could, in some way, alleviate the burden which his selfish ambition made him willing and even proud to bear. On the 19th of July, he writes to Salisbury as follows:—"Now, upon receipt of his Majesty's directions, and those from him [Salisbury] and the Council, he [Chichester] intends by God's permission to be at the Cavan on St. James's Day, the 25th instant, there to begin that great work on the day of that blessed saint in heaven and great monarch [James I] on earth; to which he prays God to give good and prosperous success, for they shall find many stubborn and

stiff-necked people to oppose themselves against and to hinder the free passage thereof, the word of removing and transplanting being to the natives *as welcome as the sentence of death*. Begins with the Cavan, because the people there are more understanding and pliable to reason [literally, more divided among themselves, and therefore the more easily dealt with] than in the remoter parts, and because there is more land to dispose [of] towards the contentment of the natives in that county than in any of the rest; and next to that is Fermanagh, which shall be the second county they will deal with. Most of the commissioners named in the King's letter have prayed to be excused from personal attendance in the journey, as well by reason of age and impotence of body, as of the difficulty of the ways, the foulness of the weather, and the ill-lodging they shall find in Ulster." Chichester concludes this letter by informing Salisbury that he had "in readiness some dogs and mewed hawks" to send him, "which," he adds, "shall come to him as soon as they are fit to be carried so far; the soar-hawks are for the most part so rotten that he thinks it the better course to send him such as are tried and mewed henceforth, though they be fewer; they are poor presents for so rich a benefactor."

Such was the style in which the deputy could descant in the same breath about the transplanting of natives and the transporting of dogs and hawks. It is remarkable that the commissioners, who declined on this occasion to accompany Chichester to Ulster, had been nominated by himself. Unless, therefore, the deputy wished to have the business pretty much in his own hands, he would hardly have had old and frail men appointed at all. In the foregoing letter he states that of all those appointed on the commission "he shall have the company of Mr. Treasurer and the Master of the Rolls only; but he takes with him the Marshal of the Army and some others of the Council [in Dublin], who, together with Mr. Treasurer, he is sure will never refuse any travel, hazard, or danger, which is fit for them to undergo for the furtherance of his Majesty's service and directions." The deputy, when making his preparations, had asked instructions concerning certain matters which would necessarily come before him, from time to time, during the northern journey; and, in reply to his request, he received the following "Advices set down by the Commissioners [for Irish causes] and signed by Sir Roger Wilbraham, Sir James Ley, and Sir James Fullerton:—"As we find that suits and troubles will arise to the undertakers by pretence of concealed lands not passed in their letters patent, we are of opinion if there shall fall out any omissions or concealments, in portions assigned for Britons, that the Lord Deputy shall be authorised to pass them to the undertakers of the proportions in which they lie. And if any concealment shall fall in any precinct and without [outside] all proportions, he shall lay them into the proportions next adjoining; for all which rent is to be reserved rateably, as for the rest of the undertakers. And if he shall be directed by any letters from hence to the contrary, he shall forbear to proceed therein until upon advertisement hither he shall receive from the King or his council new directions. 1. That direction be given to the Lord Deputy that no offices be found or returned, which may cross or impeach the credit of the offices found before by the Commissioners of Survey of the escheated lands in Ulster; that no trials or proceedings in law be admitted to the prejudice of the plantation; and that the office lately taken of certain lands in the Omey be taken from the file, if it be returned. 2. That since

Sir Tirlagh M'Henry seems willing to be removed out of the Fewes, that order be sent to the Lord Deputy to provide some convenient place in the Cavan, or elsewhere, to settle him, in order to plant servitors in his country. 3. For the better erecting and peopling of corporate and market towns in the province of Ulster, we think it fit that the commissioners set down how many places or sites of houses they think fit to be erected for the present in every town, and assign how much and what land shall serve for further erections, in future times. 4. To allot in certainty the quantity for curtilages and backsides to belong to every place or site. 5. To set out a convenient place for a church-yard, in which a church may be built; and for a convenient market-place. 6. To take care that water may be conveniently had for serving the towns. 7. That no land be enclosed, or laid to any house till the town be conveniently peopled; a third proportion of the land allotted to every town may be enclosed at the common charge to make a common meadow; and the rest be left for a common for cattle. 8. That in such towns where free schools are appointed, some convenient place be reserved for that purpose. 9. That there be a reservation for the appointing highways in such places as the commissioners shall prescribe. 10. After the towns shall have 40 houses divided with 40 families, they are to be incorporated, with such liberties as shall be thought fit, having regard to the ability of the persons and the quantity of the place; also that the Deputy take order that their charters may be passed with small charge, and each incorporated town authorised by charter to send two burgesses to Parliament. 11. The Deputy and council to take order for the peopling and inhabiting towns, erecting schools, and building churches, so far as the means of the country will yield. Where there shall be defects, the same to be signified to you. 12. The Deputy shall be required not to pass any lands appointed for towns and free schools to any other use. If directions be sent from hence by letters to the contrary, he shall forbear therein until he shall receive new direction. 13. The Deputy shall take order that such as have advowsons shall settle incumbents thereon within such time as he and the commissioners shall think meet. That your Lordships [the council in London] should write to the Deputy and council to inform themselves of the true estate and number of the impropriations belonging to the Archbishop and dignitaries of Ardmagh, and certify the same that the King may take order for the endowment of the churches in that diocese. 14. That the Deputy make no sheriff within the plantation for the first three years but some one of the British undertakers, if there be sufficient for this first year. 15. That the names of such as have not entered bonds here be sent to the Deputy, that he may take bonds of them in Ireland, wherein a copy of the bond is to be transmitted. 16. That the names and trades of such old inhabitants of Derry, desirous to dwell in Derry, be sent hither, to the end that the Londoners may be dealt with for admitting them into the corporation. 17. That 140*l.* remaining with the Londoners, be paid by the Deputy's warrant to the old inhabitants of Derry, and 100*l.* more English to be allotted to them by concordatum." These last mentioned clauses, having reference to plantation affairs in and around Derry, will explain themselves, when we come to narrate the Londoners' efforts at colonisation.

VI.

On receiving the necessary amount of encouragement and instruction from Salisbury speaking

in the name of the King, the deputy and his fellow-commissioners went once more on their way northward—if not rejoicing, at least sufficiently determined to seize the spoils now lying so temptingly near their hands. We have not much information of their movements, or of the incidents connected with their perambulations, for although Chief Justice Winche and Mr. Attorney Davys were both in the cavalcade, there were so many legal questions to be discussed from time to time, that they had no leisure, as on the former occasions, either to make notes or write letters. Davys wrote only one letter to Salisbury on the subject of their journey, but not until after their return to Dublin. This letter, which is dated September 24, and gives some very significant details, appears to have lain beside the writer for several weeks, awaiting the opportunity of Sir Oliver Lambert's mission to London. Eventually, it was expanded into another and a longer letter, dated November 8, and containing the writer's comments at great length on the leading events of their progress in Ulster. The first version of the letter has only recently appeared in a printed calendar of State Papers, but the second was made known to the public in a volume of Davys's *Historical Tracts*, which was published at Dublin in the year 1787. From both these highly interesting productions it appears that the work then to be done by the commissioners would have been indeed enormous, but that it was made light by the application of many hands, and also by the plan of distributing the lands in precincts or baronies, allowing each consort or company to locate its own members by lot or otherwise, as it pleased themselves. In both versions of his letter above mentioned, Davys states that a majority of the English and Scottish undertakers had arrived, either personally or by deputies, in time to accompany the commissioners; and that the latter, instead of having to wander about the fields for the purpose of handing his proportion to each person individually, were able to make the necessary assignments at their place of encampment in the several counties. The servitors had already been selected, even in greater numbers than there were lands to give them; but for a certain number their allotments had been previously arranged; and, as for the selection of suitable natives to be made freeholders, that work had been done long previously, and as circumstances dictated to Chichester, both before and after O'Dogherty's revolt.

It was rather remarkable that the commissioners thought it prudent to reverse the order of their march on this occasion, commencing where they had previously left off, and ending where they had previously commenced. They now opened their commission at the Cavan, because, as Chichester supposed, the inhabitants were "more pliable to reason"—in other words, more easily reasoned into the necessity of surrendering any claims they might suppose they had on their own lands, and of abandoning their homes peaceably, and in good will to the strangers! But we here subjoin Davys's letter of September 24, which mentions not only his encounter with the lawyer at Cavan, but touches at several other most interesting topics in connection with his last journey to Ulster. "Though the contrary winds," he says, "stayed him some time at the water side [on his return from England] yet he arrived early enough to attend my Lord Deputy this journey into Ulster, where he and the rest of the commissioners for the plantation have performed four principal services.

"1. They made choice of such natives as they found fit to be made freeholders in every of

the escheated counties, and have distributed several portions of land unto them, having respect to the quality of the persons and the quantity of lands assigned to the natives.

"2. They have made choice of servitors, and made the like distribution of the lands allotted to them by the project.

"3. They have published, by proclamation in every county, what precincts of land are given to the British undertakers, what to servitors, and what to natives, giving warning to the natives to remove from the lands assigned to the other undertakers presently, if they shall come and require the present possession; otherwise, in regard the undertakers are not prepared to manure and till the land against the next year (so that if the Irish tenants be presently removed, a general dearth is like to follow in those parts, to the prejudice of the plantation), the Irish who now possess the land may hold the same till May next, paying rent for that time [from November, 1610, until May, 1611], to the undertakers, who, on the other side, are to pay the Irish for their corn and fallowes, when they shall leave their possession unto them (57).

"4. For such undertakers, both English and Scottish, as have presented themselves to the Lord Deputy and commissioners in this journey, they have made several warrants to the sheriffs of the several counties to give them possession and seisin of their portions (58), and have assigned them timber in the great woods for the erection of their several buildings.

(57). *Unto them.*—The Warrant for *Staying Tenants till May next*, is dated August 23, and was issued by the commissioners from their "camp near Lyffer." This warrant came with a bad grace immediately after the natives had been warned to remove at once in order to make way for the new-comers. On the commissioners finding that the then expected undertakers did not make their appearance, except in a very few instances, it was felt that should the natives remove, and carry off their crops and stock with them at or before Nov., 1610, there would thus be forthwith introduced a wide-spread famine to welcome the 'Britons' when they might come. Here was a difficulty which the Government sought at first to meet by not exactly ordering the inhabitants off at November, but by warning them not to plough or sow again, so that they might be able to move at any day required. But this did not answer the people, who must sow somewhere if they were to live; nor did it suit the coming settlers who, when they came, would require to have some means of shelter and provision, at least for a time. The commissioners, therefore, were obliged to issue their warrant for staying the natives until May, 1611, with not only permission but encouragement to sow their lands once more—warning them, however, that they were to pay rent to the undertakers from November till the following May, although thus retained for the special convenience and advantage of the undertakers themselves! This difficulty, as we shall see, was not so easily met as theoretical planters supposed.

(58). *Their portions.*—The following was the form of their *Warrant of Possession*:—"Whereas, the King by his letters patent, hath, among other things, given and granted to A. B., his heirs and assigns, all that portion of

land commonly called the portion of ———, lying and being in the precinct of ———, in the county of ———, with all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the several towns, hamlets, quarters, or parcels of land following, &c., with the appurtenances, amounting in the whole to the number of one thousand acres, more or less, to have and to hold, under such covenants, articles, and conditions as in the letters patent; in full accomplishment of which grant, and in furtherance of the royal plantation now in hand, by virtue of the King's commission to us directed in that behalf: these are therefore to will and authorise you [the sheriff] forthwith, and from time to time hereafter, upon any request made to you by the patentee, or any other his agents, attorneys, or solicitors, by him lawfully deputed, to remove or cause to be removed out of the premises such and so many of the tenants, possessors, and occupiers of the same as he and they shall give you notice of, and to deliver livery and seisin of the premises unto the patentee or his assigns, and also to require and command the natives and all others now dwelling upon the same, or any part thereof, to depart with their families, goods, and chattels, from time to time, unto such baronies and precincts as have or shall be assigned unto them, or elsewhere at their own wills and pleasures, where they may have best conditions of living; hereby charging and commanding all and every the King's officers, ministers, and subjects, to be always aiding and assisting unto you in your so doing, if need shall require, whereof they may not fail, as they will answer the contrary at their perils. And for your so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at the camp near Dunganon, the 3 of Sept., 1610. To the sheriff of the county of ———."

"They began at the Cavan, where (as it falleth out in all matters of importance), they found the first access and entry into the business the most difficult: for the inhabitants of this country bordering upon Meath, and having many acquaintances and alliances with the gentlemen of the English Pale, called themselves freeholders, and pretended they had estates of inheritance in their lands, which their chief lords could not forfeit by their attainder; whereas, in truth, they never had any estates, according to the rules of common law, but only a scrambling and transitory possession, as all other Irish natives within this kingdom (59).

"When the proclamation was published touching their removal, (which was done in the public session house, the Lord Deputy and commissioners being present), a lawyer of the Pale, retained by the inhabitants, endeavoured to maintain that they had estates of inheritance, and in their name desired two things: first, that they might be admitted to traverse the offices [of inquisition] which had been taken of those lands; secondly, that they might have the benefit of a proclamation made about five years since, whereby their persons, lands, and goods were all received into his Majesty's protection. To this, by my Lord Deputy's commandment, he [Davys] made answer, that it was manifest that they had no estate of inheritance either in their chiefries or in their tenancies, though they seemed to run in a course of gavelkind, for the chief of the sept once

(59). *Within this kingdom.*—The above is a very unfair and legally erroneous view of this important question; for, even according to English law, the party whose mouth-piece Davys was, had no right to confiscate any property but such as belonged personally to the fugitive earls themselves—their demesne lands, their moveable effects of all kinds, and whatever authority they had exercised as chiefs of their respective tribes or clans. "The Government, however, had determined," observes an impartial and strictly constitutional writer, "to stretch the confiscation so as to enable the King to deal as absolute owner in the fee of Tyrone and Tyrconnell [and in other territories of Ulster], discharged of every estate and interest whatsoever. For this purpose a theory was invented that the fee of the tribe lands was vested in the chief, and that the members of the tribe held merely as tenants at will. Than this nothing could have been more false; they did not, indeed, hold by feudal tenure, nor in most instances possess what the English law described as the freehold; their titles were not entered upon the roll of a manor, nor could they produce parchment grants or muniments of title; yet the rights they possessed in the land were, according to their native laws, as clear and definite as any feudal grant could make them; and their properties, whatever they might be, had been possessed by their ancestors before English law had reached the country. But in spite of all this, the King declared that, because their interests could not square with the logical distinctions of the feudal code, but were defined by Brehon law—which, in the eyes of English lawyers, was not law at all, but a damnable custom—the population had no more interest in or title to the lands, which their ancestors had possessed time out of mind, than wild beasts or cattle could claim. This point having been satisfactorily decided, the Crown was freed from all claims, legal or equitable; the tenants at will should be thankful for any

provision, however small; and the work of the plantation might be carried out without let or hindrance. This was the great injustice upon which the plantation of Ulster was founded. The English Government had for years cried out against the evil treatment to which the poor earthworkers were subjected by their tribe lords, had represented the local communities to be governed without reference to the wants and conditions of the poor, had held out fixity of tenure and freedom from arbitrary exactions as the great benefit which the tillers of the soil were to receive when the lands were made shire land, and subject to English law. But, although these districts had five years before [longer] been made shire land, although the judges had gone circuit there and found freeholders enough to sit on juries, to serve upon the very juries by which the earls had been condemned, the Government, when it suited its purpose, could insist that English law had extended to these districts as far as was necessary for the attainder and confiscation of the estates of the lords, but not so far as to secure the poor and weak in the possession of their holdings or enjoyment of their rights; or if it did at all apply to those of base condition, its only effect was to reduce their customary rights to the delusive estate known to English law as a tenancy at will. This was the great wrong which for more than a generation rankled in the hearts of the Ulster Irish, and which made them regard the Scottish and English settlers as robbers, maintained in the possession of their plunder by the strong hand of an overbearing foreign Government. In remembrance of this wrong, cherished for more than thirty years, the children of those who, by a legal quibble, had been thrust out of their patrimony, seized the first opportunity to regain their old estate." A. G. Richey's *Lectures on Irish History*, delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, second series, pp. 453-455.

in two or three years, shuffled and changed their possessions, by making a new partition or division amongst them, wherein the bastards had always their portions as well as the legitimate, and therefore this custom hath been adjudged void in law by the opinion of all the judges in this kingdom (60). Hereunto two other arguments were added to prove that they had no estates of inheritance; one, that they never esteemed lawful matrimony to the end they might have lawful heirs; next, that they never built any houses, or planted any orchards or gardens, nor took any care of their posterities, both of which they would have done if they had had estates descendible to their lawful heirs (61). These reasons answered both their petitions, for if they had no estate in law, then could they show no title, and, without showing a title, no man may be admitted to traverse an office; and, again, if they had no estate in the land which they possessed, the proclamation which receives their lands into his Majesty's protection does not give them any better estate than they had before. Other arguments were used to prove that his Majesty might justly dispose of those lands as he has now done in law, in conscience, and in honour, wherewith they seemed not unsatisfied in reason, though in passion they remained ill-contented, being grieved to leave their possessions to strangers, which their septs [families] had so long after the Irish manner enjoyed (62). Howbeit, my Lord Deputy so mixed threats with entreaty, *precibusque minas regaliter addit*,

(60). *In this kingdom*.—English state authorities always looked on the Brehon laws with intense dislike; whilst legal or other advisers became eloquent in their abuse without understanding the nature of the institution thus abused. They little dreamed that what was then, and is now, known as the English common law, had its origin to a great extent in the very code which was spoken of as "wicked and damnable" by the statute of Kilkenny; as "repugning quite both to God's law and man's," by Edmund Spenser; as producing such desolation and barbarism "as the like was never seen in any country that professed the name of Christ," by Sir John Davys. A new light is now dawning on the English legal mind in reference to this important question, and particularly since the translation and publication of the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*. Indeed, it has even come to pass, that one of the most cautious and profound thinkers of the present age—Sir Henry S. Maine—expresses himself in the following terms:—"I am not afraid to anticipate that there will some day be more hesitation in repeating the invectives of Spenser and Davis, when it is once clearly understood that the 'lewd' institutions of the Irish were virtually the same institutions as those out of which the 'just and honourable law' of England grew. Why these institutions followed in their development such different paths it is the province of history to decide; but when it gives an impartial decision, I doubt much its wholly attributing the difference to native faults of Irish character." (*Early History of Institutions*, p. 229.) However this may be, the Brehon laws were formally abolished, though not until long afterwards in reality—in Hilary Term, 1605. The Irish gavelkind, as above stated by Davys, was then declared by the English judges void in law, "not only for its inconvenience and unreasonableness [which might, indeed, fairly enough condemn many other laws besides], but because it was a mere personal custom, which tended to alter the descent of inheritances, contrary

to the course of common law." (See Davys's *Historical Tracts*, pp. 265, 266). Referring to the sweeping decision of these judges when affirming the illegality of the Irish tenures known as tanistry and gavelkind, Sir Henry S. Maine observes:—"They [the judges] declared the English common law to be in force in Ireland, and thenceforward the eldest son succeeded, as heir at law, both to lands which were attached to a signory, and to estates which had been divided according to the peculiar Irish custom here called gavelkind. The judges thoroughly knew that they were making a revolution, and they probably thought that they were substituting a civilised institution for a set of mischievous usages proper only for barbarians. Yet, there is strong reason for thinking, that Tanistry is the form of succession from which Primogeniture descended, and that the Irish gavelkind, which they sharply distinguished from the gavelkind of Kent, was nothing more than an archaic form of this same institution, of which courts in England have always taken judicial notice, and which prevailed far more widely on the European continent than succession by Primogeniture." (*Early History of Institutions*, pp. 185, 186).

(61). *Lawful heirs*.—These loose assertions on the part of Davys were equally, if not more applicable in some respects to the English populations of that time. If the Irish neglected to plant orchards and to attend to other more serious duties, they were prevented by the horrible and uninterrupted warfare carried on against them by the English.

(62). *Enjoyed*.—The "other arguments" employed by Davys to reconcile the unhappy people of Cavan "to leave their possessions to strangers" are recorded in his letter of the 8th of November, and printed among other things of the same kind in his volume of *Historical Tracts*. These 'arguments' were, indeed, wretched attempts in their way, and for the occasion. They simply insulted those to whom they were addressed, being used rather

as that they promised to give way to the undertakers, if the sheriff, by warrant from his Lordship and the commissioners, put them in possession. Whereupon, his Lordship and the commissioners signed a warrant to the sheriff to give possession to one Taylor, an English undertaker, who was then arrived and present in the camp, which warrant was executed without resistance (63), and thereupon distribution being made to the better sort of natives, of several portions of land in the baronies assigned to them, they not unwillingly accepted of several tickets containing the quantities of land allotted to every particular person.

"The eyes of all the inhabitants of Ulster were turned upon this county of Cavan, and therefore when they saw the difficulty of the business overcome here, their minds were the better prepared to submit themselves to the course prescribed by his Majesty for the plantation. So that in the next two counties of Fermanagh and Tyrconnell (64), (though the countries were never

in a congratulatory spirit that the natives had not been even more savagely treated! "Lastly," says Davys, "this transplantation of the natives is made by his Majesty rather *like a father* than like a lord or monarch. The Romans transplanted whole nations out of Germany into France; the Spaniards lately removed all the Moors out of Grenada into Barbary, without providing them any new seats there; when the English Pale was first planted all the natives were clearly expelled, so as not one Irish family had so much as an acre of freehold in all the five counties of the Pale; and now, within these four years past, the Greames were removed from the borders of Scotland to this kingdom, and had not one foot of land allotted to them here: but these natives of Cavan have competent portions of land [not one in every thousand had any land] assigned unto them, many of them [very few] in the same barony where they dwelt before, and such as are removed are planted in the same county." (See *Historical Tracts*, pp. 283, 284). The transportation of the Grahams above referred to was a curious but melancholy illustration in the history of plantations. This tribe or sept was forcibly expelled from their own ancient territory on the borders between England and Scotland, and sent in large numbers, including old and young, to the county of Roscommon, where they endured terrible hardship for a time. Many of them soon died there, and the remainder were at last permitted to disperse themselves as they could. Many came northward into Ulster, with the purpose of returning to their native borders, but few are supposed to have succeeded in doing so. This transplantation took place in the autumn of 1606, and was conducted by a person named Sir Ralph Sidley on the part of the Government. The "Articles of agreement touching the transportation and transplantation of the Graemes, and other inhabitants of Leven, Esk, and Sark, the late borders of England, into Ireland, were concluded between the Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Charles Hales, Knight, Sir Wilfred Lawson, Knight, and Joseph Pennington, Esq., of the one part; and Sir Ralph Sidley of the other part; and bore date 12th September, 1606. This Sir Ralph Sidley had been a servitor in Ireland, and was one of those captains who was discharged in 1604. He had married the widow of Henry Malby, son and heir of the well-known Sir Nicholas Malby, for so many years governor of Connaught in the reign of Elizabeth.

In right of his wife, he was seized of the manor and seignory of Roscommon; and thinking, no doubt, to make a fortune therein by bringing labourers and settlers around him from Scotland, he was, unfortunately for himself and the Grahams, induced to enter into the above-mentioned articles of agreement.

(63). *Resistance*.—The "one Taylor" above-mentioned, who thus secured for himself such prompt but not very enviable notoriety, was John Taylor, who came from Cambridgeshire, and was worth 200 marks per annum (see pp. 125, 149).

(64). *And Tyrconnell*.—The commissioners prepared their proclamations to suit the circumstances of each county, first announcing, when possible, what principal natives were to have proportions, and where; together with the names of such persons of humble rank as had been made freeholders. The proclamation at the Liffey, in Tyrconnell, may be quoted as an illustration. Its introductory paragraph is as follows:—"As it has pleased the King to dispose and settle the lands and possessions of this county, which are come into his hands; for the true information of the inhabitants touching the King's pleasure, we declare that whereas there are in this county five several precincts of land lately escheated, viz., Lyffer, Portlough, Boyleagh, Doe, and Fawnett, the King of his bounty respecting the civil plantation of this county hath granted unto certain English [Scottish] undertakers the said precincts of Portlough and Boyleagh, and hath reserved for the natives and certain servitors to be placed amongst them, the said precincts of Doe and Fawnett, which two precincts, containing 25,000 acres, are to be thus distributed, viz., to servitors two-fifth parts, or thereabouts, and to the better sort of natives three-fifth parts, whereof we are severally directed to assign unto Sir Mulmorie McSwine a Doe, to Donagh McSwine Banagh, to Donell McSwine Fawnett, and to young Tirlagh O'Boyle (see pp. 131, 176), so many quarters of land as shall amount to 2,000 acres a-piece; and to Ny duff-ny Donell [Ineen duv Macdonnell] (see pp. 130, 131), 600 acres, and to Honora Bourke, the widow of O'Boyle, 400 (see p. 131). And having a provident care of the College near Dublin for the education of the youth of this kingdom, there has been assigned to the Provost of the said college the number of 4,000 acres [a much larger quantity] lying in the barony of Tyrehugh, besides certain other

entirely resumed, nor vested in the Crown as Tyrone was, but only surrendered and re-granted to the chief lords, who forfeited their estates by their several attainders), there was no man that pretended any title against the Crown, and there were very few who seemed unsatisfied with their portions assigned unto them (65), only Connor Roe McGuyre, who has an entire barony, and the best barony in Fermanagh, allotted unto him (because in the first year of his Majesty's reign, when the settling of that province was not so verily intended as now it is, the State made him a promise of three baronies in the county), seemed ill contented with his allotment; yet he did not oppose the Sheriff, when he gave possession to the undertakers of lands whereof himself was then possessed; but affirmed he would forthwith pass into England, and there become a suitor for better conditions (66). But when we came to Tyrone and Ardmagh, where we expected least contradiction, because the best of the natives there had not any colour or shadow of title to any land in those countries, the same being clearly and wholly come to the Crown by the attainder of Tyrone and others; yet divers of Tyrone's horsemen, namely the O'Quins and Hagans, because they had good stock of cattle, the commissioners distributed portions of land, such as the scope assigned to the natives of that county afforded, refused to accept the same from his Majesty; yielding this reason of their refusal that they would rather choose to be tenants at will to the

lands assigned for corporate towns and free schools. The said servitors and natives to have and to hold the said portions to them and their heirs forever, free from all rents, beaves, cutting, &c. [only the two widow ladies above-named were free from rents], on observing the articles and conditions of plantation. . . . All the inhabitants of the precincts of Lyffer, Portlagh, and Boylagh, and of the 4,000 acres assigned to the College (except the inhabitants of the town of Ballashannon and Lyffer, tenants of bishops', abbey, and termon lands) or other the King's patentees, whose grants are now in force (if any be) who are to produce their letters patent, do prepare themselves clearly to avoid [cease to occupy] their several possessions within the said precincts of Lyffer, Portlagh, and Boylagh, and the lands assigned the college, and leave the same to the English and Scottish undertakers, and to the said college, to whom the King has granted the same. And if they [the natives] will attend us to receive their new proportions and allotments, they shall have the same assigned in such convenient time as they may thereupon begin their planting and ploughing for the next season; and receive several particulars of the quarters by name, in the precincts of Doe and Fawnett, whereupon every person shall be placed, to the end they may pass the same by letters patent and possess the same accordingly."

(65). *Assigned unto them.*—The inhabitants of Fermanagh had been long distinguished for the placidity of their characters, of which Davys himself was aware (see p. 111), and, even under the the aggravating circumstances now described, they appear to have avoided any special exhibition of temper. Only four years previously, he and his employers professed the tenderest care over the interests of these inhabitants of Fermanagh. The native chiefs, however, were then to be dealt with, and nothing could exceed the apparent anxiety of the planters to pro-

tect the humbler freeholders in their rightful claims. In 1606, Davys, after a visit to Fermanagh, wrote to Salisbury at great length, stating, among other matters, that "forasmuch as the greatest part of the inhabitants of that country did claim to be freeholders of their several possessions, who, surviving the late rebellion, had never been attainted, but having received his Majesty's pardon, stood upright in law, so as we could not clearly intitle the Crown to their lands, except it were in point of conquest, a title which the State here hath not at any time taken hold of for the King against the Irish, which upon the conquest were not dispossessed of their lands, but were permitted to die, seized thereof in the King's allegiance." Indeed, the only parties, besides the Maguire chiefs, whom the deputy and his associates were then [1606] inclined to depress, were those described by Davys in the following terms:—"Concerning the free lands of the third kind, viz., such lands as are possessed by the Irish officers of this country [Fermanagh], viz., chroniclers, galloglasses, and rimers; the entire quantity of it [the free land] laid together, as it is scattered in several baronies, doth well nigh make two ballibetags, and no more; which land in respect of the persons that merit no respect, but rather discountenance from the State, for they are enemies to the English Government, may perhaps be thought meet to be added to the demesne lands of the chief Lords." See *Historical Tracts*, pp. 243, 257.

(66). *Better conditions.*—We know not whether Connor Roe ever undertook such an excursion as Davys here indicates, but we shall see that he was obliged to be content with even much less than a barony. He was another illustration of the disappointed people who had early joined the English, and were at last thrown aside with very scant rewards for their services.

servitors or others who had competent quantities of land to receive them, than to be freeholders to his Majesty of such small parcels, for which they should be compelled to serve in juries, and spend double the yearly value thereof at assizes and sessions (67); wherein he, for his part, easily believes them, for all the Irish (the chief lords excepted), desire naturally to be followers, and cannot live without a master, and for the most part they love every master alike, so he be present to protect and defend them. And, therefore, he is of opinion that, if they were once settled under the bishops (see pp. 206-209) or others who may receive Irish tenants, they would follow them as willingly, and rest as well contented under their wings, as young pheasants do under the wings of a home hen, though she be not their natural mother; and though the transplantation be distasteful to them (as all changes and innovations are at first unpleasant), yet they [the commissioners, or rather Davys, as their exponent], hope that when they are once seated in their new habitations, they will like the new soil, as well as prove better themselves, like some trees which bear but harsh and sour fruit in the place where they naturally grow, but being transplanted and removed, like the ground better, and yield pleasanter and sweeter fruit than they did before (68). Thus much concerning the natives. Touching the servitors—though the last year, none but my Lord Audelay (see pp. 79, 135, 136) would undertake any land according to the articles published in print, yet now there were so many competitors for the land assigned to servitors, that it was not possible for the commissioners to give contentment to all; and therefore many of them returned home unsatisfied. Such as have portions allotted to them are men of merit and ability, and for the most part such as have set up their rest in Ulster. For the rest, who returned without portions, my Lord Deputy has given them some hope that they may be provided for, either by placing them upon the lands granted to the city of London,

(67). *Assizes and sessions.*—These O'Quins and O'Hagans had been steady adherents of the Earl of Tyrone, and could not, so easily as some others, bring themselves to accept the new order of things then introduced. They had followed their creighting, though not to the neglect of their crops; and consulted their Brehons without much exciting the jealousies of sheriffs in Tyrone and Armagh. From the time of O'Neill's surrender in 1602, until his flight, with O'Donnell, in 1607, these septs had evidently been among the leading cultivators of the soil, especially in Tyrone. At the latter crisis they appear to have been bewildered for a time by the "flight," but continued their agricultural pursuits. Sir Thomas Phillips, on first hearing of that event, made an excursion from Coleraine, along the wooded ways of Loughinshollin, as far as Dungannon. In a letter to Salisbury, dated Sept. 22, 1607, he refers to this journey, and expresses his surprise on witnessing the improved condition of that district even during the short interval above-mentioned. "Thought good," says he, "for securing of the people to go from Coleraine as far as Dungannon, and going through the country the people met him, and were all amazed and ready to forsake their houses. Gave them the best counsel he could, which they promised to take, but there is no trust in them. The Lord Deputy has since sent them a proclamation which could not but satisfy them, if they were good subjects; they now begin to grow rich, so that for the most part during peace they increase very fast in

cattle, and this year they have great plenty of corn. Has passed through the fastest country in Tirone, where he did not expect to have seen so much corn." In 1610, these O'Quins and O'Hagans had lots of cattle, a fact which induced the commissioners to offer a few of them small patches of freehold, but the small freeholders were expected, as jurors, to do the work of the Government at assizes and sessions, and these clansmen neither liked the trouble, nor the expense, nor the policy thus required from them; they therefore declined the proffered gift. Davys egregiously misrepresented them when he affirmed that they were indifferent as to what master they would serve. These septs were only too sensitive on this very point for their own interests, preferring to take their chance as tenants-at-will rather than place themselves under any obligations to do the work of the dominant party.

(68). *Did before.*—Davys was evidently proud of this figure of speech, for he introduces it again in his second letter to Salisbury, which was written only a few weeks after. In that second letter he informs Salisbury that he had told the Irish of Ulster that the King, in ordering their removal from their houses and lands, thus "imitated the skilful husbandman, who doth remove his fruit trees, not with a purpose to extirpate and destroy them, but that they may bring better and sweeter fruit after the transplantation."—*Historical Tracts*, p. 284.

in the Glennes of Tyrone, or upon the Bishops' lands, at easy rents, or by some other means which may arise before the plantation be accomplished. Touching the British undertakers, the greatest number of them are come over, and have presented themselves to the commissioners, and have received warrants for their possession and for timber (69), and are now providing materials for their buildings against the next spring."

VII.

Among the various warrants issued by the deputy at that crisis in Ulster, one was intended to mitigate a very serious evil or grievance inflicted on the natives by the hasty and oppressive legislation which had suddenly abolished their ancient usages and laws. This grievance presented itself in such a palpable form that the new legislators were unable to ignore it. It so happened that several heads of Irish septs or families to whom the commissioners had granted 'proportions,' were wholly destitute of the cattle required to stock their lands, whilst the humblest members of their septs who got no lands, not even the smallest patches of freehold, had cattle in their possession which they could not feed, and which, therefore, they were daily driving off to distant places for sale. How was this? The question is not difficult to explain, but the English appear to have known little or nothing of the cause until the emergency actually forced itself upon their attention. Although Irish chiefs and the heads of creaghts (70) had the superintendence of the lands belonging to their several tribes or clans, their personal property invariably consisted of cattle, which they hired out, on conditions strictly defined in their Brehon laws, to such members of the clans as had few or often no cattle of their own, for the purposes of farming or tillage. This arrangement, known as *Commyns*,

(69). *For timber*.—The following is the form of the *Warrant for Timber* issued in each county by the deputy and commissioners:—"We will and require you, according to a former general warrant to you directed, to assign and mark out unto _____, undertaker of the small portion of _____, in the precinct of _____, in the county of _____, or to his assigns, the number of two hundred good oaks of several sizes, and of growth sufficient to make timber for building upon the small proportion, growing either within that county, or else upon any the escheated lands in the province of Ulster, lying nearest unto the premises, and most convenient to be carried and transported thither by land or by water at the election of the patentee, there to be expended in structures or buildings according to the covenants in that behalf; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at the camp near Dunganon the 3rd of September, 1610. Addressed to the commissioners generally appointed for the assignation of timber to the undertakers of the escheated lands in Ulster."

(70). *Heads of creaghts*.—The person designated as head of a creaght, in the Irish State Papers of the seventeenth century, was known to the Brehon laws as a *Bo-Aire*, literally a 'cow-nobleman,' from the circumstance of his having raised himself to a certain rank by his wealth, which consisted in the accumulation of great numbers of cattle. The *Bo-Aire*, from being originally a peasant, and acquainted with peasant wants and ways, generally became

more popular than the legitimate chief of the sept himself, and was often better able to place his cattle with such clansmen, and on such terms, as secured for him not only safer but more remunerative investments. Thus, it happened then as now, and as it ever will, that the accumulation of wealth was the certain path to nobility of rank in ancient Ireland, if not immediately for the accumulator, at least for some of his posterity. Even the distinction of chieftainship was thus frequently won. "Whilst the Brehon laws," says Sir Henry Maine, "suggest that the possession of personal wealth is a condition of the maintenance of chieftainship, they show, with much distinctness, that through the acquisition of such wealth the road was always open to chieftainship. We are not altogether without knowledge that in some European societies the humble freeman might be raised by wealth to the position which afterwards became modern nobility. One fact, among the very few which are tolerably well ascertained, respecting the specific origin of particular modern aristocracies is, that a portion of the Danish nobility were originally peasants; and there are in the early English laws some traces of a process by which a *Ceorl* might become a Thane. These might be facts standing by themselves, and undoubtedly there is strong reason to suspect that the commencements of aristocracy were multifold; but the Brehon Tracts point out in several places, with legal minuteness, the mode in which a peasant freeman in ancient Ireland could become a chief." *Early History of Institutions*, p. 135.

was of mutual advantage, for whilst the want of capital or cows was the difficulty with the clansmen, want of pasturage for his herds was the difficulty with the chief. But whilst the native owners of cattle had thus their flocks hired out at interest, the break up or abolition of the whole system suddenly came, preventing both the owners and receivers from making good their contracts, by robbing the one class of their cows and the other of their lands. The clansmen, however, in some cases from necessity, and occasionally from dishonesty, took advantage of their chieftain's misfortunes, retaining possession of the cows, to which they had no just claim, on the plea that the owners had not fulfilled their contract, although it was generally impossible for them to do so.

Under these circumstances, the deputy and commissioners of plantation issued the following 'Warrant for Comynes,' from their camp near 'Lamavady,' on the 28th of August, 1610:—
 "Whereas divers complaints have been exhibited to us by inhabitants of the county of T[irone] for restitution of goods and chattels heretofore given and taken by way of Comynes, and the Irish thereupon depending, from which they have been heretofore by law and proclamations sufficiently inhibited as unlawful and inconvenient: Forasmuch as upon these new alterations of estates, transmigration of tenants, and straightening of possessions, we foresee the matter of comynes is like to come to general question, and hath in it many colours of right and equity, if not for performance of all the conditions mutually agreed on between the parties, yet for restitution of the goods and chattels so given, and of a great part of the increase thereof withal; since the reason and causes of that custom (71) must henceforth cease of necessity, we have thought good for remedy and redress to refer the same to your special considerations, hereby requiring and authorising you to hear and determine of all and every such causes and complaints which shall from henceforth be brought before you, considering and well weighing with yourselves that the best part of the estates and livelihoods of many poor gentlemen, who have hitherto been owners of lands or heads of creats, must henceforth

(71). *Of that custom.*—Chichester and the commissioners no doubt regarded the Irish custom of giving and taking "by way of comynes" as an especially inconvenient and absurd transaction; but this custom, as practised at an early period throughout European countries generally, was one of the sources of feudalism itself, which became afterwards so widely adopted, and in the spirit of which so many would yet delight to live. This 'way of Comynes,' as the State Paper above expressed it, is known in European history as the *practice of Commendation* by which a man placed himself under the personal care of a powerful lord, but without surrendering either his status or estate. This custom, so mysterious in its origin, is supposed to be now better understood since the publication of the Brehon laws. "I do not wish," says Sir Henry S. Maine, "to generalise unduly from the new information furnished by the Brehon law, but there has been a suspicion (I cannot call it more), among learned men that Celtic usages would throw some light on Commendation, and at any rate, amid the dearth of our materials, any addition to them from an authentic source is of value. . . . The land of the tribe, whether cultivated or waste, belongs to the tribe, and that is true, whether the tribe be a joint family of kinsmen, or a larger and more artificial assemblage. Every considerable tribe [or clan], and almost every

smaller body of men contained in it, is under a chief, whether he be one of the many tribal rulers whom the Irish records call kings, or whether he be one of those heads of joint-families whom the Anglo-Irish lawyers, at a later date, called *Capita Cognationum*. He is the military leader of his tribesmen, and probably, in that capacity, he has acquired great wealth in cattle. It has somehow become of great importance to him to place out portions of his herds among the tribesmen, and they on their part find themselves, through stress of circumstances, in pressing need of cattle. Thus the chiefs appear in the Brehon law as perpetually 'giving stock' and the tribesmen as receiving it. The remarkable thing is, that out of this practice grew, not only the familiar incidents of ownership, such as the right to rent and the liability to pay it, together with some other incidents less pleasantly familiar to the student of Irish history, but, above and besides these, nearly all the well-known incidents of feudal tenure. It is by taking stock that the free Irish tribesman becomes the Ceil or Kyle, the vassal or man of his chief, owing him not only rent but service and homage. The exact effects of commendation are thus produced, and the interesting circumstance is, that they are produced from a simple and intelligible motive." *Early History of Institutions*, pp. 156-158.

consist of their own proper goods, contrary to the customs heretofore had and used in those parts; and that the meanest persons, their undertenants and followers, have by their customs of comynes gotten into their hands the greatest part of those goods and chattels [cows] and are, therefore, in far better estate than their landlords, except there be restitution made of some just portion thereof to him or them from whom the same have been received by way of comynes. And we further ratify and confirm whatsoever you shall order and determine between party and party, in that behalf, according to the instructions hereto annexed; and we require the sheriff of that county to put the same in due execution.

"Addressed to the commissioners appointed to determine matters of comynes in the county of T."

The following are the 'Instructions' promised in the foregoing Warrant;—"Before you determine any matters of Comynes between party and party, you are seriously and diligently to consider the points hereafter following. What comynes have been given and taken, and upon what cause and consideration. What service and duty the receivers have done unto the donors, either by nursing or bringing up their children (72), or otherwise. Secondly, how the landlords [heads of septs, heads of creaghts] have used the said receivers, and whether they have taken from them the said comynes within one, two, or three years as they were accustomed, or have otherwise used them hardly by laying excessive exactions upon them. In such a case you are to have care of the receiver that hath been so dealt withal, that you leave him a competent means of livelihood, allowing the donor a reasonable portion of goods in lieu of that which he hath given. Provided that you intermeddle not with any comynes given above or before twenty years last past before the date hereof; and if you find that the challenges of any [donor] will grow too great within the compass of that limitation, then you are to moderate the same as you shall think fit in your discretions, so as the receiver be not impoverished, and that the donor be thereby enabled to settle himself upon such a portion of the escheated lands as was allotted to him upon the last decision."

The object of the English act in abolishing this custom was to take away all influence and authority from the heads of Irish clans among their own people, and the knowledge of this fact soon rendered the clansmen careless, and even in some cases dishonourable, in dealing with their fallen chiefs. It is quite evident that the commissioners, with Chichester to inspire them, drew up the fore-

(72). *Their children*.—The allusion here is to the very ancient custom of *fosterage* which existed among all Celtic tribes, and in which cattle occupied a prominent place. Children were never sent to foster without an accompanying number of cattle, greater or less, according to the circumstances and position of the persons concerned. The Brehon laws contain the most minute directions and regulations respecting the food, education, and care which foster-children were to receive from those to whom they were entrusted; and also prescribe the penalties for neglect or dishonesty on the part of the fosterers. To receive the children of the chief in fosterage was always considered a high honour by members of the sept. Very many Irish chiefs, with whose names we are familiar, had epitheta, either from the families with whom they fostered,

or the places to which they had been sent in youth for this purpose. Thus, Shane O'Neill was known as Shane *Donnilaugh*, from having fostered with a family of O'Donnellys; Turlough O'Neill of Strabane was called always Turlough *Luineach*, from fostering with the O'Looneys; another Turlough O'Neill was nicknamed *Brassilagh*, because he was fostered in Clanbrassill; a well-known chieftain named Brian O'Neill was called Brian *Fagartach* from being fostered in Kinel-Fagartaigh, now Kinelarty; and Nial O'Neill, brother of Con first Earl of Tyrone, was known as Nial *Conallach*, because he was fostered in Tyrconnell. For illustrations of the customs of fosterage, see Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*, pp. 27, 33, 54.

going 'Instructions' with a leaning towards the 'receivers,' notwithstanding his apparent sympathy in Dublin with 'the gentlemen of the north,' as they came up penniless, rather cow-less, to take out patents for their several proportions. Among the most melancholy cases afterwards brought before the commissioners were those of Sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan and Sir Neill Garve O'Donnell, who being immured in the Tower, had no means of defending themselves against their dishonest tenants. The following letter, written in July, 1613, from the council in London to Chichester, will explain the nature of these cases:—"The wife and sister of Sir Neale O'Donell and Sir Donel O'Cahan [the wife of Sir Donnell O'Cahan and sister of Sir Neill O'Donnell] after long attendance here, are on their return to Ireland, and have asked of them for some means to carry them over, for they complain that, having given out all the means they had to certain tenants of theirs in the nature of 'commins,' according to the custom of the country, the same is now refused to be repaid unto them, as by the enclosed appears. He is, therefore, to see that what is due to them in this kind may be for the use and maintenance of these women, so that being supplied there with some small maintenance, whereof they are now altogether destitute, they may forbear to make any further repair hither to the disquieting the said knights, prisoners in the Tower, or be any further trouble to them" [the council in London]. What a lamentable story this heartless letter reveals! "These women—now altogether destitute"—were the daughters of Hugh O'Neill and Sir Conn O'Donnell, and thus belonged to families much older, and infinitely more distinguished than those to which these councillors belonged. One of "these women" was the sister of that Niall Garve O'Donnell by whose aid the English had won Donegal, and to whom they had promised the chieftaincy in the event of their success. The other of "these women" was the wife of that gallant and ill-starred simpleton, Sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan, by whose timely surrender and assistance the English had become masters of Lough Foyle, promising him, for his services, the larger part of his own family estates. Yet these ignoble English earls were only anxious that the women aforesaid should be prevented in future from troubling them, or "disquieting the said knights" in their gloomy prison repose—more terrible than death.

It would appear that Chichester had taken pains to look into these cases, for not long afterwards he received communications from the 'knights' in the Tower, thanking him for his kind offices, and imploring him to continue them for the protection of the writers' families. The following is Sir Donnell O'Cahan's letter, enclosing a list of those tenants to whom he had given cattle, and addressed "To the Right Honourable the Lord Chichester, these be with speed:

"Right Hon.—My humble duty always remembered. First, most humbly thanking your honourable good Lordship for your honourable care to recover my commins of such tenants of mine as I gave any such unto, for the behoof of my wife and children. And, as I commit my said wife and children to your Lordship's protection for righting them, both of my tenants and all others, so I beseech your Lordship to give your warrant that this gentleman, Mr. William Lusher (73), may speedily recover this small parcel of my said commins, amounting to forty pounds or cows,

(73). *William Lusher*.—This gentleman, son of Sir Nicholas Lusher, was an undertaker in the Ulster planta-

tion; but how or why he was induced to lend money to Sir Donnell O'Cahan, we have not discovered.

of such as I have appointed, being, with much more, fairly due unto me by them. And hereunto I must presume the more importunately to beg your favour, for that the gentleman has most courteously (even upon so small an acquaintance) furnished my present extreme want. As for the rest of my commins, I hereby make them over to my sons Roger [Rorie] and Donnell (74), saving such small portions as I myself must (from time to time) use for mine own wants, and so make over unto such as (like this gentleman) here furnish me. And thus most humbly taking my leave.

DONELL X O'CAHAN.

GERVASE HELWYSSE (75).

"Tower, this 9th of October, 1613."

"Hereunder followeth the tenants' names of Sir Donell O'Cahan, and the number of forty in-calf cows imposed upon them [placed with them].

Fardoragh McBrien O'Moilan	...	...	...	5 COWS.
Tomylin McBrien O'Moilan	...	...	...	5 COWS.
James McBrien O'Moilan	...	...	...	5 COWS.
Shan buy O'Moilan, and Gillaglass O'Moilan, and his sons	..			3 COWS.
Manus McGillareinagh O'Moilan	...	...	...	5 COWS.
Gilladuff Oge O'Moilan	...	...	...	5 COWS.
Dermod Oge O'Donell and his brethren	...	...	...	5 COWS.
Knogher O'Lenicke, and his sons, Patrick McCrula O'Moilan and his brethren, Knogher McGillymana and his sons	...	...	...	5 COWS.
Torridagh Balue [Ballagh] O'Cuike and his brethren	...	...	...	2 COWS.

The following is Sir Niall Garve O'Donnell's letter, having the same address as the foregoing:—"All due compliments first most humbly remembered unto your honourable good Lordship. It is not unknown to your Lordship that the Irish gentry did ever make their followers' purses their only exchequer (76). And I beseech your Lordship (now anew) to take

(74). *Roger and Donnell*.—Roger or Rorie was afterwards known as Rorie Oge, and was executed in 1615. Donnell, the younger brother, went to the continent, where he remained until 1642, when he returned to Ireland with Owen Roe O'Neill, and was slain in the battle of Clones, county Monaghan. This Donnell O'Cahan was said to have been a distinguished scholar; it was not surprising that he returned, among other Irish exiles, to strike in revenge for the fate of his father who had died in the Tower, and for indignities heaped on his mother who had been ruthlessly driven from her home when this Donnell was but a child.

(75). *Helwysse*.—This was the lieutenant of the Tower. See notices of him in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series*, James I., 1611-1618.

(76). *Only exchequer*.—This term is rather a curious one in the mouth of an Irish chief, and Sir Niall Garve's

use of it shows that he had learned at least something from his enemies. In this application of it he was literally correct, for the Irish nobility and gentry had no wealth except their cattle, and the cattle being distributed all around as 'stock' among the clansmen, the latter absolutely became their chieftain's exchequer. For this reason it was no doubt as intricate at times as the King's exchequer itself, and required also certain officers of the household for its management. In the time to which we are referring, and for many years subsequently, the word exchequer was used to denote any treasury, public or private. As an illustration we may quote the following sentence from one of the celebrated Dr. South's sermons:—"It is wonderful to consider how a call to the liberal, either on a civil or religious account, all of a sudden impoverishes the rich, breaks the merchant, and shuts up every private man's exchequer." The term itself is originally derived from the old French *exchequier*,

notice that mine ancestors left me as great an inheritance (in this kind) as any other man's did unto himself. Of which stock, as I never employed any part, so I can (*of things given by myself*) unanswerably claim as much as any Ulcestrian whatsoever (77). My humble suit, therefore, unto your honourable and good Lordship is, that as your honour has restored their commins to all others, so you would (as well of your Lordship's own favour, as upon the Lords of the Council here, their letter), help me unto my commins also. Whereof, as I have made over these three score pounds or cows unto this gentleman, Mr. William Lusher, in consideration of money by him most courteously lent me in my grievous need, so I beseech your Lordship to give such present order that Mr. Lusher may recover them speedily, of them that I have named in my assignation unto him, being such as owe me far more. But as for that and the rest of my commins also, I beseech your Lordship, in regard of them, to cause my tenants (or, if need be, force them), to bring up my children to school, till I otherwise dispose of my commins at least. And thus once again most humbly crave your Lordship's good favour." O'Donnell's signature to this letter was "torn off by accident," but underneath where it stood is that of *Gervase Helwyse*.

"Tower, this 9th of October, 1613."

denoting a chessboard, or 'chequer-work,' and because a cover of that particular pattern was spread over the table on which the officers of the King's treasury counted out his money, and submitted their accounts.

(77). *Any Ulcestrian whatsoever*.—*Ulcestrian* is rather a curious designation for an Ulsterman or Ultonian, and perhaps we have here the only instance on record in which it has been soused. Sir Niall Garve O'Donnell might indeed thus truly affirm that his ancestors—the chieftains of Tirconnell—had left behind them in their generations as great wealth in the shape of cattle as any other Ulster lords. When he states also "that of which stock he never had employed any part," he was speaking truly enough, for he never was permitted to hold the cattle-treasures of Tirconnell as chief lord, although he had made certain bold attempts to seize them. It would have been but an empty pageant, an unprofitable honour for an Ulster chief to undergo the ceremony of inauguration, had he not also received at the same time the family creaghts or herds of cattle which always existed for, and were vested in, the head of the clan or tribe for the time being. Sir Niall Garve's branch of the family had been set aside from the chieftaincy of Tirconnell, and his cousins Hugh Roe and Rory O'Donnell reigned in his stead. Sir Niall, however, got himself inaugurated, and afterwards seized the family cattle, but all to no purpose, for the English who had used him, afterwards became his enemies. Sir Henry Docwra's account of these affairs is among the most interesting passages of his celebrated 'Narration;' and especially so in the light of Sir Niall's own statements above recorded. The strife between him and Rorie O'Donnell (afterwards Earl of Tirconnell), and particularly about possession of the creaghts, is told as follows:—"Now it fell out that my lord [Mountjoy] wrote for Rorie O'Donnell to come to him in Dublin. Hee being in Connaught desires first to putt over his Cattle into Tirconnell, which would otherwise be in danger in his

absence to be preyed by those of that province that yett stood out in Rebellion; my lord gives him leave, and writes to Neale Garvie that hee shall not molest nor trouble them [the cattle], and soe Roary takes his journey [to Dublin]. Hee was noe sooner gone, and the Catel putt over, But Neale Garvie, notwithstanding my lord's command, ceizes them as his owne, under pretents they were the Goods of the countrey belonging unto him [as rightful chief]. . . . I asked him why he went not to my lord all this while [Niall having been summoned three months before to answer for his conduct], nor came unto mee sooner, nor restored Rorie O'Donnell's Catle. His aunswere was this: You knowe the whole countrey of Tirconnell was long since promised mee, and many services I have done that I think have deserved it; but I sawe I was neglected, and therefore I have righted my selfe by takeing the Catle, and People, that were my owne; now by this means the countrey is sure unto mee, and if I have done anything amisse lett all be pardoned that is past, and from this day forward, by Jesus hand, I will be true to the Queene, and noe man's Councill will I follow but yours. You take a wrong course, said I, it may not goe thus, the first acte you must doe to procure forgiveness for your faults (if it may be) is to make restitution of the Catle; if you doe it not of your owne accord, I knowe you will be forced unto it upon harder conditions. Yet at that time nothing I could say would prevail with him. . . . I was not deceived in my Conjecture, and soe by that time I had writt these letters, made ready the souldiers to goe with mee, was passed over Lough Swilley by boate, and had marched some 7 or 8 Mile, I mett with the Newes that our men had overtaken and beate him, got possession of the Cowes, which hee fought for and defended with force of Armes as long as he was able, and which were estimated to be about 7,000" [head]. See *Miscellany* of Celtic Society, pp. 266, 267, 269.

"The names of the tenants of Sir Neale O'Donnell, and the number of in-calf cows imposed upon them [placed with them] :—

Fargall McTorrilagh Oge O'Galchur [O'Gallagher]	...	...	20 COWS.
Hugh buy and McFelimy McCrane Oge, with their sons and tenants...			10 COWS.
Dualtagh Edmond Oge Mac Ferganime O'Galchur, and their tenants...			6 COWS.
Shane Crone McDonagh Grane and his followers	...	...	2 COWS.
Hugh McShane Ballagh and his brethren and followers	...	...	6 COWS.
Fargal McDonell O'Galchur, Torrilagh Mergagh McEdmond Ballagh			
O'Galchur	...	...	4 COWS.
Murtagh O'Dugan, with his tenants, that is, one MacNial Caul			
O'Karrolan, with the rest, and Conchore [Connor] O'Dugun	...		3 COWS.
Donagh M'Owen O'Galchur, and James M'Toell, with their tenants...			2 COWS.
William McNichole O'Galchur	...	...	1 COW.
Donell Crone McGilliglashe, and Edmond buy McGilliglashe O'Galchur			1 COW.
Brian O'Taryran [and] Knoghanduff O'Taryran	...	...	2 COWS.
Manus O'Boyle	...	...	1 COW.
Rory Ballagh More Knogher Oge	...	...	1 COW.

When the council in London wrote to Chichester on the 31st of July, they enclosed the following petition, which Lord Northampton had received from O'Cahan and O'Donnell, of the same date :—

"Most humbly sheweth unto your honourable good Lordship, that whereas your suppliants in prosperity did give out all the means that ever they could get to certain tenants of theirs in the nature of commins, to be repaid the same in their wants, so it is, right honourable, that the said tenants do now in our miseries refuse to furnish your suppliants' present wants for their sister and wife. But a certain friend doth offer to lend your suppliants some money, if your good Lordship and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer give your suppliants a letter to the Lord Deputy for the recovery of their said commins. Your suppliants, therefore, most humbly beseech your honourable good Lordship to grant one letter to this effect to your suppliants, that they may procure some money wherewith to send away their said women. And your suppliants shall daily pray for your Lordship's increase in all happiness."

"To the Right Hon. Henry Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal."

But, perhaps, among the most acceptable of the proclamations issued during the process of placing the undertakers on their several proportions, was that which announced and established the more liberal conditions of plantation granted by the government. These improvements, although all were partakers therein, more particularly concerned the servitors and natives, and to them, therefore, the following clauses in the proclamation had special interest :—"1. Both servitors and natives shall have absolute freedom from payment of any rent for the space of four years, and after the end of four years, the natives shall yield unto the King, his heirs and successors, the yearly rent of 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English, for every proportion of land containing 1,000 acres. And the servitors for the

like proportion shall, after the said term, yield unto the King the yearly rent of 8*l.* English, if they shall plant with Irish tenants, but if they plant with English and Scottish, they shall pay only 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for every 1,000 acres, as the English and Scottish undertakers; and so rateably. 2. Servitors and natives shall hold their lands in free and common soccage, which is the most favourable tenure (78). 3. Servitors and natives shall, within three years next ensuing, erect upon every proportion of 1,500 acres, or upwards, one house of stone or brick, with a strong bawn about it, and draw their under-tenants to build and erect villages about or near the said principal houses. And upon every proportion of 1,000 acres shall build one strong bawn, or court, of brick or stone. And for building their houses they shall have allowance of timber to be taken upon any of the escheated lands in Ulster, within two years next ensuing without paying anything for the same. 4. Servitors shall take the oath of supremacy, and conform themselves in religion, and be resident upon their portions for five years next ensuing, or appoint such other person to be resident, as the Lord Deputy shall allow (79). Servitors shall also enter into bonds to perform the articles of plantation, and shall take out their letters patent by the end of Michaelmas term [1610]. Touching the natives, they shall likewise, before the end of Michaelmas term next, take out letters patent, wherein there shall be a proviso of forfeiture, if they enter into actual rebellion."

VIII.

As we have already seen, the government issued a warrant—solely, it was supposed, in the interests and for the convenience of undertakers—permitting the natives to remain until May, 1611, instead of ordering their removal in the autumn of 1610. But there was another reason, besides this anxiety to promote the comforts of the undertakers, and this seeming forbearance towards the helpless natives. The deputy and his fellow-commissioners, although apparently very decided as to the early removal of the Irish, were yet not by any means urgent for their immediate

(78). *Favourable tenure.*—See p. 81. The certainty of the rent, or services, to be rendered by the grantee, distinguished soccage tenure from tenure in chivalry or by knight's service on the one hand, and from tenure in pure villenage by arbitrary services, on the other. Soccage was also of three kinds,—soccage in frank tenure, soccage in ancient tenure, and soccage in base tenure. The second and third kinds are now called respectively tenure in ancient demesne and copyhold tenure. The first kind is called free and common soccage to distinguish it from the two others, though the term soccage has long ceased to be applied to the others,—soccage, and free and common soccage meaning one and the same tenure.

(79). *Shall allow.*—The following is the form of *Warrant for Deputation*, as it was called, or for admitting deputies sent by undertakers to occupy their 'proportions' until they could be present themselves:—"Whereas A. B., undertaker of the great proportion of land commonly called E., in the barony of S., in the county of D., is with sufficient surety entered into bond of two [four] hundred pounds to the King for the true observation and

accomplishment of sundry conditions of the plantation and settlement of the premises, as by the said bond remaining of record in England in the custody of the commissioners for Irish causes, or the King's chief Remembrancer, may appear; and as in performance of one of the articles thereof, which concerns the residence of himself [the undertaker] in person, or of some other worthy and sufficient person in his stead, upon the premises or some part thereof, he hath presented and offered unto us one E. D., gent., to be his substitute, resident thereupon from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next coming, for and during the space of 5 months, to be afterwards fully ended, within which time he is to do his best endeavour for the performance of the conditions requisite for his part of the plantation. We have thought fit to allow and accept the said E. D. to be his substitute and procurator upon or about the premises, hereby willing and commanding the said E. D. to be still conversant and resident on or about the premises for the time aforesaid, as is required by the true intent and meaning of the said bond. Given at the camp near Dunganon, the 5th September, 1610."

departure. It seemed, therefore, that their presence was important (at least for a time) even to the Government itself. And such was, indeed, the fact. For, on the flight of the earls, the authorities, as a matter of course, had seized on these noblemen's lands and let them to the natives at sharp rents, from November, 1607; collecting also, the rent from the May preceding, which was nearly due at the time of their departure. It would appear that the lands were let to November, 1610, the natives being bound to pay rent until that term, and the government quite intent on receiving it. The absence, or non-arrival of undertakers, therefore, in the summer of 1610, suited the Government no less than any of the parties concerned, as time was thus given to collect the rents up to the day, and to make arrangements with the tenants for the surrender of their several holdings.

The lands of Tyrconnell were farmed out to several chief tenants whose names and districts shall be afterwards noticed; but it was found necessary to appoint some one powerful and well known servitor to superintend the management of O'Neill's lands, which lay in the three counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and Coleraine. The lot fell upon Sir Toby Caulfield, who appears to have been worthy of the position, and whose account of his own stewardship at the end of three years, is, indeed, a curious record, as well of the method by which Irish chiefs or lords were accustomed to let their lands, as of the purposes to which the rents, in this particular case, and during the time specified, were applied. This account also helps to explain the *clearing* process then so important, and to illustrate the state of the province in its transition from the old Celtic ways to the condition of 'civility' in which it was soon about to settle down. For these objects we know of no more valuable or interesting document, and as such, it is here subjoined *in extenso*, thus forming part and parcel in the true story of Ulster at the crisis to which it refers:—

"The Collection of Tyrone's Rents, from his flight in 1607, till 1 November, 1610, when the lands were given out to undertakers.

"The account of Sir Tobias Caulfield for three and a half years' rents of the Earl of Tyrone's forfeited lands in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and Coleraine. The account for all such sums of money as have come to his hands for all manner of rents payable in money, corn, and other provisions and victuals (80), for the escheated lands fallen to his Majesty, by the attainder of the

(80). *And victuals.*—Rents were thus paid to landlords at a much later period in Scotland, where Highland chiefs and border lairds reckoned their revenues, not in money but by chauldrons of various kinds of victuals. Oatmeal, cheese, calved cows, fat cows, coal, lime, wood, honey, fish, wool, poultry, eggs, butter, &c., &c., were given generally as rents to the lords of the soil. Thus, in the year 1600, the rental of the Marquis of Huntley, then the most potent lord in Scotland, included, besides the 'silver mail,' or money rent, the following items under the head of 'ferme victual,' viz., 3,816 bolls of meal, 436 bolls of multure beir, 108 bolls of oats, 83 bolls of custom victual, 167 marts [fat cattle], 483 sheep, 316 lambs, 167 grice [young pigs], 14 swine, 1,389 capons, 272 geese, 3,231 poultry, 700 chickens, 5,284 eggs, 4 stone of candles, 46 stone of tallow, 34 leats of peats, 990 ells of linen, 94 stone of batter, 40 barrels of salmon, 8 bolls of teind victual, two stone of cheese, and 30 kids. (See Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., p.

315). Even so late as the year 1717, the rentals of 38 estates (forfeited because of their owners joining the Prince Pretender) were found to be greatly composed of payments in kind. Thus, the Earl of Wintoun's rents amounted to £3,393, of which only the sum of £266 7s. 9d. was paid in money, the remainder being made up by barley, oats, straw, capons, hens, coal, and salt. The Earl of Southesk's rents amounted to £3,271 10s., of which more than two-thirds was paid in oatmeal, swine, and poultry. And so with all the other estates, including those of Linlithgow, Keir, Panmure, Wedderburn, Ayton, Kilsyth, Bannockburn, East Reston, Mar, Invernitie, Auchintoul, Bowhouse, Nutthill, Bowhill, Lathrisk, Glenbervie, Preston-Hall, Woodend, Fairney, Nairn, Dumboog, Fingask, Nithsdale, Kenmure, Lagg, Baldoon, Carnwath, Duntroon, and Drummond. See Charles's *History of Transactions in Scotland*, &c., vol. i., pp. 433-448.

traitor, the Earl of Tyrone ; as also for the growing rents of the said lands for the half-year ended at Hallowtide, 1607, left untaken up by the said traitor at the time of his flight ; as also for the growing rents of the said lands for three whole years, beginning at Hallowtide aforesaid, 1607, and ending at the same feast, 1610 (from which the said Sir Toby hath given up his charge of receipt, in regard the said escheated lands are granted away from his Majesty from paying any rent for four years then next ensuing (81), as likewise for the goods of the said traitor, and other fugitives that went with him, and for a fine imposed on the said counties of Tyrone and Armagh, for relieving of traitors after the revolt of O'Dogherty, which was levied by this accountant (82), together with the issue and payment of part thereof, and the remainder resting in this accountant's hands on this account to be paid to his Majesty's use, the particulars whereof hereafter ensue. Before the charge of this account be examined, consideration is to be had of the manner of the charge of those Irish rents and duties which are as follows :—

"*First.* There was no certain portion of lands let by the traitor Tyrone, to any of his tenants that paid him rent. *Secondly.* Such rents as he reserved were paid to him partly in money, and partly in provisions of victuals, as oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs, and mutton. *Thirdly.* The money rents that were so reserved were chargeable on all the cows that were milch, or in calf, which grazed on his lands, after the rate of 12*d.* a quarter the year, which cows were to be numbered but twice in the year by Tyrone's officers, viz., at May and Hallowtide ; and so the rents were levied and taken up at the said rate for all the cows that were so numbered ; except only the heads and principal men of the creats (83), who, in regard of their enabling to live better than the common

(81). *Next ensuing.*—It thus appears that Caulfield prepared his account after certain final arrangements had been made relative to the plantation settlement. The scheme did not originally contemplate for the undertakers so long an exemption from rent as four years, but after some discussion this liberal term was finally conceded by the Government.

(82). *This accountant.*—We have here the first, and, indeed, the only intimation that Sir Toby Caulfield was the collector of the fines imposed on the inhabitants of Tyrone and Armagh on the occasion above-mentioned. Chichester refers to this matter when writing to the council in London, on the 5th of February, 1608-9, as follows :—"By reason of the fine of 1,000 marks imposed, as they [the council] have heard, upon the northern counties (in case they should relieve traitors among them) and the effectual levying of some small part of it, where it is requisite, the principal rebels are driven to great necessities and misery, for which they lie close, and intend to steal up into some of these parts, where, as he is informed, they have friends that promise to secure them, and he is in good hope to catch them if they come."

(83). *The creats.*—The custom of *creaghting*, for which the English in Ireland never failed to reproach and abuse the natives, arose, or was at least rendered more indispensable, by the ruthless conduct of these invaders themselves. The inhabitants of every country where incursions from foreign enemies were frequently expected, required, as a matter of vital importance, to secure the possession of their cattle, by driving them into places of con-

cealment and safety. This precaution was specially necessary when the invaders, as in the case of the English in Ireland, not only carried off every description of valuables, but finally drove the cattle from their owners, compelling the latter to take refuge in the woods and fastnesses of the country. The people were thus forced to collect their cattle into large herds, and to move about with them wherever they could be best supplied with food, as well as most out of the spoilers' reach. Davys expatiates on the impolicy of the English in thus compelling the Irish to form *creaghts*, and remove their cattle. "And, as the best policy," says he, "was not observed in the distribution of the conquered lands, so, as I conceive, that the first adventurers, intending to make a full conquest of the Irish, were deceived in their selection of the fittest places for their plantation. For they sat down, and erected their castles and habitations in the plains and open countries, where they found most fruitful and profitable lands, and turned the Irish into the woods and mountains, which, as they were proper places for outlaws and thieves; so were they their natural castles and fortifications; thither they drove their prey and stealths; there they lurked, and lay in wait to do mischief. These fast places they kept unknown by making the ways and entries thereunto impassable; there they kept their *creaghts* or herds of cattle, living by the milk of the cow, without husbandry or tillage; there they increased and multiplied unto infinite numbers, by promiscuous generation among themselves; there they made their assemblies and conspiracies without discovery; but they discovered the

multitude under them, whom they caused willingly to pay the said rents, were usually allowed a fourth part of the whole rents, which rise to 300*l.* Irish the year, or thereabouts, which they detained in their own hands by direction from the Lord Deputy, and so was never received; and for the butter, and other victualling provisions, they were only paid by such as they termed horsemen, called the Quynnes, Haugans, and Devlins, which were rather at the discretion of the givers, who strove who should give most whereby to gain Tyrone's favour, than for any due claim he had to demand the same. *Fourthly.* All the cows for which those rents are to be levied must be counted at one day in the whole country, which required much travel and labour, and many men to be put in trust with that account, so as that country which is replenished with woods, do greatly advantage the tenants that are to pay their rents to rid away their cows from that reckoning; and also to such overseers to be corrupted by the tenants to mitigate their rents by lessening the true number of their cattle, which must needs be conceived they will all endeavour to the uttermost, being men, as it were, without conscience and of poor estate, apt to be corrupted for small bribes, which they may the more easily do in regard that the bordering lords adjoining are ready to shelter their cows that should pay those rents, whereby they may procure those tenants to live under them. *Fifthly.* The said rent is uncertain, because by the custom of the country the tenants may remove from one lord to another every half year, as usually they do, which custom is allowed by authority from the State.

"In consideration of which premises, being desirous to understand what course he should hold in levying the said rents and duties, acquainted the Lord Deputy therewith, who wished him not to innovate any manner of collecting or gathering the said rents, or to lay any heavier burdens on the tenants than were imposed on them formerly by Tyrone; but that he should make it appear to them that his Majesty would be a better and more gracious landlord to them in all respects than Tyrone was or could be, and directed this accountant to proceed in his charge of collecting the said rents till his Majesty did otherwise dispose of them, which hitherto he [Caulfield] hath done with his best ability, both for his Majesty's benefit, and the quiet and ease of those subjects, as by the account hereafter declared more fully appears.

"First. The said accountant is to be charged with all such sums of ready money as have come to his hands and are otherwise chargeable upon him for the casual rents of the escheated lands in the counties of Tyrone, Armagh, and Coleraine, viz. :—

Moneys received.

For the remainder of the rents due for half a year ended at Hallowtide, 1607,

which were left unlevied by the traitor Tyrone at the time of his

flight	348	4	6
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weakness of the English dwelling in the open plains, and thereupon made their sallies and retreats with great advantage. Whereas, if they had driven the Irish into the plains and open countries, where they might have had an eye and observation upon them, the Irish had been easily kept in order, and in short time reclaimed from their wildness; there they would have used tillage and dwelt

together in townships, and learned mechanical arts and sciences." (See *Historical Tracts*, pp. 122, 123.) In the case here supposed by Davys, it might have awkwardly happened that the Irish would have sealed up the English in their fastnesses at times, thus making matters worse for the latter.

Also, for rents by him received for the said lands, and otherwise, chargeable

upon him for a whole year ended at Hallowtide, 1608 ...	... 2,102 9 8
For the like, for a whole year ended at Hallowtide, 1609 ...	... 2,862 16 10
For the like, ended at Hallowtide, 1610, from which time this accountant has given up his charge of the said receipts ...	... 2,847 15 7

In all, amounting in the current money of Ireland, to the sum of £8,161 6 6

Also, he is to be charged with the price of duty butters, oats, meal, and muttons and hogs (84), by him received during the three years aforesaid out of the profits of the said escheated

(84). *And hogs.*—As an additional illustration of paying rent in Ulster by various useful articles, especially of food, even so recently as the middle of the eighteenth century, we quote the following from a paper preserved in Gilenarm Castle:—

BARONY OF DUNLUCE.		BARONY OF CAREY.	
NAMES OF TENANTS.	AMOUNT OF DUTIES.	NAMES OF TENANTS.	AMOUNT OF DUTIES.
Peter Buirell, of Stanalim	Ten bushells of oats, 6 days' work and 6 hens.	Hugh Boyd, Drimvillen	One Bowle of Oates at December, yearly.
Hugh Edgar, of Ballytibbert	A barrel of Wheat.	Hugh Boyd, Drumnacross, and the parcel called Alt-anum [Altneanum]	One Bowle of Oates.
John McLeagh, of Cloghcorr	12 Bushells of oats and six Trusses of Straw.	John Campbell, Lismureity	A Bowle of Oates.
Archibald McColman, of Park	Six Bushells of oats.	Peter Jollie, Drumnakill	12 Bushells of Oates.
James Moore, Ballynacree-more	Two barrels of Wheat and a Bowle of oats.	Alex. McAuley, Drumnagee	12 Bushells of Oates.
Francis M'Naghten, Salmon Fishing of Portneen	Ye best Salmon that is taken in any of the said Ports every day fish is taken for Kettle-fish; and a barrel of good merchantable fish, London gage, yearly.	Charles McAlister, Carnduffe	12 Bushells of Oates, and two good fat Muttons.
Mrs. Ann O'Cahan, Bally-emon	12 Bushells of Oates and one four year old unshorn mutton.	John McDonnell, Coolnagap-poge	Half a Bowle of Oates.
Capt. Jas. Stewart, Corkey.	Ten horses and carrs for —days.	Cormac McCormack, Cree-vagh	3 fiat Pullets.
Daniel Shawbridge, Salmon Fishing of ye River Bush	All Salmon fish taken there till Easter, and two Salmon every day that fish is taken from Easter to the end of the Season.	Manus O'Cahan, Ballynalea	11 Bushells of Oates and a Mutton.
John Stewart, of Leotrim	One Bowle of Oates.	Widow O'Cahan, Island Macaileen	3 fiat Pullets.
William Stewart, of Kerve-cruine	One Bowle of Oates.	Edward O'Cahan, Ardchanan	One Bowle of Oates.
John Wilson and Partners	Two Days' Work, Man and Horse.	Daniel Stewart, Ballynalea	12 Bushells of Oates.
TOWN AND DEMESNES OF BALLYMONEY.		Andrew Stewart, Drumnagola	A Bowle of Oates.
William Glass, Lislagen	One Bowle of Oates.	ISLAND OF RATHLIN.	
James Black, Lislagen	One Bowle of Oates.	Townland of Kenramer	24 Pullets and 10 Sheep.
Neill McCook and Daniel Craig, of Ballybrack	Six Bushells of Oates.	— Ballygial	24 Pullets and 10 Sheep.
Gill. McFall and Danl. Nickle, of Lislagen	12 Bushells of Oates.	— Killpatrick	12 Pullets and 5 Sheep.
James Randal, James Calvell, and Adam Neill, Droghadul	12 Bushells of Oates.	— Ballynavargan	24 Pullets and 3 Sheep.
		— Ballycarey	12 Pullets and 5 Sheep.
		— Ballynoe	24 Pullets and 10 Sheep.
		— Kankiel	24 Pullets and 8 Weathers.
		More to be paid by the inhabitants of the Island, yearly	19 Sheep.
		On the same paper there are also similar returns from the barony of Killconway and the Liberties of Coleraine.	

lands, viz.,

Butters, which were so ill made, after the country manner, as they were scarce worth any money, yet were they sold at the rate of 15s. a barrel, viz., 30 ton, or thereabouts, which, at 6s. sterling a ton, cometh to ...	180	0	0
Oats, received in the same time for the like duties, about 300 barrels at 8d. sterling a barrel	10	0	0
Oatmeal also received in the said time, brought in 'raskins' (85), which were 240, making by estimation 120 barrels at 3s. sterling the barrel	18	0	0
Muttons received in the said time, 300 at 2s. sterling apiece ...	30	0	0
Hogs likewise received in the said time, 72 at 3s. sterling apiece ...	10	16	0
In all, sterling	£248	16	0
Makes, Irish	331	14	8

"And further, he is to be charged with the price of the goods of the traitor Tyrone and of divers fugitives that ran away with the said traitor, viz.,

Of the goods that belonged to the Countess of Tyrone (86), cows, 32, whereof 12 claimed by Nicholas Weston and James M'Gyns [Maginnis],

(85). In 'raskins.'—'Raskins' were vessels about the size of firkins made by scooping out the central parts of the tree and leaving about two inches in depth of the outside wood covered with the bark. The modern Irish word *rusg*, meaning bark, is the root of raskin or rusghan, the name of the vessel. In vessels of this description the ancient Irish generally kept their butter, and hence the term rusghan or russion butter was used only as designated that which had been so preserved. The butters which Caulfield describes as so "ill made after the manner of the country," and as "scarce worth any money," must have been perfectly sound, although the English palate may have been unaccustomed to their peculiar flavour. "In enumerating the food of the Irish," says Sir W. R. Wilde, "Petty mentioned butter made rancid by keeping in bogs. When I originally read the statement of Petty, I came to the conclusion that he was wrong, and that this bog-butter was much older than his time, but I have learned to correct that opinion. Why or wherefore the people put their butter in bogs I cannot tell, but it is a fact that great quantities of this substance have been found in the bogs, and that it has been invariably converted into a yellowish-white substance like Stilton cheese, and in taste resembling spermaceti; it is, in fact, changed into the animal substance called *adipocere*. . . . It is always enclosed in wood, either in vessels cut out of a single tree, or in large methers, or long firkins [barrels]. If the butter is allowed to remain too long in the bog, it loses its acidity and weight, dries up, and acquires a rancid taste." (See *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vi., pp. 369-372). The tannen of the peat imparted to the butter a peculiar flavour which appears to have been highly esteemed among the Irish, who only allowed it to remain in the bogs a short time, the specimens now occasionally found having been no doubt concealed and afterwards, from some cause (most probably the slaying

or expulsion of the owners), allowed to remain.

(86). *Countess of Tyrone*.—This countess was Catherine Magennis, O'Neill's last wife. It was rumoured that, from some cause not explained, but probably political, the Earl of Tyrone and his lady did not live happily; and the fact of her having had a separate establishment, as this 'account' implies, confirms, to some extent at least, the old rumour. It would appear that the dispute, whatever may have been its origin and character, was well known to the Government, and that Chichester endeavoured to turn it to account. With this view Sir Toby Caulfield had been specially commissioned to approach the countess with the object of stealthily obtaining some admissions from her, in conversation, which might prove damaging, or even fatal, to her husband! Caulfield reported that, having found the countess in a querulous and complaining humour, he advised her to purchase protection from her husband's drunken tyranny, "and to be revenged on him for all his drunken tyranny at once." "On asking him in what way, he told her by giving secret notice, if she knew of any practice the earl had in hand against the peace of that kingdom. She answered, that if she knew any such, she would not, for all the world, however much she hated him, be known to accuse him in anything that would endanger his life. Upon his [Caulfield's] assuring her of his secrecy and discretion, she swore upon a book that she knew nothing of certainty (for of all others he would impart no such secret to her). . . . She promised, if she could learn anything thereof, he [Caulfield] should know, and he had sworn it should never be known. Thereupon he had engaged, if she should be driven to complain of her husband he [Chichester] should do her justice, with much favour." See Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells*, pp. 211, 212.

were restored by the Lord Deputy's warrant, so remain 20, at 15s.						
apiece ...	...	...	...	...	...	15 0 0
Plough mares with colts, 5 at 40s. apiece	...	...	...	...	...	10 0 0
10 heifers at 10s. apiece	...	...	...	...	...	5 0 0
1 garron ...	...	...	...	...	...	1 13 4
Steers, 2 at 13s. 4d. apiece	...	...	...	...	...	1 6 8
Calves, 13 at 4s. apiece ...	...	...	...	...	...	2 12 0
Sheep, which all died and yielded nothing	...	...	...	...	...	—
In all						£35 12 0

The Earl of Tyrone's Goods, viz. :—

Small steers, 9 at 10s.	...	...	...	...	...	4 10 0
60 hogs, at 2s. 6d.	...	...	...	...	...	7 10 0
Two long tables, 10s. ; two long forms, 5s. ; an old bedstead, 3s. ; an old trunk, 3s. ; a long stool, 1s. ; 8 hogsheads, 1s. ; half a cwt. of hops, 30s. ; 3 hogsheads of salt, 1l. 8s. 6d. ; valued at	...	...	...	...	...	4 12 6
A silk jacket	...	...	...	...	...	0 13 4
Eight vessels of butter, containing 4½ barrels	...	...	...	...	...	3 7 6
Two iron spits	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 0
A powdering tub	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 6
Two old chests	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 0
A frying-pan and a dripping pan	...	...	...	...	...	0 3 0
Five pewter dishes	...	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
A basket, 2d. ; a comb and comb case, 1s. 6d.	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 8
Two dozen of trenchers and a basket	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 10
Two pair barr ferris [<i>sic.</i>] vjs.	...	...	...	...	...	0 6 0
A box and two drinking glasses	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 3
A trunk, one pair of red taffeta curtains, one other pair of green satin curtains	...	...	...	...	...	4 5 0
A brass kettle	...	...	...	...	...	0 8 6
A pair of cob irons	...	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
Two baskets with certain broken earthen dishes, and some waste spices	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 2
Half-a-pound of white and blue starch	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 4
A vessel with two gallons of vinegar	...	...	...	...	...	0 3 0
Seventeen pewter dishes...	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 3
Three glass bottles	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 6
Two stone jugs, whereof one broken	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 6
A little iron pot	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 6
A great spit	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 6

Six garrons at 30s. a piece	...	...	...	...	9 0 0
Nineteen stud mares, whereof two were claimed by Nicholas Weston (87), which were restored him by a warrant, being proved to be his own, and so remain 17; whereof ten rated at 2 <i>l.</i> 10s. apiece, 25 <i>l.</i> , and seven at 2 <i>l.</i> apiece, 14 <i>l.</i> ; in all	...	...	...	...	39 0 0
Working mares, six; whereof claimed by Nicholas Weston one, and by Laughlin O'Hagan one, which they proved to be their own, and were restored by warrant; and so remain, four at 30s. apiece	...	...	...	...	6 0 0
Nine colts of a year old, at 1 <i>l.</i> apiece	...	...	...	...	9 0 0
Young colts newly foaled, 18 at 10s. apiece	...	...	...	...	9 0 0
Twenty field cocks of wheat, by estimation 30 barrels, at 5s. a barrel	...	...	...	...	7 10 0

In all (88) £107 11 0

Murtagh Quin's (89), viz. :—

One hackney	...	...	...	...	2 0 0
One garron	...	...	...	...	1 6 8
Twenty-eight cows at 15s. apiece	...	...	...	...	21 0 0
Fourteen calves at 4s.	...	...	...	...	2 16 0
Twenty-four sheep at 18 <i>d.</i>	...	...	...	...	1 16 0
Three steers	...	...	...	...	2 11 0
Sixty swine at 2s. 6 <i>d.</i>	...	...	...	...	7 10 0

In all £38 8 8

(87). *Nicholas Weston*.—This gentleman was a Dublin alderman, but he never seems to have been without some northern difficulty on hand. It is not easy to imagine how he had got horses mixed up with those of both the Earl and Countess of Tyrone unless he had sent them to pasture on the rich lands around Dungannon. Some of his transactions with O'Neill appear to have been of a more important nature, as the following petition, addressed to Salisbury on the 25th of March, or first day of the year, 1609, sufficiently testifies :—"As security for a debt of 1,200*l.* the Earl of Tyrone has assigned to him [Weston] the fishing of the Banne and Salmon Leap [near Coleraine], which he had enjoyed for four years. Afterwards, the Lord Duputy and council having thought fit that the fishing should be restored to Tyrone, it was ordered that Tyrone should give security for the payment of the debt with interest at 10 per cent.; but Tyrone being sent for into England, he had come to petitioner and told him that he had no other security to give, and therefore returned to him again; the deed thereof passed to himself [Tyrone] by Mr. James Hamilton" (see p. 177). After Tyrone's flight, and the confiscation of his lands, this deed was of no value, and therefore Weston wished the Government to repay him his 1,200*l.*, or recompense him out of the rents of Tyrone's escheated lands. How this matter was settled, we know not. The other northern earl, Tyrconnell, conveyed to this Weston and his heirs, for a large money considera-

tion, 29 quarters of land in Portlagh and Tirbrassil, in the year 1606; but this conveyance was void in law, because it had been made between the time of the earl's treasonable act and his attainder. Weston is described, also, as the principal delinquent in a slander which was circulated in Dublin, and seriously affected the character of the young prince, Henry. A gentleman named Fox, writing to Salisbury, in May, 1610, "doubts not but he [Weston], and the rest, will repent meddling with this matter, such will be the punishment that is like to be inflicted upon them."

(88). *In all*.—The lot of comparative lumber, or rubbish, which was thus found in and around Dungannon Castle, was evidence either that the earl had been reduced to the very depths of poverty, or that his effects had been extensively plundered after his flight. Perhaps both these causes had contributed largely to the "beggary account" of his stock and chattels thus prepared by Caulfield.

(89). *Murtagh Quin*.—This was one of the earl's servants, who seems to have been faithful to the last, going with his master into exile, from which there is no evidence that he ever returned. When describing an interview between the Countess of Tyrone and Sir Toby Caulfield, the latter represents her ladyship as saying that "Morough O'Quin, the Earl's attending servant, was to have gone over [to Flanders] to bring news from his [Tyrone's] son, for he will have no secrets put in letters."

Shane O'Hagan's (90) Goods, viz. :—

Twenty cows at 15s. ...	...	...	...	...	15 0 0
Six garrons at 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>...	...	...	...	...	8 0 0
Thirty-eight sheep at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>...	...	...	...	...	2 17 0
Thirty-five swine at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>...	...	...	...	...	4 7 0
Barley, 9 cleaves at 1 <i>s.</i> apiece	...	...	...	...	0 9 0
Butter, 20lb. wt., at 1 <i>d.</i> per pound	...	...	...	...	0 1 8
A horse-load of butter, containing by estimation 180lbs. wt., at 1 <i>d.</i> per pound	...	...	...	...	0 15 0
An old chest	...	...	...	...	0 1 0
Four pair of iron hand-locks at 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> a pair	...	...	...	...	0 5 4
Four old calivers, at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> apiece	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Two old head-pieces, at 2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> apiece	...	...	...	...	0 5 4
Two targets, at 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> apiece	...	...	...	...	0 5 8
A malting ladle	...	...	...	...	0 0 3
Two old cap cases	...	...	...	...	0 1 0
A small brass kettle	...	...	...	...	0 7 0
An old sword	...	...	...	...	0 2 0
An Irish harp (91)	0 10 0

In all £33 19 9

Teig O'Keenan's (92) Goods, viz. :—

Fifteen cows at 15s.	11 5 0
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(90). *Shane O'Hagan*.—This Shane or John was nicknamed *na punty*, 'of the purse,' because he was a collector of Tyrone's rents. His name is preserved on a list of the 'fugitives' found among the Carte Papers, and figures in the 'Indictment' drawn up by Davys against the fugitive earls and their adherents. In November, 1609, Chichester instructed his trusty agent in London, Francis Annesley, "to acquaint the Lord Treasurer [Salisbury] that O'Quin [Murtagh] and Shane O'Pounty [O'Hagan] had sent a messenger from the Low Countries to Ireland for the purpose of inducing their relatives to negotiate, if possible, a license permitting them to return." His [Chichester's] first order was to hang the messenger on his arrival, but he countermanded this order, thinking it better to allow, not him, but the two men above-named to return, and circulate their accounts of the hardship and disappointments they had encountered abroad, and the utter hopelessness of Tyrone's ever being able to return with an army. The deputy concludes his reference to O'Hagan and O'Quin, as follows :—"God is his witness, he wishes none of them one hour's quiet or content whilst they live, unless it may be to advantage his Majesty's service,—but would gladly understand his Lordship's pleasure in this point."

(91). *Irish harp*.—Shane *na Punty* O'Hagan appears from this return to have been the only one of Tyrone's

'fugitive' friends whose chattels included a harp. This specimen was probably a very old family relic, as, in the preceding or sixteenth century, the harp had become a rare article in Irish households. Even the castle of the MacMahon, lord of Monaghan, whose establishment, in the year 1588, must have been of a somewhat princely character, had not the luxury of this national instrument, so closely associated with the life of old Erin; and when he sent to borrow a harp from Sir Brian O'Rorke he received the following reply to his message :—"And what you request us to send you, a harp and a great spear, we do assure you that we cannot; there is never a harp in our country [the present county of Leitrim], but we will provide one for you, and will send two great spears, and two skeins of the best made in our country." See a State Paper quoted in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii., p. 98.

(92). *Teig O'Keenan*.—Notwithstanding the scantiness of this fugitive's effects, at least as represented in this 'account,' he was described in the famous "Indictment" as a 'gentleman.' He only numbered among his stock one garron, and one *hackney*. The garron, or gearron, was the common Irish work-horse, whilst the hackney enjoyed a somewhat better position, being honoured generally with the privilege of carrying about its owner, or his family. The distinction between these two class of horses

Eight calves, at 4s.	...	...	...	...	...	1 12 0
One garron ...	...	...	...	...	...	1 6 8
One hackney	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0
Twenty-five swine, at 2s. 6d.	...	...	...	...	...	3 2 6

In all ... £22 6 2

Henry Hagan's (93) Goods, viz. :—

One garron ...	...	...	...	...	...	1 6 8
Six cows ...	...	...	...	...	...	4 10 0
Two calves ...	...	...	...	...	...	0 8 0
Twenty sheep	...	...	...	...	...	1 10 0

In all ... £7 14 8

A Spaniard that lived with Tyrone since the year 1588, and fled with him, viz. :—

Five cows ...	...	...	...	...	...	3 15 0
Two calves ...	...	...	...	...	...	0 8 0
One heifer ...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Two fowling-pieces	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0

In all ... £5 13 0

Hugh McVaghes (94) Goods, viz. :—

Two cows ...	...	...	...	...	...	1 10 0
Six field cocks of oats, containing by estimation six barrels of oats	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 0

In all ... £1 14 0

is well defined by a writer named Burt, vol. ii., pp. 29, 30, as follows :—"This bog was stiff enough at that time to bear the country garrons. There is a certain lord in one of the most northern parts [of Scotland] who makes use of the little garrons for the bogs and rough ways ; but has a sizeable horse [a hackney] led with him through the deep and rapid fords." (See Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*). Another writer, quoted in Logan's *Gael*, vol. i., p. 345, describing the process of *breaking* a garron, says :—"Sometimes the garron was down, and sometimes the Highlander was down, and not seldom both of them together."

(93). *Henry O'Hagan*.—This gentleman had played a prominent part during the war which closed in 1602 ; and from that date until O'Neill's flight in 1607, he had been one of that nobleman's most useful and trusted friends. In 1605, the Government was anxious to conciliate the good wishes of Henry O'Hagan, as appears from the following passage in a letter from Chichester to Salisbury :—"Was told this day that Henry O'Hagan, a trusty ser-

vant of the Earl of Tyrone, was gone either to the archduke or to Spain ; and being the Earl's ensign [standard-bearer] in the time of his rebellion, he has carried with him a cullers [a flag] sent unto him from the Pope, by which he hopes to get some reward for his service. When he [Chichester] spake last with the Earl, he stated that O'Hagan was determined to leave the kingdom, being heavily in debt and sundry orders having been made against him by the judges of assize, which he was not able to pay in so short a time ; whereupon he [Chichester] gave orders that the creditors should receive their money at four several payments, to be made within two years, with which all parties rested satisfied. Did this in order to prevent his going where, meeting with the earl's son [in the Low Countries], he was rather like to prove an evil than a good counsellor unto him."

(94). *Hugh McVaghes*.—This name does not appear among those of the "fugitives" indicted by the Government ; but he must have left Ulster, as his valuables were allowed for the use of his wife and children.

Also there were goods in the fields of other fugitives that fled with Tyrone, whose names are not known to this accountant, which were viewed by this accountant and Sir Francis Roe (95), 15 ricks of oats, which yielded by estimation 40 barrels of oats, at 8*d.* the barrel ... 2 0 0

[Then follow lists and valuations of the goods of John Bath, Art Oge O'Neal, son of Sir Cormack, and Henry Hovenden (96); the whole amount of goods owned by fugitives being 55*l.* 6*s.* sterling.]

"And lastly, the said accountant is to be charged with so much by him received and taken up from the inhabitants of the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, in the year ended at Michaelmas, 1609, for receiving certain traitors (97), adherents of O'Dogherty, after the killing of the traitor, for a fine imposed on them by the Deputy and council, 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Irish.

Casual rents of the said Escheated lands	...	...	...	8,161	6	6
Butters, oats, meal, muttons, and hogs	...	...	...	331	14	8

"Sum of all the charge receipts aforesaid, viz. :—The goods of the traitor Tyrone and other fugitives that were with him (98), received by this accountant, and valued at ... 551 6 0

(95). *Sir Francis Roe*.—This distinguished 'servitor' was son of Robert Roe, of Lower Layton, in Essex, and grandson of Sir Thomas Roe, Lord Mayor of London in 1568. This Sir Francis was a younger brother of Sir Thomas Roe, the well known diplomatist, whose first public employment was his mission to the Great Mogul in 1614.

(96). *Hovenden*.—This 'fugitive' is styled 'gentleman' in the list of persons indicated after the 'flight,' and was one of those exiles who afterwards returned to Ulster. He was no doubt son of either the Richard or Henry Hovenden, mentioned at p. 32, as having captured several Spaniards belonging to a vessel of the Armada wrecked in Lough Foyle, and there is as little doubt that he was the gentleman of this name married to the widow of Tirlagh, son of Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, of Kinard Castle. Henry Hovenden was thus step-father to the Sir Felim Roe O'Neill, who headed the outbreak in Ulster of 1641. His self-imposed exile with the Earl of Tyrone in 1607 soon appears to have become irksome. An agent of the English Government at Brussels, named Sir Thomas Edmonds, wrote to Salisbury in the November of 1607—not more than two months after Hovenden's flight—that the latter had been *surprised* into that movement, "having had no manner of knowledge of Tyrone's resolution till the night before his departure," and that "he would be glad to return, if he hoped he might recover his means, and the favour of the State." On the 30th of December, Edmonds reported that Hovenden had assured him "there are many other gentlemen as innocent as himself of partaking in any of Tyrone's counsels, who have the like desire to return." This appeal did not prevent the confiscation of Hovenden's property, although it probably led to his pardon and return to Ulster.

(97). *Certain traitors*.—The principal portion of this sum of £200 was levied on two baronies in the county of Armagh, where Oghie Oge O'Hanlon had made his raids from the Fewes woods. Sir Robert Jacob, the solicitor-general, refers to this matter, when writing to Salisbury in April, 1609, as follows:—"Upon complaint thereof [O'Hanlon's robberies] made to them [the Government] by the parties that were robbed, they ordered that all damages which they had sustained should be levied upon those two baronies where the robberies were committed, and it is likely that those payments will be a means to drive him out of that country, or an occasion that he will be the sooner apprehended." Of the 1,000 marks threatened to be levied off the northern counties for harbouring traitors, Caulfield only appears to have collected the sum above-mentioned.

(98). *Were with him*.—Among the Carte Papers there is the following list recording "The Names of those who are gone with the Earles of Tyrone and Tyreconnell :—
The Earl of Tyrone. Two lackies.
Baron of Dungannon. The Countess of Tyrone.
McGuire [Cuconnaght]. The Earle of Tyreconnell.
Father Florence, the friar. Caffar O'Donnell, his brother.
Cormac O'Neil's son. Shane Groomie, his steward.
Ever McConnell's two sons. Captain John Connor.
Wiston [Richd. Weston] of Dundalk. Donogh O'Brien.
Henry O'Hagan. Edmund Brannaugh.
Shane na Ponty, rent gatherer. His Secretary.
James Bath. Henry O'Kelly.
Plunkett, gentleman of his horse. Four serving men.
A page.
Three lackies.

A fine imposed on the inhabitants of the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, for relieving traitors	...	...	...	...	266	13	4
In all	...	...	...	...	£9.31	14	0

Remittals and Abatements of Rents.

"The said accountant prays to be allowed the several sums of money hereafter expressed, viz., sums remitted and given away by special warrant from the Lord Deputy to the following persons, being principal gentry of the country, out of the rents which they were to pay his Majesty for part of the escheated lands, partly to content them after the flight (99) of the traitor Tyrone, and partly also at the revolt of the traitor O'Dogherty, whereby they were drawn to live more peaceably, by whose credit and power in the country, the swordmen and ill-disposed persons there (who were abundant in those countries), were kept back from many outrages that they were ready and inclinable unto in those dangerous times, viz. :—

<i>To Captain Tirlagh O'Neal's</i> brother, Neal O'Neal, for the rent of the castle of Newtown, town of Strabane, five ballybetaghs of land, with the rents of so many tenants as fed 600 cows on the said land, which formerly paid rent to his Majesty, and was remitted to him [Neal O'Neal], viz., for two years beginning from Hallowtide, 1608, being after the revolt and killing of the traitor O'Dogherty, and ended at Hallowtide, 1610, at 120 <i>l.</i> stg. <i>per annum</i>	...	...	240	0	0
<i>Sir Cormac M'Baron</i> (see p. 63), for so much remitted in part of his rent due to his Majesty for two years, ended at Hallowtide, 1609, towards the payment of his charges in the Castle of Dublin, and to help to bear his charges into England; as also to the Lady, his wife (see p. 179), after his departure, for their relief	...	...	90	0	0
<i>Bryan Crossach O'Neal</i> , son to the said Sir Cormac, being a young man very like to have joined O'Dogherty, who by his birth and estimation was able to draw a great many idle followers after him to commit villainy, and therefore he had bestowed on him, the better to content him, the rents of one ballibetagh of land, which yielded him 40 <i>l.</i> per annum from the tenants, for two years, ended at Hallowtide, 1610, whereby he was retained in dutiful obedience	...	...	80	0	0

(99). *After the flight*.—On the flight of the earls and their friends being first announced the inhabitants were, naturally enough, thrown into a state of great excitement, not knowing what was to happen next. Sir Thomas Phillips, writing to Salisbury, on the 22nd of September, states that "he thought it good, for the securing of the people, to go from Coleraine as far as Dungannon, and going through the country the people met him, and were all amazed and ready to forsake their houses." Sir Dominick

Sarsfield, writing to Ridgeway, on the 29th of September, states that "the departure of the earls gives rise to many conjectures, and the ill-affected who are likely (in their impatience of any peace) to second the head of innovation in these parts are of three sorts, namely, the priests, the discontented, and the competitors of great titles, who could not brook the doom of the law without squaring thereof to their own affections."

The said Sir Cormac's lady, allowed the rent of 120 cows for two years, ended at Hallowtide, 1610	...	...	...	...	58	0	0
Henry McShane O'Neale (100), being a principal man of that name, allowed the rent of 200 cows at 40 <i>l. per annum</i> for two years ended at Hallowtide, 1610	..	...	...	...	80	0	0
Con McShane (101), brother to the said Henry, allowed to draw as many tenants to him that paid 20 <i>l. per annum</i> for their cows on part of the said lands for the said two years	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Art McBaron O'Neal (102), an abatement of three parts of his rent of 80 <i>l. per annum</i> for the said two years	...	...	...	...	120	0	0
Con McTirlagh O'Neal and his three brothers (103), an abatement of 40 <i>l. per annum</i> , being two third parts of their rents for the said two years	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
Hugh McShane O'Neal, his brother and kinsmen, and to Phelim McCormac Toole O'Neal and his kinsmen (104), in consideration of taking Shane Carragh (see p. 69), brother to O'Cane, chief rebel next O'Dogherty, remitted their rents for two years, ended at Hallowtide, 1610, at 20 <i>l. per annum</i>	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Donel O'Neal (105) and his three sons, in regard of their fidelity in the time of O'Dogherty, remitted their rents at 20 <i>l. per annum</i> for the said two years	...	..	...	...	40	0	0
Captain O'Cor (106), remitted the rent of 50 cows for three years, ended at Hallowtide, 1610, in regard that he had much credit among the swordmen, and was a principal leader in Tyrone's rebellion, and yet did behave himself very dutifully after the flight of Tyrone, and in O'Dogherty's rebellion, and did then and ever since perform good							

(100). *Henry McShane O'Neale*.—This was Shane O'Neill's eldest son by his first wife Mary, a daughter of Calvagh O'Donnell. He was named after Sir Henry Sydney, who stood as sponsor at his baptism, or became his godfather. The right of a gossip or sponsor was regarded among the Celtic nations as equal to that of a natural parent, and hence gossipred or compaternity came to have such a binding force between the Irish and English, that it was declared to be treason by the famous Statute of Kilkenny. It was adopted by Sydney on the occasion referred to as a probable means of securing peace with Shane O'Neill, but it failed of its object. His son Henry was born under a luckless star, for during the greater part of his youth he was held as a pledge by Queen Elizabeth for his father's observance of treaties; and on his father's death, after an interval of freedom for some years, Henry was next seized by the Earl of Tyrone and imprisoned until the close of the war in 1602.

(101). *Con McShane*.—Con, the son of Shane the 'Proud' was only a half-brother of the Henry McShane mentioned in the preceding note, being a son of Catherine Maclean, Countess of Argyle, who was married to Shane

soon after the death of his first wife. This Con M'Shane was blamed, in 1591, for not acting with sufficient tact and courage for the safety of his brother, Hugh Gaveloc, who was then in the Earl of Tyrone's hands, and under sentence of death (see p. 34).

(102). *Art McBaron O'Neal*.—See p. 218.

(103). *Three brothers*.—These brothers were the sons of Tirlough O'Neill, nicknamed *Brasselach*.

(104). *His kinsmen*.—These O'Neills were the leaders of the wild sept known as the Clan-Shanes of Killetragh (see p. 161).

(105). *Donel O'Neal*.—We are unable to find to what sept this Donel belonged, or in what locality he resided.

(106). *Captain O'Cor*.—The family or sept of the O'Corrs, now Corrs, "are settled in great number in the parish of Lissan, beside Slieve Gallon, where it is believed that the banshee Aine bewails their approaching dissolution, as the banshee Cliodhna [Cleena] does that of the O'Donovans, and the banshee Oeibhill [Eevil] that of the Dal Cais or O'Briens." See *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Reeves, p. 12.

service by intelligence, 10 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i>	30	0	0
<i>Mary O'Neal</i> , daughter to Sir Cormac McBaron, freedom for the rent of 50 cows for three years, ended at Hallowtide, 1610, at 10 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i>	30	0	0
<i>Cuconoght O'Devan</i> (107), freedom for 50 cows for two years, ended at Hallowtide, 1610, for his maintenance in the College at Dublin, the better to encourage others to conform themselves in civility and religion, at 10 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i>	20	0	0
<i>Shane O'Donnell</i> , for the like consideration and the same time at the said rate	20	0	0
<i>Owen McIvor</i> (108)	20	0	0
<i>Donnell Oge O'Conroy</i> (109), son to Donnell O'Conroy, the like ...	20	0	0
<i>Tirlagh O'Gormley</i> for the like, remitted in regard of his faithful services at the rebellion of O'Dogherty, at 10 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i> , for two years, ended at Hallowtide, 1610	20	0	0
<i>Jenkin O'Devyn</i> , for the like service, the like remittal	20	0	0
<i>The lands of Clonaully</i> (110), in the county of Armagh, being found for the Lord Primate on the office taken for the said attainted lands before the Lord Deputy, were assigned over to him for three half years, ended at Hallowtide, 1610, here demanded in allowance because it is parcel of the charge before mentioned, at 40 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i> ...	90	0	0
<i>The rent of the barony of Maughery</i> (111), in the county of Coleraine, being given to the Londoners for this last half year, ended at Hallowtide, 1610, here demanded in allowance, being parcel of the former charge	100	0	0
In all remitted in rents as before particularly appears ...	£1,248	0	0
Making Irish	1,664	0	0

(107). *O'Devan*.—This surname, and *O'Devyn*, another form of it, are probably contractions of *O'Devlin*, borne by a numerous connexion of the Irish in Tyrone. Some of their representatives at the present day by the simple transformation of their name to *D'Evelyn* fancy that they thus easily show an Anglo-Norman descent!

(108). *McIvor*.—This Tyrone man's name indicates his Norwegian descent.

(109). *O'Conroy*.—Probably this person was a kinsman of the famous friar, Florence Conroy.

(110). *Lands of Clonaully*.—The office of inquisition above-named was taken on the 12th of August, 1609, and it found that the Archbishop of Armagh was seized, in right of his archbishoprick, of 24 towns, or thereabouts, as of his mensal and demesne lands. The names of these lands were as follow:—"Ballinepallony, Ballyeanany, Ballyknockagh, Ballyseragh, Lisnyferrie, Colecarny, Kilnamady, Ballynecorre, Coulekerrine, Aghterragh, the two townes of Tullaghmore, Ballytollyneskane, Ballyeadanderry, Ballycullaghmore, Atysully, Mollagh, Loghane,

Mollaghkuyre, two townes of Dromsallon, Ballyderydorogh, Ballyderienesyde, Ballydrombroske, Ballynehoglise, and the sesioch of land of Madden, with the appurtenances; the archbishop was wont to lease the said lands for terme of yeares." See appendix i. in *Ulster Inquisitions*.

(111). *Maughery*.—We have here the only instance, so far as we know, in which this district was designated the *barony of Maughery*. This *Machaire* or Plain lay between Benyevenagh [Ben-Aibhne] and the Bann. The district now comprises the half barony of Coleraine, being bounded by the Atlantic on the north, by the liberties of Coleraine and county of Antrim on the east, by the barony of Loughinsholin on the south, and by the barony of Keenaght on the south and south-west. Its greatest length is 17 miles, the breadth varying from two to nine miles. Its area measures about 86,307 acres, of which 331 constitute tideway in the river Bann, and 522 are fresh water. It contains parts of the parishes of Kilrea and Tamlaght-O'Crilly, and the whole of the parishes of Aghadowey, Agivey, Desertoghill, Drumboe, Errigal, Killowen, and Macosquin.

"Soldiers raised for extraordinary services upon the flight of the traitor Tyrone and the revolt of the traitor O'Dogherty, paid out of the duty victuals and fugitives' goods before charged, viz., by

<i>Captain Edmond Leigh</i> , deceased, late high sheriff of the county of Tyrone, for the pay of 20 warders put into the castle of Dungannon (112), immediately after the flight of Tyrone, viz., for 42 days, ended the 6th of November, 1607, at 6 <i>d.</i> sterling apiece [per diem] ...	21	0	0
<i>Sir Thomas Phillips</i> , for a ward of 12 men, which he put into Logheinsshellin (113), about the same time by the Lord Deputy's direction, at 6 <i>d.</i> apiece per diem, for 90 days, ended at January, 1607 ...	27	0	0
<i>Patrick Crely</i> (114), for the pay of 8 men put into the fort of Portderune, by his Lordship's present direction, viz., for 100 days, to February, 1607, at 6 <i>d.</i> apiece <i>per diem</i> ...	20	0	0
<i>Sir Tobias Calfield</i> , Knight, for the pay of 8 men put into Maghirlecow (115), by like direction, for 120 days, ended in February, 1607, at the like rates ...	24	0	0
<i>Patrick Cartan</i> (116), for the pay of 20 kerne which he commanded by the Deputy's direction, to prosecute Brian McArte's son, and Arden McCollo O'Hanlon, who went into action of rebellion presently after the flight of Tyrone, for 91 days, ended in February, 1607, at 4 <i>d.</i> apiece <i>per diem</i> ...	30	6	8
<i>Hugh McCawell</i> (117), and Laughlin O'Hagan, for the pay of 40 men in Bonaght, which they raised and employed at and about			

(112). *Dungannon*.—In 1601, according to Docwra's *Narrative*, Dungannon House or Castle was thatched, but whether with heath, reeds, or straw, the writer does not mention. When the Earl of Tyrone married Mabel Bagenal in 1593, Fynes Moryson informs us that he [the earl] had commenced to "build a faire house," which as the writer adds, "our government thinks a tye of civility." In order to cover this 'fair house' with a roof, Tyrone had procured a large quantity of lead, but this material, instead of being used for roofing purposes, was converted into bullets before the outbreak of the war in 1596, and this, as the Government afterwards believed, was the purpose for which the lead was really intended. See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii., p. 210.

(113). *Logheinsshellin*.—The name of this position is originally *Lough-inis-O'Lynn*, a form which the word still retains in the surrounding district, although the name of the barony called from it is now always written *Loughinsholin*. On a little lake at present about 220 yards in length and 179 broad, near the village of Desertmartin, there is a cranoge or lake-dwelling in which Sir Thomas Phillips placed his ward or small garrison on the occasion referred to. See *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 76.

(114). *Patrick Crely*.—The O'Crelys or O'Crillys were an influential sept in the adjoining territory of Tamlaght Ninaych, since called from them Tamlaght O'Crilly. These O'Crillys were a branch of the McDermotts of Moy Lurg in Connaught. *Ibid.* p. 81.

(115). *Maghirlecow*.—This cranoge or lake-dwelling is what Bagenal calls *Lough Cee*. It was the well-known residence of the Earl of Tyrone's half-brother, Art McBaron (see pp. 218, 250).

(116). *Patrick Cartan*.—This surname is more correctly written Carthen or Carthainn. The present parish of Faughinvale represents the ancient *Tir-Charthainn*, or territory of Carthainn, who descended originally from Colla Uais. See *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Reeves, pp. 122, 129.

(117). *McCawell*.—The McCawells were numerous in the barony of Clogher during the seventeenth century and since. They constituted in ancient times the *Cinel Feradhaigh*, which gave name to a portion of Tyrone now comprised in the barony above mentioned. Cathmoil, from whom the Cawells take their name, was eighth in descent from Feradhach, the founder of the tribe, who was grandson of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. See *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Reeves, pp. 19, 20.

Dungannon upon the revolt of the traitor O'Dogherty, where they remained for defence of those parts, and to conduct victuals to the army in Tyrconnell, namely, for 90 days, ended in Sept., 1608, at 4 <i>d.</i> apiece, <i>per diem</i>					60	0	0
<i>Neil O'Fagan</i> and Ferdoragh O'Hanlon, for the pay of 40 men by them levied by the Lord Deputy's direction to prosecute Patrick Oge O'Hanlon and Andrew McColle, two notable traitors, who, with their adherents committed many outrages in killing, burning, and spoiling in the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, (118), viz., for 74 days, ended in January, 1609, at 4 <i>d.</i> apiece <i>per diem</i>					49	6	8
In all					£255	13	4
Making Irish					340	17	9

Works and Fortifications.

Paid also by the accountant for the victualling of two men that wrought at making the bridges at Charlemont, and other works about the fort, for 90 days in May, June, and July, 1609, at 4*d.* apiece *per diem* ... 80 0 0

"Dieting of soldiers sent into Sweden, paid out of the duty victuals and the fugitives' goods; also, paid for the victualling of certain men taken up in the counties of Tyrone and Armagh in the Summers 1609 and 1610, viz. :—

For the diet of 80 of the said soldiers taken up in Summer, 1609, for 16 days during the time they were kept in prison in Dungannon, and Armagh, and Charlemont, till they were sent away (119), at 4 <i>d.</i> apiece <i>per diem</i>					21	6	8
Also, for the diet of 72 of the said men taken up in Summer, 1610, which were kept in prison at Armagh, for 18 days till they were sent away, at 4 <i>d.</i> apiece <i>per diem</i>					8	2	0
In all					£29	8	8
Making Irish					32	4	10

"Part of the fugitives' goods before charged in this account given away and disposed of, partly by warrants and directions of the Deputy and council, and partly by his Lordship's direction, or for the considerations within mentioned, viz. :—

Sir Tobias Caulfield, knight, to whom the goods that belong to the Countess of Tyrone were given by the Lord Deputy, in consideration that he

(118). *And Armagh*.—For the fines imposed on the baronies where outrages were committed, see p. 249.

(119). *Sent away*.—The expenses incurred by the imprisonment of these swordmen were, curiously enough,

drawn from the wreck of O'Neill's property, instead of from the Government that had arbitrarily taken possession of them, or from the Swedes who were to receive their services.

kept Con O'Neil (120), son to the said earl, for three years, ended at Michaelmas last, 1610, and found him meat and drink, and, therefore here demanded an allowance at the rates before charged on his account, being	35	12	0
Also, delivered to the wife of Teig O'Kenna (see p. 246), at the request of the Earl of Thomond, to whom she is allied, in consideration that the said earl alleged that the said Teig sent him intelligence of importance from beyond the seas, all her husband's goods, which before are charged on this account, and so here allowed, at ...	22	6	8
To Henry McShane O'Neal, a principal man of that name, to relieve his poor estate out of the goods of Shane O'Hagan (see p. 246), so much as are valued at	20	0	0
To Henry Hovenden's (see p. 248) wife and children, for her relief, and to maintain her children at school, all her husband's goods, for which paid only 20 marks sterling, the whole being valued at 40 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> , and before charged, so as she is thereby allowed of the said goods, by virtue of a concordatum, dated 21st Sept., 1609, which is here allowed, the sum of	27	0	4
To Laughlin O'Hagan, given so much of his brother's goods as were valued at 3 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> sterling, in consideration that the constablenesship of Dungannon was taken from him	3	19	9
To Murtagh O'Quin's wife (see p. 245), given so much of her husband's goods to relieve her as amounted to	13	8	8
Also given to the Spaniard's wife and children all her husband's goods for their relief, which are valued, as before charged, at	5	13	0
Also given to Henry Hagan's (see p. 247) wife and children, all her husband's goods, at the suit of her father, Sir Oghie O'Hanlon, when he surrendered all his lands to the King (see p. 64), which are before charged, and were allowed at	7	14	8
Also given Hugh McVaghe's (see p. 247) goods to his wife and children, for their relief, before charged, and here allowed at	1	14	0
Also given to Lady Pawlet, wife to Sir George Pawlet, deceased, in regard of her miserable estate after the death of her husband, certain goods of the traitor John Bathe (see p. 248), which rested in his [Pawlet's] possession till his death, and are parcel of the goods before charged in this account, as amounted to the sum of ...	60	0	0
Also the goods of Arte Oge O'Neal, (son of Sir Cormack), being formerly given by him to his three children before his flight, were on their			

(120). Con O'Neil.—See pp. 64, 65.

on their humble suit given them for their relief by the Lord Deputy, being	22	6	0
<i>To John Cornewell</i> , sub-sheriff of Tyrone, at the time when the earl fled, given him out of Tyrone's goods, in regard of his great trouble and pains then taken for his Majesty's service, so much as we valued at	10	0	0
<i>To Bryan Neile</i> [O'Neill], ensign to Sir Henry Oge O'Neale (see p. 96), in regard of money he received when his captain was killed, out of the fugitives' goods, the value of	6	0	0
Also given for the relief of Arte Oge's sons and Oghie Oge O'Hanlon's children, being both sent to Sweden (see pp. 64, 65), out of the goods	20	0	0

"Also there were delivered to divers captains part of the fugitives' goods, in consideration of their travail and charges sustained in going to many places of the country for the settling and establishing thereof, upon their own charges, immediately after the flight of Tyrone, viz, to

Captain Edmond Leigh	...	...	...	30	0	0
Sir Francis Roe	...	...	...	12	0	0
Sir Thomas Phillips	...	...	...	13	0	0
Sir Richard Hansard	...	...	...	6	0	0

In all £61 2 0

In all given to the persons before named out of the fugitives' goods ... 317 4 1

Making Irish 422 18 9

"And lastly, for ready money paid to Sir Thomas Ridgeway, vice-treasurer and treasurer at Wars, in Ireland, viz. :—

				Irish.		
				£	s.	d.
The 13th of December, 1608	...	...	...	2,357	7	3
The 18th of December, 1609	...	...	...	2,404	3	6
In all	...	...	...	£4,761	10	9
Remittals and abatements of rents				1,664	0	0

Sum total of all the allowances and payments aforesaid, viz. :—

Entertainment of soldiers	...	...	...	340	17	0
Works and Fortifications	...	...	...	80	0	0
Victualling of Irish Soldiers sent to Sweden	...	...	...	39	4	10
Gifts and restrictions of fugitives' goods	...	...	...	422	9	9
Ready money paid into the receipt	...	...	...	4,761	10	9

In all £7,308 12 1

And so remaineth in this accountant's hands, and chargeable on him to

his Majesty's use 2,002 9 1

The foregoing curious and valuable document would be incomplete without the following appendage, showing the necessity for Caulfield's appointment as superintendent of the Tyrone estates, and also his remuneration, as such, received from the public funds; which, however, must have been but a mere nominal reward compared with advantages otherwise derived from that position:—"By the Deputy and council—Whereas upon the flight of the traitor Tyrone, the Deputy entering into consideration how fit it was to appoint some man of sufficiency to take the chief charge and superintendency of such lands, rents, and territories as belonged to the said traitor in the counties of Tyrone, Armagh, and Coleraine, made choice of Sir Toby Calfeild to take upon him that charge; who with good care and diligence, greatly to the furtherance of his Majesty's service, hath not only for this three years past collected the rents issuing out of the said lands and territories to his Majesty's use, but with great wisdom and sufficiency discharged the trust reposed in him; and furthermore, hath been within the said time at extraordinary charges, in building of bridges and highways, strengthening of the fort at Charlemont, and building a house within the same, for all which he has humbly craved allowance. He is accordingly granted an allowance of 100*l.* a year for each of the three years, making in harps (121) the whole sum of 400*l.* to be allowed him in the foot of his account. Dublin, 16th December, 1610."

The lands of O'Donnell, although very extensive, were of little value to the Government in consequence of the numerous and heavy mortgages which had been effected thereon from the time of their partial restoration to the family. The whole territory of Tyrconnell, excepting Church lands, was found to have fallen to the Crown by the inquisition at Liffer in the autumn of 1608, and during the two following years it had been let out in large fragments, principally to influential servitors whose receipts in the shape of rents must have been but of trifling consequence to the Government, whatever they may have been to themselves (122). Thus, the rents, issues, and

(121). *In harps*.—The harp was an Irish shilling though equal only to 9*d.* of sterling or English money. The following order of the deputy and council, dated Nov. 11, 1606, will explain the value of this coin:—"The late sovereign Queen Elizabeth, in the time of the late rebellion, established a standard of mixed moneys, which then stood, and was of necessity maintained in this kingdom, her Highness, notwithstanding allowing the exchange of the moneys in England, to her exceeding charge and great expense of treasure. And after the death of the said late Queen, the rebellion being appeased, and the greater part of the army being discharged, the King, understanding that the mixed moneys bred many grievances and inconveniences to the subjects of this realm, was pleased, by a proclamation bearing date the 11th of October, 1603, to decay the said mixed moneys to their true value, and also to establish a new standard of this kingdom, that every piece whereof bearing the name of a shilling should go current, and be taken for 12*d.* sterling; and all other pieces of the said new silver standard should be taken rateably according to the quantity and proportion of the same. And inasmuch as the King by his letters of the 25th June and 30th of September, signified that the said word *sterling* did breed an error, being construed as if every harp shilling should be taken for sixteen

pence of the money of this country, and so should carry as high a valuation as the sterling shilling of England—while in truth his meaning was, and is, that every harp shilling should bear the name and value of 12*d.* Irish, according to the standard of this realm, which in true value is but 9*d.* English. They, therefore, in his Majesty's name, and by his express command, proclaim that from henceforth the said name of sterling shall not be applied to the harp shilling of the standard of nine ounces of fine silver, but shall in that respect be utterly abolished in this kingdom. And that every silver harp shilling shall be called 12*d.* Irish, and not 12*d.* sterling, and shall be current only for that value. And it is his Majesty's pleasure that his subjects of Ireland shall use the phrase *current or lawful money of Ireland*, whereby shall be understood money of the said standard of nine ounces of fine silver proper to this kingdom."

(122). *To themselves*.—Between the dates of the landing of the English under Docwra at the Foyle in the spring of 1600 and the coming of the British undertakers in 1610, almost all the old Irish families of rank throughout Donegal had been swept away or reduced to poverty. The following curious document, preserved among the State Papers, records the names and places of residence of such of these families as dwelt westward of Lough

profits of the lands comprised in the barony of Boylagh and Bannagh, from the autumn of 1608 until the time in which grants were passed of the lands to the undertakers, were taken up by Sir Henry Folliott, whose wife afterwards married Lord Robert Dillon. The Inquisition of 1608 found that Boylagh and Bannagh contained 96 quarters of land, or 12,000 acres. Sir Henry Folliott also received the rents and profits from the barony of Tirhugh, reported on the same authority to contain 27 quarters of land. The barony of Kilmacrenan was stated by that Inquisition to contain 240 quarters of land, or 30,000 acres, and to comprise the districts of Fawnett, Doe, Clanelly, [] , [] , and the lordship or precinct of Kilmacrenan. The rents and profits arising from the precinct of Fawnett, containing 56 quarters, were received and taken up by Donell Gorme McSwyne, Esq., and Sir Richard Hansard. The rents and profits arising from the precinct of Doe, containing 60 quarters, were received and taken up by Sir Molmory McSwyne, Neal ballagh McSwyne, and Knogher McDonnell McSwyne. The rents and profits arising from the territory of Clanelly, containing 30 quarters of land, were received and taken up in part by Hugh McHugh duffe O'Donnell, Manus

Swilly:—"From the entrie of the Lough [Swilly], until you come to a point of land a little short of Ench [Isle of Inch], there is neither castle nor fort, but then upon a joyn't of lande is a castle and an abbey called Ramullan [Rathmullan]—MacSwyn O'Farre's [Fannaid's] chiefe country house. Fyve myles above Ramullan there is a castle of Hugh McHugh Duffe's [O'Donnell], called Ramalton [now Ramelton], standing upon the Lannan [river Lenan], which falleth in Lough Swilly—Hugh Duffe's own house. Three myles above Ramalton, upon the Lough syde, in a baye, is the abbey of Kil O'Donnell, in Hugh McHugh Duffe's country—here dwells only fryers. Five myles above Kil O'Donnell there is a ford, passable at low water, wherein hath sometime bene a fort, called the Farcet [Fearsad] of Soloughmore. Three myles from this ford, towards Kil, standes an abbey called Ballaghan, over against Kil O'Donnell; here dwell Fryers. Three myles from Ballaghan, towards Birt, is a poynt of lande which runs far into the Lough, where hath bene a strong fort, but nowe broken downe, and is called Dunboye; here dwells Shane MacManus Oge [O'Donnell]. Dunboye and the point of lande whereon Birt standeth maketh a baye, in the bottome whereof stands an old fort, called Cul mac Tryen; this was wont to be held by [The] O'Donnell. From Cul mac Tryen runs a bogge three myles in length, to the side of Lough Foyle; in the midst of the bogge is a standing lough with a fort on the side of the lough called Bonneber [Bun-aber], where Alexander McNorie was slaine. At the end of this bogge to Lough Foyle syde is the fort of Cargan; here [at Bun-aber] dwells O'Donnell's mother [Inendubh MacDonnell, see pp. 130, 228]. Three myles above Cargan stands a fort called McGwyvelin [Mongevlin], uppon the river of Loughfoyle—O'Donnell's mother's chief house. Above McGwyvelin, four myles up the river of Loughfoyle is the Liffer; here dwelt [The] O'Donnell. Four myles above the Liffer stands Castle Fene [Finn]—Niall Garve's [O'Donnell's] house. Four myles above Castle Fene is a fryers's house called Drumboye. Three myles above Drumboye stands a fort called

Ballakit—here dwells Donnell Gallocar [O'Gallagher], one of O'Donnell's chief counsellors. Ten myles above Ballakit is Loughfene [Finn], upon the ryver Fene [Finn], where the ryver bath his first head. Four myles westward from Ballakit is Barnesmore. From Barnesmore to the castle of Beleek, that stands upon Lough Erne, is twelve myles. From Beleek to Ballashanan is three miles—here dwells McO'Dongonrye [Roric, son of O'Donnell]. From Ballashanan to the Abbey of Asheroe, to the seawards, is one myle; inhabited by monkes. From the Abbey of Asheroe to the Abbey and Castle of Dunagall, is nine myles. Here is a good haven, and the ryver Eske falls into it. Three myles above Donagall is Lough Eske, O'Donnell's chief keeping—O'Donnell's chief storehouse for the warr. Over against Donagall, two myles on the other syde of the water, stands O'Boyle, where the ships used to ride—O'Boyle's chief house. Seven myles from O'Boyle, to the seaward, is a castle called McSwyn O'Bane's [Bannagh's] Tower. From this place to the haven of Calboy [Killybegs] is three myles—here dwells Seneschal McGonell. Four myles from there stands the castle of Bromoyle, in the lower end of the cuntry—here dwells Hugh boy McSwyne O'Bane's [McSwyne Bannagh's] brother. From thens four myles is a small haven called Cornetillen. This haven deydes McSwyne O'Bane's cuntry and O'Boyle's. At the lower end of O'Boyle's cuntry is a castle called Kilmirrish—here dwells the Bishop of O'Boyle. Next to that castle is the haven of Bonabbar. This haven pareth O'Boyle's cuntry and McSwyne O'Doe's. And next to that is the haven Conogarhen, with a castle so called; this is McSwyne O'Doe's chief house. The next haven to this is Red haven, which parts McSwyne O'Doe's cuntry and McSwyne O'Fane's [Fawnett's]. By the syde of this haven is the castle of Menryce, a castle of McSwyne O'Fanet's. Small boats may come from the Red haven to the castle—here dwells Alexander McDonologhe. The midland of Tirconnell is inhabited by the sept of O'Gallocars." See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v., pp. 141-143.

Oge McHugh Duffe O'Donnell, and Tirlagh McHugh duffe O'Donnell, his sons. The rents and profits arising from the lordship and precinct of Kilmacrenan, containing 24 quarters, were received and taken up by Nicholas Weston, alderman of Dublin. The rents and profits arising from the precinct of [], containing 30 quarters of land, were received and taken up by Sir Mulmorie McSwyne and Captain William Eley [Ellis]. The rents and profits arising from the barony of Enishowen, containing 120 quarters of land, were received and taken up by Sir Arthur Chichester. The barony of Rapho contained the two precincts of Lyffer and Portlawe, the former comprising 60 quarters, and the latter 73 quarters. The rents and profits arising from 56 quarters, parcel of the said 60 quarters within the precinct of Lyffer, were received and taken up by Sir John Kingsmill, by the appointment of Chichester. The rents and profits arising out of the other four quarters of the land of the Lyffer, were received and taken up by Sir Richard Hansard. The rents and profits arising from the 73 quarters of Portlaugh or Portlawe, were received and taken up for the space of one year after the taking of the inquisition of 1608, by Patrick O'Conley, a merchant in Dublin. The rents of the said 73 quarters were received and taken up for the second year after the taking of the inquisition, by Sir Richard Hansard. See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (3) Car. I.



CHAPTER VII.—GRANTS AND GRANTEES.



WE now proceed to lay before the reader such abstracts from the grants to undertakers as clearly embody the several conditions on which they were made. These abstracts are taken from the printed *Patent Rolls* of the reign of James I., supplemented, however, in several instances, by extracts from the printed *Ulster Inquisitions*. The lands are granted in every case to undertakers, it will be observed, by the tenure known as free and common socage (see pp. 81, 238), although it has been hitherto stated by writers referring to the subject, that undertakers of the large proportions were obliged to hold by the feudal tenure of knight's service *in capite*. This mistake appears to have been copied from Carte by all succeeding authorities, and Carte originally overlooked, or was not aware of the fact that, although the tenure by knight's service was at first intended to be imposed on all undertakers of large proportions, it was exchanged afterwards, at Chichester's urgent solicitation, for that of free and common socage.

Every undertaker's lands were erected, by the terms of his grant, into a manor, with certain manorial rights and privileges, including at first the power of establishing courts baron, and of enclosing a certain number of acres as a demesne, according to the size, in each case, of the proportion held by the undertaker. In this instance, the term *demesne*, from *de mansio*, properly denotes that part of the estate attached to the *Mansion*, where the proprietor *remains* or resides. Other privileges were soon afterwards added, the most useful of which was that of appointing fairs and markets in all places where these institutions were required.

The several grants only recite the names of the leading divisions of land in each proportion or estate. Each of these divisions, however, included several smaller parcels, which more correctly represent the numbers of our present townlands, and which shall be named, when practicable, in the eighth chapter.

I.

PRECINCTS OR BARONIES SET APART FOR ENGLISH UNDERTAKERS ONLY.

1. The Precinct of Oneilan (1), county of Armagh.

1. Grant to *Richard Rolleston* (2), clerk. The small proportion of *Teemore*, containing

(1). *Oneilan*.—See p. 201, 202, 218. This barony, which is commensurate with the plantation precinct so called, includes the three Irish territories of Oneilan, Clanbrassill, and Clancann. On an old map of Ulster, of the reign of Elizabeth, Clanbrassill and Clancann are marked as touching the southern shore of Lough Neagh, the former on the east and the latter on the west side of the Bann; whilst Oneilan is placed due south of Clancann, and on the western side of the river. These territories occupy the same positions on the baronial map of 1609 *when it is reversed*. Clanbrassill is represented as being of greater length from north to south than either of the other two territories, whilst Oneilan is much broader from east to west.

(2). *Rolleston*.—This clergyman first presents himself to our notice as one of Lord Saye's consort or company, seeking lands in Oneilan, and representing himself as having an income of 100*l.* per annum, and 500*l.* worth of 'goods.' (See p. 148). He came from Staffordshire, and as it happened, on his coming hither, he found his way into one of the most attractive districts in Ulster—not only picturesque, but pre-eminently fertile;—and hence the chosen retreat in earlier days of many leading families of the O'Neills. But their day had passed, and the succession to their houses and fields now became a source of very active competition and struggle among the new-comers. Parson Rolleston succeeded in getting his lands in one of the choicest localities; but, as we shall afterwards find,

Derrichora, one balliboe; Shancrackan, two balliboes; Moyrourkan, Downmedder, Dromard, Teemore, Loughtoobegg, Loughtoomore, Aghoorier; in all 1,000 acres; two third parts of the balliboe of Tawnaghmore, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant [for glebe land]. The premises are erected into the manor of Teemore, with a demesne of 300 acres, and a court baron. Total rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in commn socage. 25 May, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Francis Sacheverell* (3), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Mullalelish* (4), containing Ballilohan, one balliboe; Ballihinche, one balliboe; $\frac{1}{2}$ of Ballilaney; Mullalelish, one balliboe; Ballibreagh, one balliboe; Mulladroy, one balliboe; Dromnehunchin, one balliboe; Dromard, one and $\frac{1}{6}$ balliboe; $\frac{2}{3}$ of Ballikedy more, balliboe next to Ballytagart; Ballytagart, one balliboe; Dirrichele, one balliboe; in all 1,000 acres. The small proportion of *Leggacorry* (5), containing the lands of Shewish, Rath-Imulchany, Aghnacrea, Mullanalaghan, Loskeburrin, Corcreeny, Leggacorry, Fonamilly, Mullalitragh, one balliboe each; Ballilaney, and $\frac{1}{3}$ of Annaghboe, next to Mullalitragh; in all, 1,000 acres—three parts in five of the balliboes of Ballikedy more, containing 60 acres, and Anaghboe, 60 acres, are excepted from this grant [for glebe land]. The two proportions above granted are erected into the manor of Mullalelish and Leggacorry, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 May, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *John Brownlowe* (6), *Esq.* The middle proportion of *Doughcoron* (7), containing Taberhany, one balliboe; the moiety of the balliboe of Aghenecloghy; Keilmargie, two

he was soon relieved of this estate by a countryman of his own then pretty well known in Ulster, and named Francis Annesley. Rolleston's 'proportion' of *Teemore* is represented on the baronial map of 1609 as a peninsular district running out almost due north from Oneilan Proper, having the Fews on its north-western boundary, and Orior on the north-east.

(3). *Sacheverell*.—This undertaker first appears in plantation records as one of a consort or company offering for lands in the precinct or barony of Oneilan. The consort was headed by a Sir Francis Anderson, of Bedford, whose name does not turn up afterwards in these records. Francis Sacheverell represented himself as from Leicester; as worth 300*l.* per annum, and as willing to undertake for 2,000 acres. The above grants show that he obtained the quantity he wanted, and in the district he preferred. He was amongst the earliest to take out his patents; and as he was afterwards known or styled of *Mulladory*, or *Muldory*, he had no doubt built his house and bawn in that sub-division of his proportion called Mullalelish. It may be mentioned also that his name appeared on a list of forty gentlemen who proposed to undertake the whole county of Fermanagh, and that he was there represented as coming from Kersbye, in the county of Leicester. See p. 145.

(4). *Mullalelish*.—This 'proportion' adjoined Teemore, already mentioned, and was separated from the territory of Clancann by the very boggy district of Grange.

(5). *Leggacorry*.—This proportion was separated from Mullalelish by a little stream marked on the map as the

Aghnarea river, but now known as the river *Tall*, from Talla, no doubt, where it has its source, and which is the name used on the map to designate a dreary and extensive bog which then stretched along the whole border land separating the two territories of Oneilan and Clancann. Anaghbo and part of Ballikedy more, the incumbents' lands reserved from these two proportions respectively, are separated by a very formidable looking bog.

(6). *John Brownlowe*.—This surname is written also Bromloe and Bromley in State documents, but in the early plantation records it takes the form of Brownlow or Brownlowe. John Brownlowe, above named, originally offered himself as an undertaker of lands in Oneilan, stating that he belonged to Nottingham; that he was worth 150*l.* per annum; and that he wanted 2,000 acres (see p. 147). He was amongst the earliest patentees; and he built his castle and bawn in the division of his proportion called Derry, or the oak wood, naming his residence *Brownlowe-Derry*.

(7). *Doughcoron*.—This proportion, which appears on the map in violet, the colour used to distinguish those of the middle size, occupies the northern portion of the ancient territory of Clanbrassill, stretching along the shore of Lough Neagh. The map represents this proportion as containing six rather extensive patches of bog. In the balliboe of Shankeile, there is marked on the map a roofless church, with surrounding trees. The only other place where trees are marked is Tirenirry—not Tirnurye, as in the grant—close to the shore of Lough Neagh.

balliboes; Timurys, Doughcoron, Taunaghvore, Knockneseggan, Lurgyvalyvackan, Balliblagh, one balliboe each; Derry, one balliboe and $\frac{1}{4}$ of another; Dromonavahir, Taunaghmoreinkellymory, Drommonicolla, Kanagow, Clonrolla, one balliboe each; Lisocorran, one balliboe, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of another; Lorogine-Itarry, Clan-Igollavorist, Dunnagreh, Corakinegeir, Killaghy, Tollidegon, Tollyconnally, and Dromonikeherny, one balliboe each; in all 1,500 acres—the balliboe of Shañkill, and half the balliboe of Aghnecloghie, containing 90 acres, are excepted from this grant, (8). The premises are erected into the manor of Doughcoron, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 May, 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *James Matchett* (9), clerk. The small proportion of *Kerhanan* (10)—Bochomorogh [Kilocke], Lisanusky, Sygoballiotra, Tassan, Kerhanan, Dromon-Igoun, Lisdriminy, Crossewickcholly, Clonedroll, Taunagh-Iglassan, Kern, Ballinecorrowe, Taunagh-Icarrabid, Balto-Teagh, Dromgore, and Moyrevertie, one balliboe each; containing in all, 1,000 acres—the balliboe of Ballyoughtragh-Igowne, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Kerhanan, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 30 May, 8th [1610].

5. Grant to *William Powell* (11) of Castleparke, within the honour of Tutbery in Stafford co., Esq. The great proportion of *Ballyworran* (12)—Balligonaghie, one balliboe; Aghnáha, one and

(8). *This grant*.—The lands thus reserved for the church lay in adjoining divisions, and were separated, when the map was made, by a bog of some extent.

(9). *James Matchett*.—This clergyman came originally from Tremingham, in the county of Norfolk. He presented himself in two consorts or companies seeking lands in Ulster, his name appearing among those of 40 gentlemen who wanted to undertake in Fermanagh, and also on the list of Lord Saye's followers. On this list he represented himself as worth 40*l.* per annum, and as wanting 1,000 acres of the escheated land. He obtained the quantity he desired, and was amongst the earliest patentees. He soon found, probably, that he was unable to plant British tenants and erect the necessary buildings, so he disposed of his proportion at an early period, and was appointed rector of Kilmore. "For valuable considerations to him given by Lord Viscount Grandison [Sir Oliver St. John], he did by his deed of feoffment, dewly executed, infeoffe and confirm the said manor of Kerhanan al' Kaman and premisses unto the said Viscount Grandison and his heirs, for ever. Before the day of taking this inquisition [January 22, 1621], the said Viscount Grandison and his assigns, and they whose estate he hath, have built upon the said manor, a bawne or fort of earth cast up, fower square, strenghted with pallizadoes, and within the same bawne built up a good English-like house, and 20 more English houses, being all inhabited with English famelies, and hath also built up a water-mylle upon the river running through the lande of Balteagh [Balto-Teagh], being parcell of said proportion." See *Ulster Inquisitions*, Armagh (7), Jac. I. Matchett was slain on the first outbreak of the revolt in 1641.

(10). *Kerhanan*.—This proportion lay nearly in the centre of the territory of Clanbrassill, having the Upper Bann as its western boundary. In the townland of Ballyoughtragh-Igowne, there is marked on the map a roofless church, with trees around. There are also numerous trees in the divisions of Kerne and Tassan, along the Bann, and at least half a dozen patches of bog throughout.

(11). *Powell*.—This undertaker is described as "one of the equeries of the King's stable" on the list containing the names of 40 gentlemen wishing to undertake for the whole lands of Fermanagh. His name also appears in Sir Maurice Barckley's consort or company, applying for lands either in "Onewland or Liffer." This Powell was one of a whole family of brothers who had situations in the King's immediate service. In 1604, he had a "grant in reversion, after Thomas Baskerville of the keeping of the race at Malmesbury." Thomas Powell, probably his son, had a grant in 1612, "on surrender of Richard Reading, of the keepership of the stables at Hampton Court for life." He sold this position in the same year for 600*l.*, a very large sum at the period referred to, (*Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic series, James I., 1603-1610, p. 114; 1611-1618, pp. 117, 160.) William Powell no doubt got his grant of Ballyworran, or (as it is called on the map) *Ballivorran*, 2,000 acres for arrears of salary in the King's stables. But, as he probably had never dreamed of leaving his congenial haunts for a residence in Ulster, he sold his interest almost immediately after taking out his patent.

(12). *Ballyworran*.—This proportion lay on both sides of the Upper Bann, being divided into about two

$\frac{1}{5}$, balliboe; Knocknamocally, Ballynonaghie, Ballyvickranell, Dromon, Dromonlissnagrellagh, Ballybreagh, Ballyhanaghan, Ballygaragan, Kilmuckvolmall, Lanagery otherwise Lenagher, Edenidery, Carricke, Ballivorran, Concheryn, Taunagh, Garravaghy, Shanevallinegon, Deraechanavile, Coravracogie, Soilson, Corcullintramore, Corcullintrabeg, Battrilomoe, Kilmcmoriertagh [Lirrollytyn], Dromnasough, Aghabrackoge, Dromratally, Ballyvorghan, Mehain, Clonagh, one balliboe each; in all 2,000 acres. The balliboes of Dromgoose and Cornaleckye, containing 120 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of Ballivorran, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 13 June, 8th [1610].

6. Grant to *John Dillon* (13) of Aggardsley Park, in Stafford co., Esq. The middle proportion of *Mullabane* (14)—Rathdromgreny, Cloghan, Alturke, Mullanesillagh, Dromnesough, Killnemanin, Tirecharry, Dromogher, Killmerhugh, Mullahane, Tirenescobbe, Killivuny, Dromod, Ballivraner, Graunge, one balliboe each; in all 1,500 acres—the balliboes of Mullaloughernagh, containing 90 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Mullabane, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 13 June, 8th [1610].

7. Grant to *William Brownlowe* (15), gent. The small proportion of *Ballynemony* (16)—Derritagh, Ballineverewe, Derryada, Derreinver, Derryasny, Anardevore, one balliboe each; Derryvicasse, one and $\frac{1}{5}$ balliboe; Bechonill, one balliboe; Knockrawre, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Ballynemany, Tanaghvore, Leggachory, Moynrege, Tollygalla, Teghevan, one balliboe each; in all, 1,000 acres. The balliboe of Kinenereganbeg, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant (17). The premises are erected into the manor of Ballynemony, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 18 June, 8th [1610].

equal portions by that river, and occupying the southern extremities of both Clanbrassill and Clancann, in the precinct or barony of Oneilan. On the Clanbrassill or eastern side of the Bann a wood is marked on the map; but on the Clancann side there appear comparatively few trees. On the extreme southern point of Clanbrassill, near the Bann, appears a moated castle called *Knock-ballybryanbuy*. The lands reserved for the church from this grant, viz., Connaleckeye and Dromgoose lie together, and in the latter appears, on the map, a ruinous church.

(13). *John Dillon*.—This undertaker's name appears on two lists of persons offering for lands. He was one of Sir Maurice Barckley's consort, simply styling himself of Stafford; and wanting to undertake for 2,000 acres. On the list of those who proposed for lands in Fermanagh, his name and address are written "John Dillan, of Agarstey Park, in county of Stafford." He was one of the most active and energetic of the undertakers in Ulster. His residence, which he called Castle-Dillon, was built about one mile and a half northward from the city of Armagh, and at about the centre of his own manor.

(14). *Mullabane*.—On the map, this proportion, in

Oneilan Proper, bordering on the baronies of Armagh and the Fewes, is represented as entirely free from wood and bog. There appears no church; its 90 acres of church land lay near Armagh.

(15). *William Brownlowe*.—This undertaker was son to John Brownlowe mentioned above, and became an influential person in his adopted locality. On the death of his father, he inherited the middle proportion of Doughcorron. See note 7.

(16). *Ballynemony*.—This proportion lay on the southern shore of Lough Neagh, stretching from the upper Bann eastward to John Brownlowe's proportion of Doughcorron, and southward to James Matchett's proportion of Kerhanan. On the map are marked several patches of bog, and much wood along the side of the Bann. A little river called *Kincregan* flows through this proportion into Lough Neagh, dividing it along a considerable extent from that of Kerhanan.

(17). *This grant*.—The lands reserved for the church, from the two proportions of Kerhanan and Ballynemony lay far apart, but were combined to form the incumbent's living.

8. Grant to *William Stanhowe* (18). The middle proportion of *Kannagolah* (19)—Derryeagh, one balliboe; Clanvickell, one balliboe; Derrylard, one balliboe; Neavore, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Breagh, one balliboe; Clanchor, one balliboe; Derryloste, one balliboe; Muchery, one balliboe; Ballynerew, one balliboe; Derrinragh, one balliboe; Dromnagh, one balliboe; Clontelewe, one balliboe; Drumleshim, one balliboe; Drumenaliffe, one balliboe; Derrychenan, one balliboe; Derrylie and Derryan, one balliboe; Derryada, one sessiagh; Taghlagohir, 2 sessiaghs; Kannagolagh, one balliboe; Clainnartin, one balliboe; Annakerath, one balliboe; in all, 1,500 acres. The premises created the manor of Kannagolah, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English, to hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. July, 8th [1610]. See *Ulster Inquisitions*, Armagh (3), Car. I.

9. Grant to *John Heron* (20), gent. The small proportion of *Aghivillan* (21)—Broughes, one balliboe; Caharra, one and $\frac{1}{4}$ balliboe; Chorischingeriff, one balliboe; Annaghgourah, one and $\frac{1}{4}$ balliboe; Ballinra, one balliboe; Taunagh-Inin, one balliboe; Tenich-Icheill, one balliboe; Forrey, one balliboe; Aghavillan, one balliboe; Legganah, one and $\frac{1}{4}$ balliboe; Cornamucklagh, one balliboe; Ballifredy, one balliboe; Levalydromare, one balliboe; Dromallis, one balliboe; Brehenrickes, one balliboe; and Naenore, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. Also, the small proportion of *Broughes* (22)—Culson, one and $\frac{1}{4}$ balliboe; Dromheriff, one and $\frac{1}{4}$ balliboe; Dromlatey, one and $\frac{1}{4}$ balliboe; Roaghan, one and $\frac{2}{3}$ balliboe; Dromenan, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Dromanasy, one balliboe; Tyvalkanny, one balliboe; Kananafy, one balliboe; Kananeale, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Kannagoulagh, one balliboe; Crahagill, one balliboe; Moygardy, one balliboe; Broughus, one balliboe; Annaghmore, one balliboe; and Coppony, one balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres—the balliboes of Corron and Annaghbeg, containing 60 acres each, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created one manor, by the name of Agivillan and Broughus, with 600 in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 23 July, [].

(18). *Stanhowe*.—The names of William Stanhowe and Henry, his son, appear on the list of Lord Saye's consort, where they represent themselves as worth "150*l.* per annum, 500*l.* goods," and as wanting to undertake 2,000 acres in "Onealande only." On the list of names of gentlemen proposing for the lands of Fermanagh, is the name of "Henry Stanhaughe, of Norwich, in co. Norfolk." The grant to William Stanhowe does not appear in the printed Patent Rolls of James I., although it was duly granted at the time above specified. He was among the first English undertakers to take out his patent, his proportion therein being called Kannagolan.

(19). *Kannagolah*.—This proportion lay in the old Irish territory of Clancann, stretching nearly its whole length from north to south. A large portion of the lands in Kannagolah lay on the south-western shore of Lough Neagh, the Upper Bann being its eastern boundary from the Lough as far southward as the large proportion of Ballyworran or Ballyvoran already noticed as belonging to Wm. Powell. On the map, Kannagolah is represented as a district of woods and bogs. It has its roofless church

also duly marked; and near the shore of Lough Neagh there appears an enclosed space called Maghery-Greny in which a rather conspicuous dwelling-house is marked. This probably was the last residence of the MacCann chiefs.

(20). *John Heron*.—This name does not appear among those recorded in connection with any consort or company proposing for lands, and we are unable to say whence he came, or indeed anything beyond the fact that he was an English undertaker.

(21). *Aghivillan*.—This proportion, called, *Achfuillan* on the map, lay in the Irish territory of Clancann, bordering on Kannagolah and Ballyvoran already mentioned. It is represented on the map as generally wooded and boggy.

(22). *Broughes*.—This proportion, called *Broughus* on the map, lies partly in the old territory of Clancann, but the greater portion of it belongs to Clancann. It adjoins, on one side, the great bog of Talla; and, at other points, the proportions of Aghavillan and Kannagolah.

10. Grant to *Sir Anthony Cope* (23), *Knight*. The great proportion of *Dirrichreeny* (24)—Tullywonan, $\frac{2}{5}$ of a balliboe; Faghart, one balliboe; Donalaghan, one balliboe; Dromart, one balliboe; four-fifths of the balliboe of Ballirath next to Kencon; Kencon, one balliboe; Tirregrenagh, one balliboe; half of the balliboe of Lissnenany; Ballivickern, one balliboe; Dirrichreeny, one balliboe; Ballincorra, one and $\frac{1}{8}$ balliboe; Agherielogh, Clone-Inediny, Balme-Cousame, Clonean, Annaghsawre, Kynnerie, Tirescolliob, Tulliroan, Tardreske, Tiremickgowne, one balliboe each; in all, 2,000 acres. Also, the small proportion of *Dromully*, and the lands of Anagrawth, Grenan, Balliknock, Balliogassie, one balliboe each; two-fifth parts of the balliboe of Levallyeglish, next to Balliogassie; the moiety of the balliboe of Lisneman; Dromully, one balliboe; Ardrea, one and $\frac{1}{10}$ of a balliboe; Lisseffell, Ballichirovan, and Ballinecreemagh, one balliboe each; in all, 1,000 acres; the advowson, presentation, and patronage of Shankill rect. The balliboe of Annagh-Hugh, and a fifth part of the balliboe of Ballirath, containing 120 acres, and $\frac{3}{5}$ of the balliboe of Levallyeglish, 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. Both proportions are created the manor of Dirrichreeny and Dromully, with 900 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 16*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 5 July, 9th [1611].

11. The Precinct of Clogher (25), county of Tyrone.

1. Grant to *Sir Thomas Ridgewaie* (26), *Knight*. The great proportion of *Portclare* and *Ballikirkir* (27)—Mynoghlaghan, one balliboe; Roughan, one balliboe; Anaghiller, one balliboe;

(23). *Anthony Cope*.—This undertaker does not appear to have made application for lands in the usual fashion; but he bought Lord Saye's interest in the above-named proportions, probably before the latter had taken out a patent for them. He was born in Cope Castle (afterwards Holland House), being one of a numerous but respectable family, whose worldly means had become too slender to supply the wants of its numerous members in England.

(24). *Dirrichreeny*.—This proportion and that of *Dromully* lay together, in the territory of Oneilan Proper, occupying the space between the Bog of Talla and Dillon's proportion of Mullabane, near Armagh. The two proportions granted to Cope are represented on the map as free from wood and bog. At Levallyeglish, in *Dromully*, there is a church marked, apparently in good preservation, and represented as larger than the usual size. There is also an extensive lake marked on the map, stretching from this church into the division of *Dromully*. The church lands reserved from these proportions also lay far apart.

(25). *Clogher*.—See p. 202. The baronial map of 1609 represents the precinct of Clogher as bounded on the north by that of Omey, on the south and south-east by the county of Monaghan, on the east and north-east by the precinct of Donganon, and on the west by the county of Fermanagh. It is separated from the counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan by formidable mountain chains, and its several ancient territories are distinctly shown on the map.

(26). *Ridgewaie*.—See p. 192. Influential and energetic as this servitor confessedly was, he got into serious trouble for a time about his accounts as Treasurer-at-War. He wrote to Salisbury in Oct., 1610, appealing to his "books

by which he will stand or fall," and affirming that "never was there under any treasurer a more provident care had of the resources and service of the kingdom." He succeeded, after much difficulty and delay, in satisfying the Government on the subject, and was created a knight for his distinguished services in Ulster. He was one of the earliest undertakers in getting out his patent.

(27). *Ballikirkir*.—This proportion comprised the two Irish tuoghs or districts above-named. It lay on the south-eastern border of the barony or precinct of Clogher, adjoining that territory of the county Monaghan, so well known as the *Trough*. It is represented on the map as being wooded, but as containing very little bog. At Agher, on its western border, there is a stately house shown on the map, which was, no doubt, that of Sir Cormack O'Neill, and which the Chief Justice Winche visited, on his way from the Lyffer to Castleblaney (see p. 179). There were two lakes marked in this proportion, one in Ballikirkir, and the other on the boundary between that district and Portclare. The lands around Agher were added to this already ample proportion, on the following conditions:—"The towns and lands of Ballyany, Ballagh, Tullinequirrin, Ballyneslatty, and Ballymekan, each one balliboe; rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* English; Sir Thomas Ridgewaie to settle on a parcel of land called Agher, within four years, twenty English or Scots, chiefly tradesmen and artificers, to be burgesses of a town called Agher, to be incorporated and made a body politic within the said four years, with convenient places for the site of the said town, a church, church-yard, market-place, and public school; the town to consist of 20 burgesses, besides

Legan, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Ballygonnell, one balliboe; Mullamore, one balliboe; Tullagh, one balliboe; Ballynelnagh, one balliboe; Carragh, one balliboe; Killileagh, one balliboe; [Tategally], one balliboe; Agher, one balliboe; Alteveagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Chalrem, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Knockmonyroe, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Derrycleagh and Dromnedelagh, 2 balliboes; Loughadowdan, one balliboe; Kilcarnan, one balliboe; [Altencagh], one balliboe; Derryclone, one balliboe; Derryselly, one balliboe; Tawnerusklagh, one balliboe; Tullynyyen, one balliboe; Cullenetra, one balliboe; [Kilruddar], one balliboe; Ballymorán, one balliboe; Ardmakerin, one balliboe; Dirrinaskoob, one balliboe; Cornemucklogh, one balliboe; Ballynemullan, one balliboe; and Tawnaghmore, one balliboe; in all, 2,000 acres. The premises are created the manor of Portclare and Ballykingir, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 May, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone (8) Car. I.

2. Grant to *John Leigh* (28), gent. The large proportion of *Fentonagh* (29), containing Leggetiggill, one balliboe; Ballinemullan, one balliboe; Killelussie, one balliboe; Townagheitra, one balliboe; Shragduffgawra, one balliboe; Garowry, one balliboe; Ballineskelgie, one balliboe; Tooughgorrhan, one balliboe; Edentooderry, one balliboe; Lackaboy, one balliboe; Tiregrenan, one balliboe; Tonnoghonewe, one balliboe; Tatmoyle, one balliboe; Correcaskan, one balliboe; Syonhugh, one balliboe; Tollenshee, one balliboe; Corbally, one balliboe; Drumhurke, one balliboe; Shraghmaske, one balliboe; Mullasilloge, one balliboe; Kilberry, one balliboe; Dromlaghan, one balliboe; Skegagowre, one balliboe; Derriaghna, one balliboe; Mullanedrymon, one balliboe; Ardtunny, one balliboe; Aghebrassill, one balliboe; Tatfadda, one balliboe; Townaghbane, one balliboe; Ravarran, one balliboe; Edenesoppe, one balliboe; Lissnegorduffe, one balliboe; Tatecrewe, one balliboe; $\frac{1}{2}$ of the balliboe of Gargrame; and Corglasse, one balliboe; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. The premises erected into the manor of Fentonagh, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone (38) Car. I.

3. Grant to *Walter Edney, Esq.*, and *Thomas Edney* (30), gent., his brother. The middle

cottagers, to which burgesses he is to assign houses and lands, and 30 acres for a common, at the rent of 4*d.* each burgess, to hold a fair yearly at Glaslough in Monaghan county, on 5 Nov. and day following, with courts of piepowder and the usual tolls; rent, 6*s.* 8*d.* Irish. To hold for ever, as of the Castle of Dublin, in common socage. 22 April, 11th [1613]. Roveagh, the church land reserved from the proportion of Ballykingir, was granted to Hugh Carter, rector or vicar of Errigallkeroge. See *Morrin's Calendar*, Charles I., p. 324.

(28). *John Leigh*.—This gentleman was one of three brothers well known in connection with the history of that period in Ulster, or strictly speaking, in Tyrone. He must have purchased this proportion from Sir Francis Willoughby at an early date, as the latter had possession probably before he had got out a patent. Willoughby was one of the earliest undertakers to get his patent.

(29). *Fentonagh*.—This proportion occupies on the map the whole north-western corner of the barony or precinct of Clogher. Its shape is distinctly triangular; and its surface appears unencumbered alike with wood or bog. There are discrepancies in the spelling of several denominational names in the above grant, as they appear on the map and in the inquisition from which we have quoted. The time that had elapsed between 1609 and the 38th of Charles I. may have introduced most of these orthographical varieties.

(30). *Edney*.—These brothers came to Ireland during the progress of the war with Hugh O'Neill, but whence or under whose auspices they came, we are unable to state. The probability is, however, that they were employed in the special services of Sir George Carew, who sent the elder brother, Walter, as a spy into Spain, and probably to assist in securing the assassination of Hugh Roe O'Donnell. Edney had associates in his

proportion of *Ballyloughmaguiffe* (31), containing the lands of Tempane, $\frac{2}{5}$ of a balliboe; Mullamore and Tattenemeagh, one balliboe each; Losralesy, one and $\frac{1}{5}$ balliboe; Collenemah, one balliboe; Tirrecharry, one balliboe; half the balliboe of Loughermore; Tatenellan, one balliboe; Cullentra, one balliboe; Aghekenicon, one balliboe; Mullaneveall, one balliboe; Shraduffe, one balliboe; Cornegreeh, one balliboe; Cullentragh, one balliboe; Gardromen, one balliboe; Dromgoishe, one balliboe; Altnemess, one balliboe; Gortamore, one balliboe; Ballyveddan, one balliboe; Ardecleagh, one balliboe; Brackly, one balliboe; Ballynelargan, one balliboe; Corcreeneh, one balliboe; Ballynemenagh, one balliboe; Golane, one balliboe; half the balliboe of Ballyranally; in all, 1,500 acres; the balliboe of Lisrahecke and the $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe of Loughermore are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Ridgeway, with 500 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 31 January, 8th [1610-1611]. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone (6) Car. I.

4. Grant to *George Ridgeway* (32), gent. The small proportion of *Ballymackell* (33), containing the towns and lands of Cavanballygally, 2 balliboes; Tuilyglas, Bally-Intine, and Lattry, one balliboe each; Sesshian, $\frac{1}{2}$ of a balliboe; Clonecoyle, Mullancrawe, Carren, Ballinemanagh, Dromquillin, Lisarlonan, Lisarwiry, and Clonebrony, one balliboe each; Darrimeene, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Lismore and Killebricke, one balliboe each; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. Tullabrick, one balliboe, containing 60 acres, is excepted out of this

mission, named Arthur and Blague, the whole three being seized by the Spanish authorities, and probably tortured. In the month of March, 1602-3, Sir Ch. Wilmot, writing to Sir Geo. Carew, stated that he "had spoken with two merchants who saw Edney in the Groyne [Corunna], and doth report to him to be stayed by the King's [Phillip's] special command; he lieth in the Groyne very well lodged with great respect, and hath 40 ducats by the month allowed him for his diet, but hath a guard attending upon him. Patrick Arthur is very close kept, but yet hath endured no torture. Blague is likewise held, but living." They did not fare so well during the remaining time of their imprisonment—at least Edney did not. A King's letter, dated April 30, 1604, orders "a daily pension of 4*s.* Irish to Capt. Watt. Edney, during life, for his services in Spain, by the direction of the president of Munster [Sir George Carew], wherein he suffered imprisonment, and other ill intreatie, to his *utter undoing*." (Patent Rolls, James I., p. 65.) His brother, Thomas Edney, was one of those servitors specially recommended as suitable to be admitted as undertakers, but he is described as among a class "who will be content to undertake with some principal undertakers their friends, but not build castles, &c., themselves, unless by extraordinary helps and encouragement." These brothers soon disappeared, and their proportion fell into other hands.

(31). *Ballyloughmaguiffe*.—This proportion is marked on the map as in the extreme south-west of the barony of Clogher; and indeed it is described in an Inquisition of 1628 as lying in both the counties of Tyrone and Fer-

managh. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, Car. I.). It is represented as mountainous on its eastern borders, and wooded in other districts.

(32). *George Ridgeway*.—This undertaker came from Devonshire, and was a brother of Sir Thomas Ridgeway. He was not an officer in the Irish service, but was a pensioner in receipt of pay. His name was included in the list sent to London by Chichester of those who were likely to become undertakers. He is there styled 'Mr. George Ridgeway,' and is classed by the deputy among several others "who may and will undertake of themselves with some helps and encouragement." When the selection was afterwards made under the immediate superintendence of the King, of those servitors who were to be undertakers, this gentleman's name was not returned; but as he was no doubt anxious to have lands, his brother's influence had likely something to do in obtaining for him one of the small proportions, which he, 'Mr. George,' named *Thomas Court*, probably in honour of the treasurer, his brother.

(33). *Ballymackell*.—This proportion lay in the north-east of the barony adjoining the lands forming Sir Thomas Ridgeway's proportion of Portclare and Ballykirgish. Ballymackell had church lands marked on its boundaries east, west, and south, and on each of such tracts a church appears; one of which, at Corballigallie, is represented as roofless. There is also a church marked on the map within this proportion in the division or district called Cavanballygally.

grant. The premises are created the manor of Thomas Court, with 300 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 12 July, 9th [1611].

5. Grant to *William Parsons* (34), of the city of Dublin, Esq. The small proportion of *Ballaclogh* (35), containing the precinct [parcel] of land called Ballaclogh, otherwise Ballinclogh, and the lands of Sheancarragh, Tawlaght-Ibrony, Killnekiry, and Balltiny, each being one balliboe; Tullafoile, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Mullaneighane, Glan-Igeragh, Corcullen, Knocknamany, Cormore, Cloneblaagh, Doongower, Ballyaghenewe, Cloncoose, Ardnucline, and Lisleagh, one balliboe each; and Cossioghrough, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. The premises are created into the manor of Cecill, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage by fealty only, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 12 January, 8th [1610-1611].

6. Grant to *William Turvin* (36), *Moyenner* (37), containing the towns and lands of Furnosowtra, Furnaseightra, and Almuskan, one balliboe each; Altcloughfin, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Fallaherin and Ballym^cGilleroe, one balliboe each; Shantonagh, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Meelick, Tatealtinagor, Knockuny, Finowrah, Cavanaslourt, Lisgonill, Tirenisky, Tatekosker, and Coolegarry, one balliboe each; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. The balliboe of Lisnemoyennagh, containing 60 acres, is excepted out of this grant. The premises are created the manor of Moyenner, with 300 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation. 29 April, 9th [1611].

(34). *William Parsons*.—See pp. 153, 154. There was a Robert Parsons, a Jesuit, who figured prominently at this time, giving the Government in England much anxiety and trouble; but if William Parsons was of the same family, he ran a very different career. The latter came to Ireland in an humble capacity, but his cleverness and tact were soon amply rewarded. When Chichester recommended him to Salisbury for promotion, he named him "Mr. Personnes," and he was thus probably known until he began to aspire to a good position. His uncle, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, had also risen to wealth and rank in this country, and under his auspices Sir William Parsons had commenced his public career. When aiming to succeed his uncle, Parsons wrote a characteristic letter to Davys, soliciting his friendly aid, of which the following is an extract:—"The Lord Deputy has now written by himself for him in that behalf to some of the best here, and to the same end have the Council here recommended him to the Lords there. He must, therefore, now, before he thought it, be a humble suitor to his Lordship to urge on the business by his good word, if he find occasion, whereby he doubts not but the matter will succeed much the better. Thought not to have been a suitor herein till next summer; but this occasion [the death of Fenton] thus preventing him, thinks he cannot find better opportunity wherein if his Lordship will be pleased to assist him by his word, he shall be forever bound (as for many other favours) to do him all the honest services he can here. And thus being

over-bold with him, yet presuming out of the knowledge of his own heart towards him, he takes leave. Dublin, 8 December, 1608."

(35). *Ballaclogh*.—This proportion lay on the northern border of the barony of Clogher, adjoining Omagh, in a rather picturesque district, and having the remarkable hill of Knockmany, then Knocknemanny, among its attractive features. Parsons manifested his loyalty in all conspicuous ways, even naming one of his proportions 'Cecill' and another of them 'Chichester.' The former name still exists, in the district, as the designation of a respectable residence on the northern frontier of the barony.

(36). *William Turvin*.—We find this name on no list of English applicants for lands in Ulster; nor do we know whence he came. He did come, however, in person, to take possession, and left his brother in charge of his proportion. The lands were let out to Irish tenants, and soon disposed of to Sir Gerard Lowther.

(37). *Moyenner*.—This proportion occupied the extreme north-east point of the barony, and is represented on the map as free alike of wood and bog. Its northern and eastern boundaries were lands belonging to the barony of Dungannon. Its sixteen balliboos contained from one to four sessiaghs each, all the sessiaghs or sub-divisions having distinct names. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone (7) Charles I.

7. Grant to *Edward Kingswell* (38), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Balliranill* (39), containing the towns and lands of Mullaghbeny, Proluske, otherwise Mullinacorra, Ballineskellgeagh, Agheesse, otherwise Asspatricke, Knocknegarnell, Cavanegarke, Tomagh, otherwise Lissetonny, Shantawnah, otherwise Cleighlearne, Aghityan, Lisnebyoge, otherwise Lislehinch, and Ballytonymoyan, one balliboe each; Ballynelurges, 2 balliboes; Ballymullyarne, Aghawalla, and Mullarahenagh, one balliboe each; two-thirds of the balliboe of Killany; total, 1,000 acres. Also, the small proportion of *Ballinconoly* (40), containing the lands of Ballynnessan, Siansan, otherwise Hiansan and Carricknegatt, one balliboe each; Ballinemurley and Kilnegurdan, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Ballinecollagh, Ballinelossott, Ballyaghagoalla, Aghityan, one balliboe each; Gerlawane and Anaghnegrady, one balliboe; Lissrahororan, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Aghadorra, one balliboe; Coolenoran, Knocknecapullkeagh, and Daknockbeala, one balliboe [each]; Sessiagh-m^cAwly, Aghelarkye, and Screbagh, one balliboe each; half of the balliboe of Balliranally; and half of the balliboe of Dromconragh; total, 1,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Kedinesharragh and Ballinebehy, two balliboes, containing 60 acres each, are excepted out of this grant. The premises are created the manor of Ballyranill, with 600 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 28 October, 11th [1613].

8. Grant to *William Glegge* (41), gent. The large proportion called *Derrybard* and *Killany* (42).

III.—The Precinct of Omey (43), county of Tyrone.

1. Grant to *George Tuchet*, *Lord Audley*, and *Elizabeth* his wife (44). The great proportion

(38). *Edward Kingswell*.—This name does not appear on any list we have met either of servitors in Ireland, or of those who offered themselves as undertakers from England. Kingswell, however, must have belonged to one or other of these two classes. He only retained his lands for the short period of three years; he did not take out his patent until 1613, and he sold the two proportions above-named in May, 1616.

(39, 40). *Balliranill* and *Ballinconoly*.—By an Inquisition it was found that these "proportions lie adjoining together, betwixt the church land of Clougher on the east and south-east, the corporation land of Ogher [Agher] and the church land of Clougher on the south and south-west; the proportion of Ballyloughmaniff and the county of Fermanagh on the west and north-west; and the watercourse called Lynnyloury and the proportion of Fentonagh on the north." (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone (49) Car. I.) On the map "Ballinconoly" lies south-west of "Balliranill," and is represented as much wooded, with almost no bog.

(41). *William Glegge*.—This name appears on no list of servitors or English undertakers we have seen, and we know not to what place in England he belonged. He disposed of his interest at an early date to Sir Anthony Cope, the fact of his having done so being known in 1611.

(42). *Derrybard* and *Killany*.—The sub-divisions of these proportions are not recorded. The proportion of *Derrybard*, which reached to the extreme northern boundary of Clougher, was separated by a mountain range from Leigh's proportion of Fentonagh on the west, its

eastern boundary being part of Omagh. The proportion of Killany lay due south of *Derrybard*, which it adjoined, and was bounded on the east by Parsons's proportion of Ballaclogh or Cecill, on the south by the church lands of Clougher, and on the west by parts of the two proportions of Balliranill and Fentonagh. Both *Derrybard* and *Killany* are represented on the map as wooded, and the latter as containing a small quantity of bog.

(43). *Omey*.—See pp. 29, 160. This precinct or barony is bounded on the north by the county of Donegal and the barony of Strabane; on the east, by the barony of Dungannon; on the south, by the barony of Clougher and the county of Fermanagh; and on the west, by the counties of Fermanagh and Donegal. The map of 1609 differs from the above actual and correct boundaries in two points. It represents the barony of Omagh as bounded on the east by Dungannon and Strabane, and on the west by Fermanagh only. This large precinct or barony contains no less than 224,674 acres, and it was handed over to five undertakers, who are represented as having had only 11,000 acres distributed amongst them all! But the several proportions held by them are shown on the map as comprising the whole barony, with the exception of seven parcels of church lands—mostly very small—scattered over it.

(44). *His wife*.—For Lord Audley's family, see pp. 79, 135, 136. His lady's name sometimes incorrectly appears as *Lucy*. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Mervyn, of Fonthill, Wiltshire, and by her he had a numerous family. He was created Earl of Castlehaven in September, 1616.

of *Fynagh* (45), containing Derieriagh, Namoda, Eskermore, Radaragan, Barhagh, Cooleskera, Derribrogghes, Vauchran, Anosinah, Ardlochra, Derriowire, Derriowire, Clenure, Keilchome, Dromgane, Ballyculla, Aghnagarty, Ballihallegan, Ballykeile, Tolloneal, Ramacrame, Aurattagh, Dromakeline, Bally-Intrim, Cloghow, Taghaneglea, Cavanredagh, Glann-Inny, Teneregeigh, Dromlasker, Ballinchorig, and Aghalane, one balliboe each; Ballinegellin, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a balliboe; and Carrowgowlin, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a balliboe; total, 2,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. The advowson and patronage of Termonmaguoirk rectory and vicarage. Also, the small proportion of *Rarone* (46), containing the lands of Dougherie, Totekeile, and Nasircassa, one balliboe each; Rarone, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Lissarrae and Achorrow, one balliboe each; Kildorow, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Raskany, Derrenchorowhy, Nahany, Tirwony, Ramocone, Lislea, Cornacamoun, and Brauar, one balliboe each; $\frac{2}{3}$ of the balliboe of Racassan, next Brauar; total, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To hold to them and the heirs of their bodies. The lands created into the manor of Heley, with 900 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 12 March, 8th [1610-11].

2. Grant to *Sir Marvin Tuchet* (47), *Knight*. The great proportion of *Brad* (48), containing lands of Glassdrom, Derryliny, and Tollyvolly, one balliboe each; Laghirish, Lesnahaunen, Kyneyn, Dirrivickanan, Shranecor, Eadanmagehy, Mollaghmine, Corgromady, Cornetry, Cynoge, Rossnarin, Bodony, Cavanmarrane, Derreleagh, Monegare, Annagh, Derrinagle, Gravon, Glaswollagh, Derredoghill, Donalarge, Trelick, Dromnagough, Carabony, Ballyard, Eadenegonen, Keile-Iknock, Laghederge, Ughtavow, Vehagh, Onan, Glangine, Rahannagh, Minegare, and Neferhauna, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe each; Shraghloughart, Timory, Aghnahowe, Lisnamraher, Negullavolly, Dromskiny, Aghavella, Cornaleghy, Lettergesse, Coronally, Esker, Lettery, and Aghadare, one balliboe each; Ballioghill, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Bodony and Mullanagough, one balliboe each; Gargrome, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; and Gortcow, one balliboe; total, 2,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. Created the manor of Stowy, with 600 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 12 March, 8th [1610-11].

(45). *Fynagh*.—This proportion is represented on the map as occupying the eastern border of the barony, and as being traversed by two streams, the Dromlester and Dromesk. The surveyors found in it several patches of bog, but no woods.

(46). *Rarone*.—This proportion adjoined that of *Fynagh*, extending northward to the vicinity of the town of Omagh, and southward as far as the boundary with Clogher barony. The *Cogery* river flowed along a part of the southern boundary of *Rarone* and along its whole western boundary. It contained several patches of bog but no woods. On its north-eastern bounds stood the old castle and fort of Omev, represented on the map as at some distance from each other, the latter standing on church land, in a north-westerly direction from the castle.

(47). *Marvin Tuchet*.—This knight was Lord Audley's eldest son. His father only lived to enjoy the title of Earl of Castlehaven from September, 1616, until February,

1616-17; and at the last-mentioned date Sir Mervyn Tuchet became second earl, as well as Baron Audley. This nobleman was condemned for certain high crimes, and executed on Tower Hill in 1631. He married, 1st, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Benedict Barnham, alderman of London; and 2ndly, Anne, daughter of Ferdinando the Earl of Derby, and widow of Grey Bridges, Lord Chandos. By the first lady he left a large family.

(48). *Brad*.—This proportion lay along the western border of the barony, adjoining Fermanagh. It contained several portions of bog, and large patches of wood, especially on its western side. It contained also the church lands of Magherylagha, Kilserry, and Dreigh. A church is marked on the map in Kilserry. Although this proportion was one of the large size of 2,000 acres, it is drawn on the map in violet colour, and otherwise marked as if a proportion of the middle size.

3. Grant to *Sir Ferdinand Tuchet* (49), *Knight*. The great proportion of *Fentounagh* (50), containing the lands of Crevangora, Feghrewagh, Crevan, Dressoge, Cornemucklough, and Mulliaghmore, one balliboe each; Rakeragh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a balliboe; Clononogan, Tatekeile, and Aghadulla, one balliboe each; half of Magheri-Inn balliboe; Mollyvory, Cavan, Glanan, Crannagh, Ataghvore, Dromagran, Glassdromon, Dounamona, Bawanagh, Eadaunafagerie, Aghferan, Killiconan, Tatyvolvanna, and Ballyneckna, one balliboe each; in Ballinaharty, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Coulkeile, Dromaraght, Dromhurke, Rathkirhin, Tonnagh, Corhollagh, and Mugacart, one balliboe each; $\frac{2}{3}$ of the balliboe of Clangerie; half of Mollangough balliboe; total, 2,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. Created the manor of Tuchet, with 600 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 12 March, 8th [1610-11].

4. Grant to *Edward Blunte* (51), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Eddergoule* (52), containing the lands of Nareltana, Lanagea, Ballynegamoy, Edergoule, Donamclowy, Tollockinny, Trahan-chardbody, Keiltaunagh, Ballycarmalean, Dromchonally, Tollerosse, Shaskannoure, Mullagh, Laughtfamey, Leggacorry, and Behagh, one balliboe each; in Ballynahatly, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a balliboe; total, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. Also, the small proportion of *Carnvrackan* (53), containing the lands of Aghanamoile, Tawnaghwatty, Mollaghmicana, Agharegell, Tollorein, Tarloine, Mollaghtissan, Taulaght, Buttery, Balligonnowtragh, Carivrackan, Balligannitragh, Lawy, Syodinan, Gallwoltry, and Cashanahelly, one balliboe each; Culbinck, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; and Doninobber, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; total, 2,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. Created the manor of Ardleston, with 600 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 12 March, 8th [1610-11].

(49). *Tuchet*.—This knight was second son of old lord Audley, first Earl of Castlehaven (see note 47). Sir Ferdinando married the widow of Sir John Rodney of Pilton, county of Somerset.

(50). *Fentounagh*.—This proportion lay along the central part of the southern boundary of Omagh, and comprised a section of the ancient territory of Fintonagh, which gave name also to John Leigh's proportion in the adjoining barony of Clogher (see p. 265). Like the latter, it is also destitute of wood, as represented on the map, but not wanting in bogs and lakes. Although of the large size, it also is incorrectly drawn on the map in violet colour, as if it was to be taken as a middle proportion. For Fintonagh see p. 29.

(51). *Blunte*.—This gentleman came in Sir Mervyn Audley's [Tuchet's] consort, which contained the name of Sir Richard Brooke, who did not become an undertaker (see p. 146). Edward Blunte, who belonged to Derbyshire, had married Anne, the eldest daughter of old Lord Audley, and was, no doubt, induced through this connexion, to become an undertaker. He did not keep lands in Omagh permanently, nor did he even perhaps consider them worth any outlay. He went so far, however, as to have his two proportions created a manor named *Ardleston*, probably after his estate of *Harleston* in

Derbyshire. John Leigh, who held the proportion of Fentounagh in the barony of Clogher, writing to a friend, in April, 1611, says:—"Has considered the business as to Mr. Blunt's proportion of land; finds there are 12 balliboes and two parts of a balliboe, which belong to him as parcel of the abbey lands. Considering various things, and lastly the difficulty of drawing any English to dwell upon the same, protests he would not take it as a free gift, if tied to perform the conditions. Is content to give Mr. Blunt 150*l.* for his patent." John Leigh dwelt at the town of Omagh, and could manage land of this description very skilfully.

(52). *Eddergoule*.—This proportion lay also on the southern border of the barony, between Lord Audley's proportion of *Rahone* on the east, and Sir Ferdinando Tuchet's proportion of Fintonagh on the west. The river Dromrath flowed on its north-eastern boundary, dividing it from the church lands of Ballytemple, Killisoure, Clonachro, Lassan, Lovarine, and Tollaghmore.

(53). *Carnvrackan*.—This proportion stretched from that of Eddergoule in a north-western direction to the boundary line between Omagh and Strabane. It had four lakes, and a part of its western boundary was formed by the river Feragh.

5. Grant to *Sir John Davys* (54), *Knight*, attorney-general. The small proportion of *Clonaghmore* (55), containing the lands of Dounarea, Coulavanagh, Granan, Dromehinie, Creleas, Culnacrinagh, Dromeninry, Dromlewsy, Ballinebrackie, Drumneforraba, Clonaghmore, Ballilaghtie, Cloghage, Dromranhy, and Lorigewy, one balliboe each; the moiety of Magherym balliboe; the moiety of Coulbricke balliboe; the third part of a balliboe in Molanevare; and the like in Clongery; in all, 1,000 acres. Also, the small proportion of *Gravetagh* (56), containing the lands of Ballichandrin, Ballinchavan, Kilchlin, Lisnaclony, Castlannaderry, Nerebulrewy, Aghacoran, Letrim, Kisalahard, Maghereynageragh, Lisaline, Gravetagh, Kilbovill, Mollyvrestlan, Ardvaran, and Dromnois, one balliboe each; and two third parts of a balliboe in Molanavare; in all, 1,000 acres; the balliboes of Loughlagarda and Corowcorkeran, containing 60 acres each, are excepted from this grant. Both proportions are erected into one manor by the name of Clonaghmore and Gravetagh, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 28 June, 8th [1610].

iv. The Precinct of Liffer (57), barony of Raphoe and county of Donegal.

1. Grant to *Henry Clare* (58) of Stanfield Hall, Norfolk Co. The middle proportion of *Shraghnurlar* [Shragmirlar], containing the lands of Teevickmoy, one quarter; Donmoyle, one quarter; Tirecullin, one quarter; Garwirie, one quarter; Shraghnurlar, one quarter; $\frac{1}{11}$ parts of the quarter of Newna next to the quarter of Teadanmore; and the $\frac{2}{11}$ parts of the quarter of Knockgarran; in all, 1,500 acres; nine out of twenty-one parts of the quarter of Knockgarran, containing 93 acres, are excepted from this grant (59). The premises are created the manor of Shraghnurlar, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 18 July, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *William Willson* (60). The small proportion of *Aghagalla*, within the precinct of

(54). *Davys*.—These undertakers in the barony of Omagh formed a family party of themselves, Sir John Davys, as already stated, having married Eleanor, the youngest daughter of old Lord Aulley. This lady, after Sir John's death, married Sir Archibald Douglas.

(55). *Clonaghmore*.—This proportion lay in the central part of the barony, and abounded in woods and lakes. On its northern boundary there is a ruined church called Keilvore, and on its north-western limit were four balliboes of church land.

(56). *Gravetagh*.—This proportion stretched northward from that of Clonaghmore, and occupied a peninsular-shaped district running into Tyrconnell or Donegal, further north than Castle Derg. This stronghold is marked on the map, and named *Castlanna Derigi*. The whole proportion is amply supplied with woods and lakes, but no bogs are marked on the map.

(57). *Liffer*.—The baronial maps of Tyrconnell or Donegal not yet discovered.

(58). *Henry Clare*.—This gentleman first presented himself in the consort of Sir Henry Helmes [Holmes?] and was the only one of that consort who became an

undertaker. (See p. 148). He is styled Sir Henry Clare in the following year, 1611.

(59). *This grant*.—The lands of *Teevickmoy* consisted of three sub-divisions, known as Teevickmoymore, Teevickmoybegg, and Lettermekanon; the lands of *Donmoyle* contained three parcels, viz., Dunmoyle, Gortneclogh, and Ardmeran; the lands of *Tirecullin* contained the three sub-divisions called Tirecullin, Castlefynne, and Killrosse; the quarter of *Garivirie* consisted of the three parcels called Garivirie, Treanamullin, and Curtinlater; the quarter of *Shraghmirlar* contained Shraghmirlir, Mollindrit, and Tryenophore-Mafarra als. Loughforre; and the quarter of *Teadanmore* contained 12 sessiaghs, viz., Straghteadanmore, Gortscurren, Stranaghunshenagh, Edenmore, Drumnecrunough, Cluncovit, Knocke, Keeneleator, Drenanmore, Angillie, and Corevernon. See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal* (10) Car. I.

(60). *Willson*.—This undertaker came from Bolton, in the county of Suffolk, and belonged to Sir William Harborne's company. Although there were eight others in that band not one of them but himself became an undertaker (see p. 147). At first he only contemplated the obtaining of one proportion of 1,000 acres.

Liffer, containing Aghagalla, one quarter; Treanteboy, one quarter; Dromgonillan, one quarter; Killemy, one quarter; half of Knocknagarran quarter; $\frac{7}{22}$ parts of the quarter of Killcienint, next to the quarter of Killenure; in all, 1000 acres. Also, the small proportion of *Convoigh*, viz., Convoigh, one quarter; Fondrome, one quarter; Carrickbrack, one quarter; Rousky, one quarter; Magheriebehly, one quarter; $\frac{7}{8}$ parts of the quarter of Tullydonnell; in all 1,000; $\frac{5}{8}$ parts of the quarter of Fancedorcke; and $\frac{1}{18}$ part of the quarter of Tullydonnell, containing 120 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created into the manor of Aghagalla and Convoigh, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 18 July, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Edward Russell* (61), *Esq.* The middle proportion of *Acharin*, containing Cavanonagh, one quarter; Carrickenemano, one quarter; Mallanefeny, one quarter; Acharin, one quarter; Corgirie, one quarter; Lehardan, one quarter; $\frac{6}{11}$ parts of the quarter of Ballinhorra, next to Carrickenemano; and $\frac{3}{11}$ parts of the quarter of Kilcleverint, next to Cavanonagh quarter; in all, 1,500 acres; nine out of twenty-two parts of Kilcleverint quarter, containing 90 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Acharin, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 7 July, 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *Sir William Barnes* (62), *Knt.* The middle proportion of *Manister*, containing Carnonen, one quarter; Argirie, one quarter; Monyn, one quarter; Manister, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Ballyarrall, one quarter; Levally-Caslan $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Magheriereogh, one quarter; Drombane, one quarter; and $\frac{5}{22}$ parts of the quarter of Altangilla quarter, containing 90 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Manister, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 19 July, 8th [1610].

5. Grant to *Capt. Ralph Mansfield* (63). The small proportion of *Kilnaguerdan*, containing Carricknabanagh, one quarter; Laghtycarylan, one quarter; Kilnaguerdan, one quarter; Muckall, one quarter; $\frac{1}{11}$ part of the quarter of Altangilla, next Muckall; $\frac{5}{11}$ parts of the quarter of

(61). *Russell*.—This undertaker's name appears on Sir Maurice Berkeley's consort, and we know from an Inquisition (Donegal (11) Car. I.) that he was of London. Pynnar afterwards styles him Captain Russell. This Edward Russell sold his interest in the lands above-named, soon after he took out his patent, to John (afterwards Sir John) Kingsmill.

(62). *Barnes*.—This undertaker had no sooner taken out his patent than he sold the lands to Captain Edward Russell above-named. The name of Sir William Barnes appeared in none of the consorts or companies seeking lands in Ulster, and he must have been presented through some other channel. He must have been knighted in 1611, as in the preceding year, June 7, he writes simply as Wm. Barnes, in conjunction with Wm. Combes, to Salisbury, for a discharge of the arrears paid by them to the Earl of Northampton for the manors of Killingworth

and Ladbroke. In the month of August, he writes, as one of three lessees of the lands of Sir Robert Dudley, to Salisbury. The other two were Sir Richard Verney and Edward Boughton. Their joint letter was dated from Warwick. In 1617 Sir William Barnes and Hugh Lydyard had licence to keep a weekly market and two yearly fairs at Woolwich, at the request and for the benefit of the inhabitants. (See *Calendar, Domestic Series*, James I., 1603-10, pp. 517, 528, 532; 1611-18, p. 497.) Sir William was evidently a speculator in other places besides Ulster.

(63). *Mansfield*.—It is not known from any list of applicants, whence this servitor came, except that he must have been an Englishman. He dwelt on his proportion of Kilnaguerdan (now Killygordon, near Stranorlar), until the time of his death in 1634. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal (20) Car. I.

Ballinehorra, next to Kilnaguerdan; in all, 1,000 acres; $\frac{3}{11}$ parts of Altangilla quarter, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of Kilnaguerdan [Killygordon], with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 20 June, 8th [1610].

6. Grant to *Sir Thomas Cornewall* (64), *Knt.*, son and heir of Thomas Cornewall, baron of Burford, in Salop, and gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Prince Henry. The great proportion of *Corlackie*, containing Tirogh, one quarter; Cloghan, one quarter; Kilteferaille, one quarter; Keraghan, one quarter; Altnepeslie, one quarter; Corlacke, one quarter; Croughloughdeele, one quarter; Cancrewlatt, one quarter; Aghaneigh, one quarter; and $\frac{1}{11}$ of the quarter of Correan next to Cancrewlatt; in all, 2,000 acres; six out of eleven parts of Correan quarter, containing 120 acres, are excepted out of this grant. The premises are created into the manor of Corlackie, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 20 August, 8th [1610].

7. Grant to *Sir Thomas Remyngton* (65), *Knt.* The great proportion of *Tawnaforis*, containing Lettermore, one quarter; Tawnaforis, one quarter; Capragh, one quarter; $\frac{9}{11}$ parts of the quarter of Doose, next to the quarter of Capragh; Callan, one quarter; Clogragh, one quarter; Cancreeny, one quarter; Creggan, one quarter; Cashellnegowre, one quarter; $\frac{5}{11}$ parts of the quarter of Newna, next to the quarter of Cashellnegowre; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. The premises erected into the manor of Tawnaforis, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 19 July, 8th [1610].

8. Grant to *Sir Maurice Berkeley* (66), *Knt.* The small proportion of *Dromore*, containing Roshacke, one quarter; Dromore, one quarter; Dromany, one quarter; Magherieboy, one quarter; Dromnenardah, one quarter; $\frac{7}{8}$ parts of the quarter of Coranaght, next to the quarter of Faighcronaght; $\frac{5}{8}$ part of quarter of Listellan, and next to the quarter of Dromany; in all, 1,000 acres, with the right of free fishing in Lough Swilly. Also, the small proportion of *Lurga*, containing Aghlehard, one quarter; Tawnafiny, one quarter; Lurga, one quarter; Glankearne, one quarter;

(64). *Cornewall*.—The family and native place of this undertaker are indicated in the terms of the above grant no less distinctly than his occupation. His consort or company included six others of his own surname who were probably his brothers or near kinsmen (see p. 147), but only he became an undertaker. In October, 1610, Sir Thomas writes to Salisbury from Burford, in Herefordshire, requesting to be left out of the roll of the sheriffs for that county, because of his necessary attendance on the Prince of Wales, and his having no present residence in Herefordshire. (See *Calendar, Domestic Series, James I.*, 1603-10, p. 629). He appears to have pretty quickly disposed of his lands in Ulster to a purchaser named Thomas Davies.

(65). *Remyngton*.—This undertaker was vice-president of Munster, and appears to have disposed of his interest in the lands above named at an early date to Sir Ralph Bingley.

(66). *Berkeley*.—This undertaker first appears in plan-

tation records as the leader of a small company seeking for lands either in Oneilan or the Liffer. He is described as of Somersetshire, and as, himself, wishing to undertake 4,000 acres (see p. 147). In April, 1607, we find him writing urgently to the Government to appoint Dr. Eglington either to the deanery of Winchester or to the parsonage of Islip, in Oxfordshire. (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, James I.*, 1603-10, p. 354). Sir Maurice appears to have soon sold his interest in the land of his proportions in the Liffer to Sir Ralph Bingley. Lord George Carew, writing to Sir Thomas Roe, in 1617, says:—"Sir Morice Berkeley is lately dead, who was a gentleman, as you know, of many good parts." Sir Maurice married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William and sister of Sir Robert Killegrew, of Hanworth, and lived there. He was father of Sir John Berkeley, so much distinguished for his services in the reign of Charles I., for which, in 1658, he was created Baron Berkeley of Stratton. See *Carew's Letters to Sir Thomas Roe*, edited by John Maclean, p. 106.

Cornagillagh, one quarter; Ardkillin, one quarter; $\frac{2}{8}$ parts of the quarter of Favedock, next to the quarter of Lurga; and $\frac{3}{8}$ parts of the quarter of Listellan, next to the quarter of Tawnafiny; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. The premises erected into the manor of Dromore and Lurga, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 21 Feb., 9th [1610-11].

9. Grant to *Sir Thomas Coach* (67), *Knt.* The middle proportion of *Frikeanagh*, in the precinct of Liffer; in all, 1,500 acres. [The sub-divisions of this proportion not recorded.]

v. The precinct of Clancally (68), in the county of Fermanagh.

1. Grant to *Sir Hugh Wirrall* (69), *Knt.* The small proportion called *Ardmagh* (70), containing Cormackosker, one tate; Furnace, one and $\frac{3}{4}$ tate; Seydy, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Reland, one tate; Gortneskany, one tate; Altharkan, Faileagh, Diesternanmore, Kilturkbegg, and Lawmill, each $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Ballagh, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Ardmagh, Kernimore, Lishebreddy, Ardcloune, Dromgallan, Lissnegrannagh, Coolenesillagh, Lissnamorran, Gortfower, Coolecassan, and Mullacarnan, each $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; with all the islands of Lougherne to the premises belonging and adjoining; in all, 1,000 acres; the tate of Lissogurry, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Ardmagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 20 July, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Robert Bogas* (71) of Braham in Brantham, Suffolk Co., Esq. The small

(67). *Coach*.—This knight's surname is written also in State Papers, *Coath*, *Cotch*, *Coolch*, and *Coates*. We have neither been able to ascertain his native place in England, nor to find an abstract copy of his grant to lands in the precinct of the Liffer. An Ulster Inquisition [*Donegal*, (15) Jac. I.] states that he held a middle proportion of 1,500 acres, named *Frikeanagh*, in 1624; but according to Pynner, in 1620, his lands were named *Lismongan*. Sir Thomas was known as a thorough good servitor, and returned on the list sent from London to the deputy as one of those chosen to be undertakers. Chichester had secured his selection on the list by previously writing to Salisbury "in favour of Sir Thomas Coates, who served well in the wars of Ireland," and requesting that "he be remembered for some parcel of land in the northern plantation." Coach's services had been rendered in the south, and he had settled for a time in Queen's county, but he disposed of his property there and finally settled down in the Liffer, barony of Raphoe.

(68). *Clancally*.—See p. 203. This small barony, now called Clankelly or Clonkelly, is bounded on the north by the barony of Magherastephana; on the east by the county of Monaghan; and on the south-west by the barony of Coole. The map of 1609 is so constructed that the barony appears to be bounded north, south, and west by the county of Monaghan; and by Coolnerer on the east; and although the barony contains 36,922 acres, the map represents nearly all this area as absorbed in five proportions described as containing in them all *only* 5,000 acres! The territory therein known then as Slut-Rony is left white on

the map, thereby implying that its lands were to be appropriated to the use of the college in Dublin, a free school, or other purpose.

(69). *Wirrall*.—This undertaker in his application for lands, represented himself as worth 200*l.* per annum, and as wanting 2,000 acres. In 1606, he held the lands of Loversall and Alverley, in Yorkshire, but exchanged them for lands held by a person named Merfin. He no doubt disposed of the latter soon afterwards, as he settled permanently in Ulster at the time of the plantation. See *Calendar*, Domestic Series, reign of James I., 1603-10, p. 331.

(70). *Ardmagh*.—This proportion is placed by the map on the south-eastern part of the barony, and bordering on Lough Erne. A few parcels of church lands are represented as lying between it and the lough, although the islands opposite are included in the grant to Wirrall. The islands belong to the parish of Galloon, and are situated in upper Lough Erne. They are as follow:—*Inishfendra*, upwards of 238 acres in extent; *Bleanish*, about 107 acres; *Dernish*, 91 acres; *Crehan*, 4 acres; and *Gramem*, 4 acres. The map truly represents this proportion as a land of streams and lakes, as well as islands.

(71). *Bogas*.—On a list of 40 applicants for the whole county of Fermanagh, this undertaker is styled simply as of *Densham Park* (see p. 145), in county of Suffolk, the Park being situate no doubt in Braham of Brantham. He represented himself as worth £240 per annum; but he soon sold his patent to Edward Hatton.

proportion of *Cloncarne* (72), containing Liscony, Mullanevenoge, Corcomro, and Dromreny, each $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Tonaghmore, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; Magheryreogh, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; Gortgarvan, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; Kilturke, Loughnegallgreene, Clonmoclare, Cargie, Clonmoghan, Rinville, Cloncarne, Skeanrie, and Dromyeaskie, each $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Gortnemureknock, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Cloncra, one tate; Aghava, one tate; in all, 1,000 acres—the tate of Clonemalin, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Cloncarne, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 26 April, 9th [1611].

3. Grant to *Robert Calvert* (73), gent. The small proportion of *Gortgunan* (74), containing the towns and lands of Knockmakegan, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Dirrymolan, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Tawnatebolge, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Gortsprauran, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Gortragh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Tawnakill, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Mullahenegawna, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Gortgunan, one tate; Lisneshelled, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Cosrinagh, one tate; Racoile, Cosleagh, Dromagh, Clongawnagh, Carronehowra, and Agharowsky, each $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Kilmore, one tate; Derrymeene, one tate; Boywhosat, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; and Lisnamullat, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. Rosbrick, one tate, containing 60 acres, is excepted out of this grant. The premises are created the manor of Mount Calvert, with 300 acres in demesne; power to create tenures; and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 4 June, 9th [1611].

4. Grant to *John Sedborough* (75), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Latgir* (76), containing the lands Coolenemarowe, Dirrimore, and Dromanagh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate each; Ratiny and Lisnegowlan, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate each; Owencalmadan, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; Latgir, Mullanelohoge, Kilca, Tawnategerman, Drombealan, Coronegiegie, and Balliagauquill, each $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Aghdromsillagh, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Tatenegeragh, $\frac{2}{3}$ tate; Tateconuill, $\frac{2}{3}$ tate; Dromsure, $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Bosallagh, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Golan, Knappagh, Dromsough, Killurad, and Cornemucklogh, $\frac{2}{3}$ tate each; total, 1,000 acres. Killeferbane, $\frac{1}{3}$ tate, and another parcel, containing $\frac{2}{3}$ tate, are excepted from this grant. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. The premises are created into the manor of Mount Sedborough, with 300 acres in demesne; power to create tenures; and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the

(72). *Cloncarne*.—Cloncarne is depicted on the map as very wooded, and plentifully supplied with streams and lakes. Its church lands were Clonsfodda, Clontelosley, Mullamore, and Magheryreagh. There are churches, apparently in good repair, marked at the two places last mentioned.

(73). *Calvert*.—Calvert's name does not appear in any of the consorts or companies already mentioned. Like some others of his class in Ulster, he appears to have taken trouble to render his lands more attractive by settling thereon, and expending something in improvements with the object only of getting them sold to better advantage. Calvert sold his proportion to George Ridgeway.

(74). *Gortgunan*.—This proportion adjoined Cloncarne, and like it, was plentifully wooded. In Gortganon one

rather large lake is represented on the map. Both these proportions were comprised in an ancient Irish territory of Clankelly called *Slut Onell*, where dwelt a sept or family of the O'Neills.

(75). *Sedborough*.—Sedborough's name is not recorded in connexion with any of the English companies already referred to. From whatever place in England he came, however, Sedborough was a resolute settler, and as proof of this he brought his wife and family to reside on his lands.

(76). *Latgir*.—Latgir adjoined Wirrall's lands called Ardmagh. Latgir was also a district abounding in woods and lakes. Its lands, to a considerable extent lay along the range known as the Slewbagh mountain.

castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 12 May, 11th [1613].

5. Grant to *Thomas Flowerdew* (77), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Lysreske* (78), containing the lands of Pottogyagh, two third parts of a tate; Lisronkeagh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Yeighercashell, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; Shanog, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Liskesk, Anaghgewle, Tirem^cMorris, Annaghard, and Annaghgilly, each $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Annaghmun, and Mullycomeade, one tate each; Lisronie, Cavan, Tawnahebooge, and Gortnedrragh, each $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Cromaghy, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Dristernan, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Moylin, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; Curtrassna, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Drumbroochus $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; and Killeferdiffe, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; in all, 1,000 acres. The tate of Annaghgullen, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. This, and the small proportion of Rosswire in the adjoining precinct of Lurg, are erected into the manor of Rosswire, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 17 June, 8th [1610].

vi. The Precinct of Lurg and Coolemakernan (79), in the county of Fermanagh.

1. Grant to *Thomas Flowerdew*, *Esq.* The small proportion of *Rosswire* (80), containing Rosswire, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, being two tates, viz., Rosswire and Knocknecapull; Dromcahan, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, being two tates, viz., Dromcahan and Knockartrean; Ardaghie, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, being 2 tates, viz., Ardaghie and Tawnaghgigy; Dromboe, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, being 2 tates, viz., Dromboe and Kakelly; half the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Clonenawle, one tate; Nadullagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, being 2 tates, viz., Nadullagh and Clonehoyle; Derry, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, being 2 tates, viz., Derry and Farcaghy; Derrynanny, one tate; the islands of Gorwollen, Inishnemen, and Inishdony, in Lougherne, being 2 tates; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. The tate of Mullyreshan, being part of Derrynanny, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. [See the preceding grant.]

(77). *Flowerdew*.—This undertaker's name appears on the list of the forty applicants for the county of Fermanagh, already in several cases referred to. On this list he is styled as of Hetherset, in county of Norfolk (see p. 145). He was also one of Sir Henry Hobert's company, and represented himself as having an income of 200*l.* per annum. His 'truly rural' surname was afterwards transformed into Flowerdew, and eventually curtailed into Flower.

(78). *Lysreske*.—The proportion of Lysreske occupied a central position in the barony, comprising the old Irish territory known as *Slut Donoghy*, from a sept of that tribe-name, which owned the lands time immemorial. This district is represented on the map as being then thickly wooded, and as containing one small patch of bog.

(79). *Lurg and Coolemakernan*.—This precinct now forms the two distinct baronies of Coole and Lurg. *Coole*, in the south-east corner of Fermanagh, is bounded on the north by the barony of Magherastephana; on the north-east by the barony of Clankelly; on the east by the county of Monaghan; on the south by the county of Cavan; and on the west by upper Lough Erne, which divides it from the barony of Knockninny. *Lurg* is bounded on the north by the county of Donegal; on the north-east and east by the county of Tyrone; on the south by the barony of Magheraboy; and on the west by the barony of

Magheraboy and the county of Donegal. On the map of 1609 the above two baronies are represented as lying along the right or eastern side of Lough Erne, from Magheraboy on the south to the confines of Tyrconnell or Donegal on the north. On the west of these two regions lies that part of Lough Erne which contains apparently the most important islands, whilst the eastern boundary is formed by the county of Tyrone. They are styled on the map "The halfe baronies of Lurgh and Colemackernan," being represented generally as very much wooded, and as containing (especially Coole) several small quantities of bog. On the map of this precinct the bounding lines between the proportions are not given, nor are some of the proportions coloured according to their sizes. Although this precinct, now two baronies, contained about 83,500 acres, the map represents all this vast sweep, with only a few trifling exceptions in the shape of church lands, as absorbed in seven proportions, the undertakers of these proportions being supposed to have obtained only 8,000 acres among them all!

(80). *Rosswire*.—This proportion stretched across nearly the central part of the ancient territory known as Coole-mcKernan, and contained a plentiful supply of wood and bog. At a little distance off that portion of it which adjoined Lough Erne, the three islands mentioned in the above grant are duly represented.

2. Grant to *Thomas Blenerhassett* (81), *Esq.* The middle proportion of the *Edernagh* (82), containing the half quarter of Gortnecullin, being two tates, viz., Gortnecullin and Drommore; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Muckrush, being 2 tates, viz., Muckrush and Letter; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Clonekaha, 2 tates, viz., Clonekaha and Tatenetobyn; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Roskaha, 2 tates, viz., Roskaha and Lisangell; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromalardagh, 2 tates, viz., Dromalardagh and Dromnacrossy; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of [] grewen, being 2 tates; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Oghill, 2 tates, viz., Oghill and Cromeline; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Edenevehie, 2 tates, viz., Edenevehie and Clony; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Brecklonty, 2 tates, viz., Brecklonty and Colatagh; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Teevickspirdie, 2 tates, viz., Teevickspirdie and Tyrwynie; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Shranadaroe, 2 tates, viz., Shranadaroe and Glanarna; three 12th parts of Kilspellane, next adjoining the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Shanadaroe; the moiety of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Letterboy, being one tate; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Edernagh, 2 tates, viz., Edernagh and Dromchine; the island of Downinishbane in Lougherne, and all other islands in Lougherne that are parcels, or belonging to the said premises; except the islands of Bana, Inishkiragh, Inistowirch, and Lostimore, all which premises contain 1,500 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. The premises are created the manor of Edernagh, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English. Half the small proportion of *Tollimakein*, and the half quarter of Agholeigh, being 2 tates, viz., Agholeigh and Ardnarnagh; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromardtowy, 2 tates, viz., Dromardtowy and Cullaughell; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromchony, 2 tates, viz., Dromchony and Aghermagh; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Tollymaken, 2 tates, viz., Tollymaken and Brenan; in all 500 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne; nine-twelfth parts of the quarter of Kilspellan, containing 90 acres, and the moiety of the half moiety of the quarter of Letterbuy, containing 30 acres, are excepted from this grant. Rent, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 30 June, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Sir Edward Blenerhassett* (83). The middle proportion of *Banaghmore* (84),

(81). *Blenerhassett*.—This undertaker's name appears on two lists of applicants for lands in Fermanagh. In the list of forty already quoted (see p. 145), he is designated of Horseford, in the county of Norfolk; and when appearing as one of Sir Henry Hobert's company, he represents himself as having an income of 120*l.* per annum (see p. 146). Although he came directly from Norfolk at the time referred to, there had been persons bearing the same surname, and probably belonging to the same family, well known in Ireland at an earlier period. John Blenerhassett, who is described in 1609, as an ancient councillor, and who must have been living in Dublin during a long period of Elizabeth's reign, was appointed in the year above mentioned an extra Baron of Exchequer; and, in 1621 was knighted and created chief baron. Thomas Blenerhassett, of Fermanagh, designated his residence on the shore of Lough Erne, Castlehasset; and left at least two sons, named respectively Leonard and Samuel.

(82). *Edernagh*.—These lands lay principally in the central division of the barony of Lurg, small fragments also stretching along the shore of lower Lough Erne. Its sub-divisions are represented on the map as mixed up

with several lands belonging to the church; and two churches are marked on its borders at Kiltermie and Tollinaloge. It is further represented as clothed with woods, and as being well supplied with little streams.

(83). *Blenerhassett*.—Probably a brother of Thomas Blenerhassett,—his title of knighthood either denoting that he was the representative of the family in England, or that he had been distinguished in some walk of life previously to his settlement in Fermanagh. His name does not appear in any company or consort; but, as his brother, or near kinsman, Thomas, made his appearance early, he had probably directions from Sir Edward to negotiate a proportion for the latter. At all events, the proportions of Thomas and Edward Blenerhassett lay together, thus showing that their owners were probably friends, if not connexions. Sir Edward left at least one son named Sir Francis, who resided on his estates in Fermanagh.

(84). *Banaghmore*.—This proportion stretched from Thomas Blenerhassett's proportion, which it adjoined, to the northern extremity of the barony. Thus, Sir Edward's lands lay, throughout their whole extent, along the shore of the beautiful lake; and they are represented on the

viz., the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Rosbeg, 2 tates, containing Rosbeg and Balliricaghan; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Rossmore, 2 tates, viz., Rossmore and Oughter-Drome; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Ramore, 2 tates, viz., Ramore and Ballaghadowghie; three 12th parts of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Toanemenoran next adjoining the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Aghmableny; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Aghmableny, 2 tates, viz., Aghmableny and Lawraggagh; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Glackeromtally, 2 tates, viz., Glackeromtally and Tynarany; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Choylemore, 2 tates, viz., Choylemore and Tollytumpane; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Coolekachy, 2 tates, viz., Coolekachy and Clenawila; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Tatyneallochy, 2 tates, viz., Tatyneallochy and Bannaghbegg; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Bannaghmore, 2 tates, viz., Bannaghmore and Tategare; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Aghmore, 2 tates, viz., Aghmore and Proghes; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Inishglin, 2 tates, viz., Inishglin and Doughloyne; the island of Bana, two tates; the islands of Inishtowirch, Inishkiragh, Lissimore, and Crone-Inish, all in Lougherne; and all other islands in Lougherne belonging to the premises, except the island of Downinishbana; in all, except as aforesaid, 1,500 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne; rent, 8*l.* English. The advowson and patronage of the rectory and vicarage of Maghericulmany. The premises are created the manor of Bannaghmore, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Also, parcel of the small proportion of *Tollmakein*, viz., the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Tollineglog, 2 tates, viz., Tollineglog and Leane; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Tollycalbrick, 2 tates, viz., Tollycalbrick and Dromgran; the quarter of Crony, 4 tates, viz., Crony, 2 tates, and Dromchese, 2 tates; in all, 500 acres, and free fishing in Lougherne; three 12th parts of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Tawnienoran, containing 90 acres, and the moiety of the half moiety of the quarter of Letterbuy, containing 30 acres, are excepted from this grant. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 3 July, 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *John Archdale* (85), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Tallanagh* (86), containing the lands of Coilenure, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter or 2 tates, viz., Coilenure and Knockakasy; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Tallanagh, being 2 tates, viz., Tallanagh and Carrauny; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Coulcoppocky, being 2 tates, viz., Coulcoppocky and Dromscoole; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromadderdanagh, 2 tates, viz., Dromadderdanagh and Dromdronyne; the quarter of Coylaghmore, being 4 tates, viz., Coylaghmore, 2 tates, and Dollypatrick, 2 tates; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Coylaghbegg, 2 tates, viz., Coylaghbegg and Lisharra; Etadd, one tate; the island of Crewinshaghy in Lougherne, being one tate; total, 1,000 acres. Part of the tate of Derryoine, being one part of Etadd, and containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant, for glebe lands. Free fishing in Lougherne. The premises are created the manor of Archdale, with 300 acres in demesne; power to create tenures; and to hold a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 13 July, 10th [1612].

map as much wooded, and free from bog, excepting a very small patch on the border of Tyrone. In the sub-division called Tawlaghy, there is a church marked on the extreme northern border of the barony.

(85). *Archdale*.—Archdale's name appears on two lists of applicants, in one of which he represents himself as coming from Darsham, in the county of Suffolk, and in the other as worth 200*l.* per annum (see pp. 145, 146).

He was afterwards styled as of Archdale's-town, in the county of Fermanagh.

(86). *Tallanagh*.—The lands forming this proportion lay near the centre of the precinct represented on the map. It was wooded near the shore of Lough Erne, and contained several patches of bog. The two islands of Inismore and Inisbeg lay opposite, but they are both marked on the map as church lands.

5. Grant to *Edward Warde* (87), gent. The small proportion of *Nekarney* (88), viz., $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Goyseed, being 2 tates, viz., Goyseed and Dromsaran; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Boyagher, 2 tates, viz., Boyagher and Tawnyfaighwile; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromcroyne, 2 tates, viz., Dromcroyne and Ardloghra; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Moynekoehy, 2 tates, viz., Moynekoehy and Tollonarnyly; $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Nekarney, 3 tates, viz., Nekarkeney, Caranalisse, and Caranaglasse; the quarter of Eckaghlagh, 4 tates, viz., Eckaghlagh 2 tates, and Carnearogage 2 tates; and the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromore 2 tates, viz., Dromore and Eadonawyan; in all 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. A parcel of the half quarter of Cloneawle, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. The premises are created the manor of Nekarney, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 13 May, 9th [1611]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Fermanagh*, (31) Car. I.

6. Grant to *Thomas Barton* (89) of Norwich, co. of Norfolk, Esq. The small proportion of *Dromunshyn* (90), viz., the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Monneghan, 2 tates, viz., Monneghan and Drogan; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromunshyn, 2 tates, viz., Dromunshyn and Clontitrewire; Kerladoghan, one tate; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Drommackillawny, 2 tates, viz., Drommackillawny and Minchelonty; Edringe, one tate; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Eyghan, 2 tates, viz., Eyghan and Monollow; the quarter of Fernaght in Coole, 4 tates, viz., Fernaght one tate, Sidagheir one tate, Sivlawne one tate, and Lettermone, one tate; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromorchyre, 2 tates, viz., Dromorchyre and []; and the island of Inishclara, one tate; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. The tate of Tolla in the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Eyghan, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. The premises are created the manor of Dromunshyn, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 27 September, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Fermanagh*, (31) Car. I.

7. Grant to *Henry Honyng* or *Hunings* (91), Esq. The small proportion of *Dowrosse* (92), containing the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dowrosse, being 2 tates, viz., Dowrosse and Rossay, and Little Rosquier; Dromachy, one tate; Dromshene, $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarter, being the two tates of Dromsheene and Drompen; Dromkenny, one quarter, containing four tates, viz., Dromkenny and Dromonosill, 2 tates, and Lisgryrin, 2 tates; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Downane, two tates, viz., Downane and Corewaghe; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromalla, 2 tates, viz., Dromalla and Dromarran; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Clinerosse, 2 tates, viz., Clinerosse and Lagnamiltog; the islands of Inishconury, Inishdanare, and Inishcaffy, 2 tates;

(87). *Warde*.—This undertaker was one of Lord Saye's company. He came from Suffolk, and represented himself as having an income of 400*l.* per annum. Ward sold his proportion in 1611 to Harrington Sutton of Kallam, in the county of Nottingham.

(88). *Nekarney*.—This proportion lay in Coole, adjoining Archdale's lands on the south.

(89). *Barton*.—This undertaker's name occurs on none of the lists of applicants already mentioned, but his grant, as above, states that he came from Norwich. He appears to have purchased Sutton's portion, Nekarney, which at one point adjoined his own lands. Eventually Barton sold both proportions to Sir Gerard Lowther.

(90). *Dromunshyn*.—This proportion lay in that part of

the precinct now known as the barony of Lurg, excepting a small part which was situate in Coole. The lands of Dromunshyn were interspersed with several parcels of church lands, as shown on the map.

(91). *Hunings*.—This undertaker came from Darsham, in the county of Suffolk; but he appears to have disposed of his patent, and made no attempt to plant his proportion.

(92). *Dowrosse*.—This proportion lay also in Coole-mcKernan, and like most of the lands throughout that whole precinct, had much wood, and a comparatively limited supply of bog. The three islands mentioned in the above grant are marked on the map, but appear to have been of little importance.

in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To enjoy free fishing in Lougherne. The tate of Tabernafin, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor Honnynge, with 300 acres in demesne; power to create tenures; and to hold a court baron; to hold a Saturday market at the town of Honinge, and a fair there on the 24th March and the day after, unless such day fall on Saturday or Sunday, in which case the fair to be held on the Monday and Tuesday following; with a court of pie-powder, and the usual tolls; rent, 13*s.* 4*d.* Irish. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 28 Oct., 10th [1612].

VII. The Precinct of Loughtee (93), in the county of Cavan.

1. Grant to *Sir Richard Waldron* (94), *Knt.* The two proportions of *Dromehill* and *Dromemoylan*, viz., the lands of Corgarran, one poll; Tirorkan, 2 polls, viz., Tirorkan and Lisduff; Gortnesellahy, 2 polls, viz., Gortnesellahy and Shancleon; Dromhill, one poll; Loghoconnoge, 2 polls; Clough-Igonner, 2 polls; Corgagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ a poll; Corragh, one poll; Coaghies, $\frac{1}{2}$ a poll; Dromhanacrone; one poll; Dromconviclen, 2 polls; and it consists of several parcels lying between Drondwoone in the east and Dromchonoway and Nachara in the west, a mountain on the north, and a bogg in the south; Meonarry, 2 polls; Knocknelecky, 2 polls; the island of Eynish, one poll; Katakine, one poll; Gortnenowle, one poll; Sirawkeile, one poll; the above-named lands constituted the small proportion of Dromehill, in all, 1,000 acres. Also the small proportion of *Drommellan* or *Dromemoylan*, viz., the lands of Dromgole, one poll; Cullybogg, one poll; Ragaltan, one poll; Tollenagh, two polls; Lisdorrán, one poll; Farnan, three polls; Derriad, one poll; Derrylyne, two polls; Dromoamin, one poll; Nacarragh, one poll; Derrycran, one poll;

(93). *Precinct of Loughtee*.—This immense precinct, which is the last on the list of those handed over to English undertakers, comprised the two present baronies of Upper and Lower Loughtee. The former, occupying the centre of the county of Cavan, is bounded on the north by Lower Loughtee and Tollaghgarvey; on the east by Tollaghgarvey; on the south by Castlerahin; on the south-west by Clonmahon; on the west by Tullaghonco; and on the north-west by Tullaghagh. Lower Loughtee, which lies in the northern part of the county, is bounded on the north by the county of Fermanagh; on the east by the barony of Tullaghgarvey; on the south by the barony of Upper Loughtee; and on the west by the barony of Tullaghagh. On the barony map of 1609, the compass points W.N.W., and thus the surveyors of that time bounded the whole precinct or barony of Loughtee on the north by the barony of Tullaghagh and Tullaghonco; on the south by Tullaghgarvey; on the east by Tullaghgarvey; and on the west by Tullaghonco, Clonmahon, and Castle-rahin. The whole precinct, containing about 96,000 acres, was absorbed, with comparatively small exceptions, by six undertakers, who were supposed to have received amongst them all only 12,500 acres! The exceptions were church lands, and lands for a free school and a corporate town, which together would not probably have amounted to more than 2,000 acres. The several proportions are not satisfactorily shown on the map, and on some of them their names, as appearing in the grants, are not marked at all. Some well-known features have

due prominence, such as Lough Outre, the upper end of Lough Erne, and a river called the *Owen Vore*. The whole precinct appears, in its northern and north-eastern districts to have had a liberal sprinkling of woods and bogs.

(94). *Waldron*.—This undertaker was son of a John Waldron, one of three notorious 'discoverers' who became rich on the plunder of Irish landowners, during the reign of Elizabeth, and who secured their booty by having obtained a Crown grant of it in the following reign [1607]. The other two worthies besides Waldron, were George Sexten, afterwards escheator in Ulster, and Robert Dixon, one of his assistants. These harpies picked up their prey over a wide field, comprising the counties of Waterford, Wexford, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Louth, and Galway, no fewer than twenty-two gentlemen suffering from their depredations. (See *Erck's Repertory*, pp. 485, 486). Richard Waldron, the son of John, was thus in a good position to undertake lands and to become a knight, as he did, in due time. There is a petition from him to the Privy Council, July 5, 1610, praying to be excused from a personal residence of five years on his proportion of land in Ulster, and recommending George Sharp and Clement Cotterill as his deputies. This was no doubt granted, as the *Warrant for Deputation* (see p. 238), was intended to meet such requests. Sir Richard Waldron never resided on his Ulster lands, but his son, Sir Thomas, several years subsequently took up his abode there.

Dromellar, one poll; Dromskeagh, one poll; Nafforragh, $\frac{1}{2}$ a poll; Lissnevendragh, $\frac{1}{2}$ a poll; Inche, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a poll; Derricana, three pottles. In all, 1,000 acres. Total rent for the two proportions, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. The premises created the manor of Dromhill and Dromellan, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 9 July, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (11) Jac. 1.

2. Grant to *John Fishe* (95), *Esq.* The great proportion of *Dromany*, containing Fugh, one poll; Drumullagh, one poll; Dromchoile, one poll; Gortichore, one poll; Killychare, one poll; Dromerslady, one poll; Lissanygan, one poll; Keilanehire, one poll; Raffian, one poll; Dromachon, one poll, Knockakine, one poll; Ruskie, two polls; Keilecony, one poll; Aghanilly, $\frac{1}{2}$ a poll; Carriaghan, $\frac{1}{2}$ a poll; Fugh, two polls; Tullagh, one poll; Derhowe, one poll; Dromany, two polls; Portacloghan, one poll; Derrychryne, one poll; Ryvory, one poll; Inishmore, two and $\frac{1}{2}$ polls; Keilegony, one poll; Dromarde, one poll; Donoghan, $\frac{1}{4}$ poll; Drom-Inora, — poll; Raskeile, one poll; Droughderge, one poll; Loughell, one poll; Rahella, one poll; Lissnanagh, one poll; Lissachara, one poll; Terrygillaga, one poll; Dromchro, one poll; Shraghadoone, one poll; Clonelurge, $\frac{1}{2}$ a poll; Keile-Iconan, one poll; Knocksnigerke, one poll; Corodialisse, one poll; Polloree, one poll; and Cowlenalla, one poll; in all, 2,000 acres; total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. The premises created the manor of Dromany, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (26) Car. 1.

3. Grant to *Sir Stephen Butler* (96), *Knt.* The whole manor of *Dernglush*, including the town of Belturbert, and the following lands, viz., Corrockmore, Corrockreanagh, Aghateripose, Lorgemore, Trinagh, Knockleddge, Collonemuckloe, Creanaghebaynes, Crockanty, [], Nahallagh, Denardenany, Cormacrenode, Aghadromerges, Cornacony, Correllcon, Corvilley, Lissavana, Inishbegg, Knockanagmoge, Derregilly, Derrigenragh, [], Dromararka, Aghadrengallone, Pollynagarranagh, Dromanaigarrogh, Tullybricke, Dromsellagh, Allenyuttermillet, Puttamerry, Anna [], Killenclare, Dromogane, Dromlargie, Cornemoran, Dromorlorebegg, Tollroone, Karkarnan, Corrohany, Skeagh, Dromiskin, Killeneleck, Dromahurte, Strone, Portclany, Shrocogline, Mullaghroy, Mullaghnevane, Greagh, Inchmagh, Nabane, Langreagh, et insula in fluvio [], Lynamadrowe, Grille, Dereneste, Derreneglasse, Derrekarkey,

(95). *Fishe*.—This undertaker came from Bedford, as one of Sir Francis Anderson's company, and represented himself to be worth 300*l.* per annum. Two others only of that consort obtained grants, and were able to secure lands in Oneilan, the barony they preferred,—but why Fishe failed in doing so, and was transferred to Loughtee, we have not discovered. At all events, he was evidently a prosperous undertaker, being created a knight as a reward for his great expenditure in helping forward the plantation cause on his own immediate property. This honour, perhaps, made him aspire after another, and in a way too, which also was supposed to assist the grand movement; for he soon afterwards got himself dubbed a *baronet* at a cost of more than £1,000—the proceeds in such cases ostensibly to be employed for the raising and equipping of a standing army

in Ulster, to protect the settlers from their Irish enemies.

(96). *Butler*.—This undertaker was an Englishman, although bearing a surname which has become peculiarly Irish. He was not even related to the great family which has produced so many distinguished earls and dukes of Ormonde, but settled at Belturbet as an undertaker in the plantation of Ulster. He was ancestor of the earls of Lanesborough. His wife was Mary, daughter of Gervase Brindsley of Brindsley, in Nottinghamshire. He came here from Bedfordshire, and was one in the consort of Sir John Mallery of York. Butler represented himself as having an estate of 1,500*l.*, and he appears to have been one of the most prosperous of his class. His energy as a planter, at the head of Lough Erne, soon secured for him the honour of knighthood.

Pottaghan, Knockanis, Carrioagh, Bunn, Corryloghane, Crahard, Cornewehan, Aghinbriscoe, Dromcarplin, Ballhectrym, Aghnegringe, Drumeneretoure, Clogh [], Kilduffe, Aghwillgarrett, Aghneneden, Shancorrewe, Croleghy, Portruen, Agharoe, Latremete, Quevie, Mullaghnevavogo, Crelergan, Mullaghglasse, Shrewe, Pultameryn, [], Forlagh, Killehaghe, Killagan, Carrowcloghan, Shean, Killegrare, Lissdugan, Correnegarron, [], Cassen [] al' Grilly, Tolly, Shanteman, Cornany, Corivills, Aghdromcree, Nehany, Mullencogh, Byagh, [], Aghadromstonan, Aghadromadon, Carrowsnowe, Shankeill, Killnacrosse, Tomcorr, Tomcorotragh, Tomcoreitragh, Corlatten, Kena [], Dromaddy, Agharowseleland, Aghecuran, Pollonamanchagh, Dromesklinian, Derreconge, Dromenderry [], Rosgeara, Aghnemchog, Aghedrina, Muffe, Manublowes, Mawbane, Keiltallykalliry al' Belturbet, Aghamore, [], Dromary, Corkmalkeon, Derryfadda, Aghachappell, Leggettenan, Scrubagh, Connochin, Rouskey, Killcony, Derrevony, Clownewagh, Naghoragh, and free fishing in the lake or river of Loughouter, and in the waters of Lougherne *alias* Owenmore; in all, 2,760 acres. Held by knight's service, in *capite*; excepting the lands on the Belturbet estate, which were held forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (67) Car. I.

4. Grant to *Sir Nicholas Lusher* (97), *Knt.* The great proportion of *Lyskeagh*, containing the following lands, viz., Corrachean, one poll; Clonereny, one poll; Pollobrally, 3 polls; Corragreagh, one poll; Dromhellagh, 2 polls; Gortnaskilline, one poll; Keynenuore, one poll; Eadantyclary, 3 polls; Colltragh, one poll; Leater, one poll; Derryglan, one poll; Aghnagrellagh, one poll; Allnamucke-iduy, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Neassehagh, one poll; Corrodinlisse, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Loughnauran, one poll; Polloneal, one poll; Cromeline, one poll; Liskeagh, one poll; Crobanagh, 2 polls; Agharagh, 2 polls; Pollanreaske, one poll; Racorige, one poll; Aghnaclog, one poll; Pollobane, 2 polls; Oghill, 2 polls; Corlisaly, 2 polls; Corlorogha, 3 polls; Tollocue, one poll; and Driman, 2 polls; in all, 2,000 acres; total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. The premises are created the manor of Liskeagh, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 27 April, 9th [1611]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (23) Car. I.

5. Grant to *Sir Hugh Wyrall* (98), *Knt.* The middle proportion of *Monaghan*, containing Cullagan, 2 polls; Camlier, one poll; Tomassan, one poll; Tyregormelly, one poll; Keile-Icaroba, 2 polls; Dromgart, one poll; Derrynony, one poll; Clonynagh, one poll; Nacorghagh, one poll; Monaghan, 2 polls; Derrichiel, Cinaghan, Tomchouro, Ardea, Keilenolin, Culvagally, and Anture, each one poll; Bellaghea, 2 polls; Clonomoligg, 4 polls; Clouna, 2 polls; Drombrochees, one poll; Fugh, one poll; Eadangollin, one poll; $\frac{1}{2}$ the poll of Clonticonga; in all, 1,500 acres. The two polls of Granchinagh, containing 90 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises

(97). *Lusher*.—This undertaker came from Surrey. In August, 1611, there is confirmation of a grant made by the Lord High Admiral, July 13, 1611, to Sir Nicholas Lusher of Shooland, county of Surrey, Sir Hugh Wirrall of Enfield, county of Middlesex, and others, of the office of measuring coals, grain, and salt, to be shipped within the Lord Admiral's jurisdiction. (See *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, Jac. I., 1611-13, p. 67). Sir Nicholas forfeited his Ulster lands for neglecting to take

the oath of supremacy, and for letting his property to persons who also neglected or refused to do so. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (23) Car. I.

(98). *Wirrall*.—We were not told when Wirrall appeared with his small company (see p. 247) whence he came, but we now find from the preceding note that he had been, before his arrival in Ulster, an inhabitant of Enfield, in Middlesex.

are created the manor of Monaghan, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 21 June, 8th [1610].

6. Grant to *John Tailor* (99), gent. The middle proportion of *Agheteeduffe*, containing Aghagramouse, one poll; Killnacrinny, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Tonnagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Dromolly, one poll; Dromsine, one poll; Dromhenis, one poll; Carigvore, one poll; Aghnicklanagha, one poll; Dromoragh, one poll; Gargarane, one poll; Kedine, one poll; Rahege, one poll; Drom-Illan, one poll; Keile-Ivanny, one poll; Brocklaghe, one poll; Dungen, one poll; Dromcarplin, one poll; Cullagh, 2 polls; Drombo, 2 polls; Lisiliarta, one poll; Corrotobber, one poll; Iartine, one poll; Lismakeragh, one poll; Crosse, one poll; Ragaskie, one poll; Knockefadda, one poll; Aghateeduffe, one poll; Owlie, one poll; Lissihanen, one poll; Dromgonhan, one poll; and the half of the poll of Lat-Itragh; containing in all, 1,500 acres; the two polls of Cullentrage and Lisbanise, containing 90 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of Agheteeduffe, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 8 June, 8th [1610].

II.

PRECINCTS OR BARONIES SET APART FOR SCOTTISH UNDERTAKERS ONLY.

1. The Precinct of the Fewes (100), county of Armagh.

1. Grant to *Sir James Douglass* (101) of Spott, knight, gentleman of the privy chamber, of a patent of naturalization and the great proportion of *Clancarney* (102), containing the following

(99). *Tailor*.—See pp. 125, 228. This undertaker was from Cambridgeshire, and had an income, as he represented, of two hundred marks yearly. He was a prosperous settler, although he had some trouble for neglecting to take the oath of supremacy, which all 'Britons' were required by the terms of their patents to observe.

(100). *Fewes*.—The two baronies of the Fewes, Upper and Lower, are bounded on the north by the baronies of Oneilan; on the east by the baronies of Orier; on the south by the county of Louth; and on the west by the county of Monaghan. In the barony map of 1609, the compass' points N.N.W., so that the boundaries are nearly identical with those above mentioned. The two baronies comprise more than 77,000 acres, yet with the exception of its church lands, and Sir Tirlagh McHenry's estate, it is shown on the map as absorbed by five undertakers, who were supposed to have only 6,000 acres amongst them!

(101). *Douglass*.—This Scottish knight was one of the King's special retainers, who had left his home, called Spott, in the county of Haddington, and went to England with the King, in 1603, to 'seek his fortune.' He was son of a gentleman named Malcolm Douglas, of Mains, in Dumbartonshire, a descendant of Nichol Douglas, of the family of Morton. This Sir James, who came to get lands in the Fewes, had originally started in life as a page of honour to Henry, Prince of Wales, and was soon promoted to be his master of horse. At the death of his youthful master, Douglass was appointed one of the

gentlemen of the bedchamber to James I., and from that time began to pick up other little things as opportunity afforded. Among the Domestic State Papers is a letter written in 1607, and addressed to Sir Alex. Tutt, another royal servant, asking him to "effect a matter concerning Sir James Douglas." The 'matter' appears to have been effected in the following year, and consisted in obtaining for Douglas the fines levied off certain Roman Catholic gentlemen for 'recusancy,' i.e., refusing to attend the services of the English church. The names of these recusants were John Middlemore of the Bream, Newland, county of Gloucester; George Throgmorton of Temple Grafton; and John Hunt of Rowington, county of Warwick. In the same year [1608] Douglass obtained a royal license "to dig for gold and silver in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight for the space of two years"—a favour which does not appear to have transferred much, if any quantity of these metals from the Hants soil into the digger's pockets. In 1609, a grant was made "to Sir James and Sir George Douglas of 2,000*l.*, part of the King's moiety of a grant made to John Elphinstone and John Gay;" and in the same year he had "the benefit [fine] of the recusancy of William Naylor of Reading, county of Berks." *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, James I., 1603-10*, pp. 379, 415, 437, 462, 524, 527.

(102). *Clancarney*.—These lands lay along a considerable extent on the east side of the precinct, and princi-

lands, viz., Glastromen, Febokan, Edenacanany, Corcumogie, Cordromen, Bracklie, Drumkein, Dirrylattagooly Lurgrosse, Coranagh, Lisdromchor, one balliboe each; the two Creggans, 2 balliboes; Erfilagh, Dromchony, Carigaloglagh, Dromnehunchine, Cormanny, Loughballiecke, one balliboe each; four 5th parts of the balliboe of Lisnegat, next the balliboes of Bracklie and Cordromen; one 5th part of the balliboe of Ballindarragh, next to Glastromen; in all, 2,000 acres. The advowson, presentation, and patronage of Loughgillie vicarage in Orier, the balliboe of Killbracke, and $\frac{1}{5}$ part of the balliboe of Lisnegat, containing 120 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Clancarney, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 23 July, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Henry Acheson* (103) of Edinburgh, gent., of a patent of naturalization and the small proportion of *Coolimalishe* (104), consisting of the following lands, viz., Dromlecke, 2 balliboes; Coolimalishe, 2 balliboes; Carricklehan, Cronaohton, Dirrychora, Dirrylissmullere, and Bredrim, one balliboe each; four 5th parts of the balliboe of Ballynananny, next to Bredrim; and one 5th part of the balliboe of Ballindarragh, next to Coolimalishe; in all, 1,000 acres. Three 5th parts of the balliboe of Ballindarragh, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Coolimalishe, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 30 July, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Sir James Craig* (105), *Knight*. The small proportion of *Magheryentrim* (106), containing, Dromon, one balliboe; Ballinegroobannagh, one balliboe; Moynellan, one balliboe; Mallabane, one balliboe; Ballinecorra, one balliboe; Ballynenery, one balliboe; Magheryentrim,

pally in part of the present parish of Loughgilly. The lands were much intermixed with the church property of the district. The proportion was called Clancarney—the name of the ancient Irish territory in which it was comprised. There are three lakes shown on the map as lying on the borders between Clancarney and the barony of Orier, and a fourth in the southern section of the former. These lands were anciently given by the ancestors of Sir Tirlagh McHenry O'Neill for the support of the Scottish galloglass whom they retained permanently for the defence of the Fewes.

(103). *Acheson*.—Two brothers of this surname, Archibald and Henry, came from the county of Edinburgh, and settled in adjoining baronies of the county of Armagh. Henry Acheson, the younger brother, whose cautioner or security was Mr. James Cunyngame of Montgrenane, returned to his native shire in Scotland, where he soon afterwards died, bequeathing his proportion of Coolimalishe to his brother, who had purchased the adjoining lands from Sir James Dowglass.

(104). *Coolimalishe*.—This proportion adjoined that of Clancarney on the north, lying principally along the border of Oneilan. Neither woods nor bogs are shown in it on the map; but a large swamp lay near the centre, bordering at its northern extremity on the church lands of Mullabrack.

(105). *Craig*.—Craig came with the King's household to England in 1603, but from what district north of the Tweed we have not discovered. In the year now named, he had a grant of the clerkship of the Wardrobe, in reversion after Robert Tyas and Bevis Thelwall. In the meantime, until his turn for holding this office would come, he was given that of assistant to the clerk of the King's great Wardrobe. In the following year, there is a warrant to deliver to him sufficient stuff for his yearly livery. (See *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, James I., pp. 55, 127, 170). This servant was soon distinguished by other and much greater marks of the royal favour, including the dignity of knighthood, and grants of lands throughout various parts of Ireland, north and south. Craig was one of the earliest undertakers to take out his patent for the lands in the Fewes above named.

(106). *Magheryentrim*.—These lands lay at the extreme north of the barony of Fewes, and were separated from those of Coolimalishe last mentioned by the church lands of Mullabrack. In this proportion, as represented on the map, there stood a church with a tower at one end, and a conspicuous cross on the other. Sir James Craig sold his interest in the lands of Magheryentrim to an undertaker named John Hamilton, brother of Sir James Lord Clanaboy.

one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Magherydoughery, one balliboe; Balliletrie, one balliboe; $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe called Cornecrewe next adjoining to the balliboe called Magheryentrim; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the balliboe called Ballynemanny; in all, 1,000 acres. For glebe land, 60 acres excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Magheryentrim, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 24 June, 9th [1611]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (4) Car. I.

4. Grant to *William Lawder* (107), gent. The small proportion called *Kilruddan* (108), containing the following lands, viz., Dromargan, one balliboe; Garnagh, one balliboe; Dromne-cloigh, one balliboe; Killruddan, one balliboe; Dromanish, one balliboe; Drewran, one balliboe; Derrinagh, one balliboe; Dromneecrosse, one balliboe; Lanylish, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; $\frac{1}{3}$ of the balliboe called Rathornatt, lying next to the balliboe called Dirrimagh; $\frac{1}{3}$ of the balliboe called Drombebeg, lying next to the balliboe called Lanylish; in all, 1,000 acres. For glebe land, 60 acres are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Kilruddan, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 11 August, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (4) Car. I.

5. Grant to *Claude Hamilton* (109), gent. The small proportion of *Edeneveagh* (110), containing Drombymore, one balliboe; Edeneveaghes, 2 balliboes; Dromcah, one balliboe; Cullein, one balliboe; Tedaneknappagh, one balliboe; Utlecky, one balliboe; O'Loneloome, one balliboe; Kilnagappull, one balliboe; and Loughtvickcollen, one balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. For glebe land, 60 acres are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Edeneveagh, with 300 acres in demesne, with a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 19 August, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (4) Car. I.

II. The Precinct of Mountjoy (111), county of Tyrone.

(107). *Lawder*.—This undertaker soon also disposed of his proportion to John Hamilton. He was amongst the earliest to take out his patent as an undertaker. He belonged to Belhaven, in Scotland, and was cautioner or security for his son, Alexander Lawder, who owned certain lands in Ulster.

(108). *Kilruddan*.—Kilruddan lay on the north-western border of the Fewes, adjoining Oneilan, and included the northern portion of the ancient Irish territory of the clan Conoghy.

(109). *Claude Hamilton*.—This gentleman came from a place called Creichnes, and his cautioner or security for 400*l.* was Archibald Hamilton of Bairfute (see p. 142). This Claude Hamilton was one of the first undertakers to take out his patent.

(110). *Edeneveagh*.—These lands lay on the western border of the Fewes, the northern section of this proportion adjoining the barony of Oneilan, and its southern section that of Armagh. The extensive church lands in the Fewes

precinct or barony are shown on the map as occupying a central position; and the five undertakers' proportions are marked as distinctly from the estates of Sir Tirlagh McHenry O'Neill in the south. In the lands of Sir Tirlagh a small parcel of church land is represented on the map as occupying a central position. On this there was a church with a tower, but no cross.

(111). *Mountjoy*.—Although this precinct in Tyrone was named *Mountjoy* in several of the early plantation papers, to distinguish it from the other division of the great barony of Dungannon, the new name was dropped soon after 1620, and the old one resumed for the whole barony. The surveyors of 1609 did not call this precinct Mountjoy, but wrote it down on their map as "Parte of the Barony of Donganon." The compass points directly south-east in this map. The three present divisions of Dungannon, Upper, Middle, and Lower, are bounded on the north by the county of Londonderry; on the east, by Lough Neagh and the Blackwater, which separate them

1. Grant to *Andrew Stewart*, Lord Ochiltree (112). The large proportion of *Revelinowtra* (113), containing the lands of Liseolby, one balliboe; Ballynegoan, one balliboe; Carnan, one balliboe; Tykerry, one balliboe; Langlasse, one balliboe; Downcarron, one balliboe; Oghill, one balliboe; Drumhubbert, one balliboe; Gortinclogh, one balliboe; Gortnegenny, one balliboe; Ballyogittill, one balliboe; Dromard, one balliboe; Downformoyle, one balliboe; [], one balliboe; Littercleere, one balliboe; Lissenaught, one balliboe; Faegh, one balliboe; Trouble-reagh, one balliboe; Aghlary, one balliboe; Mullytyan, one balliboe; Gortokill, Dromoriss, Dromogallen, Tullaleige, Lisquitt ell, Ballybeg, Dedind, Tullymully, Grehavell, Dromreagh, Annahan, one balliboe each; and Gortygawna, 2 balliboes; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* From this grant 120 acres of glebe lands are excepted. The premises are created the manor of Revelinowtra, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Also, the small proportion of *Revelineightra* (114), containing Magherytromag, one balliboe; Fayegh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a balliboe; Gortekill, one balliboe; Ballyblinagh, one balliboe; Ballyovenney, one balliboe; Ballymagwyre, one balliboe; Ballyonarrigan, one balliboe; Aghivegh, one balliboe; Mullaglasse, Tawnamore, Kilmeonagh, [], Killwillychan, Tawnamully, one balliboe each; and Mulmaogh, 2 balliboes; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Also, the following lands, viz., Coagh, Furble, Dromconfesse, Collsollagh, Ellyagh, Mullaghterrory, Binck, 2 sessioghies; Tennyleman, one balliboe; Gallvally, Ballytrowan, Dromcarr, Lenyterreny, 2 sessioghies; Dromore, Cullytummy, one balliboe; in all, 500 acres. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (46) Car. I.

from the counties of Antrim, Down, and Armagh; on the south, by the upper part of the Blackwater, which separates them from the county of Monaghan; and on the west, by the baronies of Clogher, Omagh, and Strabane. On the map of 1609, however, the whole region appears to be literally *inverted*, and the boundaries of course take their places opposite to those in which they appear on a correctly drawn map. This precinct named Mountjoy, comprises the northern or lower part of Dungannon, and contains seven proportions, which absorb about 30,000 acres, although the undertakers were not supposed to have more than 10,500 acres of arable land distributed amongst them! The precinct contained a large portion of church lands.

(112). *Ochiltree*.—This was the fourth Lord Ochiltree, whose grandfather, called the 'good lord,' was a zealous promoter of religious reform, and whose aunt Margaret married John Knox, of reformation celebrity. These Scottish Stewarts descend, through the Lords Avondale, from Murdock, Duke of Albany. They exchanged—some time before 1534, with Sir James Hamilton of Finnart—their barony of Avondale for that of Ochiltree. This undertaker of lands in Ulster had become embarrassed, and was obliged to sell his barony of Ochiltree, with extensive family possessions in Galloway. The title of Lord Ochiltree passed with the barony of Ochiltree to the purchaser, who was this Lord Ochiltree's cousin, Sir James Stewart of Killeth. Although, therefore, he is

called Lord Ochiltree in this grant, he was only plain Andrew Stewart, for the reason already stated; but by way of encouragement for himself and his son, because of the loss of their title, and to reconcile them to their two proportions of Revelinowtra and Revelineightra, the King created the young gentleman Lord Castle-Stuart, in 1615.

(113). *Revelinowtra*.—These lands lay in the north-eastern part of the precinct, bordering on Lough Neagh, and occupying the whole of the old Irish territory after which Andrew Stewart's lands were named. In the centre of Revelinowtra there is shown on the map a small lake, and near it a bog, from which a stream flows eastward into Lough Neagh.

(114). *Revelineightra*.—This small proportion adjoined the preceding one, and comprised nearly all the old Irish territory after which it was named. It lay in the extreme northern part of the precinct, but was separated from Lough Neagh by some church lands, and from the barony of Loughinsholin by the balliboes of Kilsallagh, Dromfadda, and Cogh, now Coagh. This proportion was undertaken by Andrew Stewart's son, afterwards Lord Castle-Stuart. In Scotland, the son was known as James Stewart of Grange, and in the first instance only 500 acres of Revelineightra were undertaken in his name. Father and son were amongst the earliest patentees in Tyrone. Andrew Stewart had his uncle Robert Stewart as his cautioner (see p. 140).

2. Grant to *Robert Stewart* of Hilton (115), gent. The small proportion of *Ballyokevan* (116), containing the following lands, viz., Creevagh, Mullatermarget, Danadoragh, and Cullin, one balliboe each; Parlagh, 2 balliboes; Dromaye, Moynogher, Anaghgenney, Gortglasse, and Ballymeanagh, containing one balliboe each; Lisbane, 2 balliboes; Carnibeg and Cangowe, one balliboe each; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe in Derrie, next adjoining to Parlagh; in all, 1,000 acres. The balliboe of Aghcansallagh is excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of Ballyokevan, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 August, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Sir Robert Hepburne* (117), *Knight*. The middle proportion of *O'Carragan* (118), containing the following lands, viz., Ballinekelly, one balliboe; Corr, one balliboe; Dirrihurke, one balliboe; Dromcoricke, one and $\frac{1}{6}$ balliboe; Dromky, Taghlughnan, Coias, Leigh, Lourtan, Dromucke, [], Cavan, Dromesper, Dromcroe, and Cahanan, one balliboe each; in Droman, $\frac{1}{2}$ a balliboe; Boveaghan, Cortrean, and Dirrigallie, one balliboe each; Clontewy, $\frac{1}{2}$ a balliboe; Tirelenie, Tre [] Cawnett, Kangowe, Clonmore, and Lisroy, one balliboe each; in all, 1,500 acres. The balliboe of Drommagh, and $\frac{1}{2}$ the balliboe of Dromard, containing 90 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of O'Carragan or Icarragan, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 12 July, 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *George Crayford* (119), laird of Lochnoreis. The small proportion of

(115). *Hilton*.—This undertaker, who was described as an indweller in Edinburgh, was ancestor of the family of Stewart settled at Killymoon, near Cookstown. He purchased the lands contained in his proportion from a servitor named Cooke (probably Sir Francis), before getting a grant of them from the Crown; and took up his abode at first in the balliboe or townland of Ballymeanagh. A younger brother of this Robert Stewart came at the same time, and settled at Gortegal, near the same neighbourhood. He was also the founder of an influential and respectable family. Robert Stewart's cautioner was William Stewart, of Dunduff.

(116). *Ballyokevan*.—This proportion included the two Irish territories of Ballyokevan and Ballyoquin, or all the lands in the district of the present Cookstown. On the map there are woods plentifully represented, and also two lakes. A church is placed in the locality where the town now stands.

(117). *Hepburne*.—Sir Robert Hepburne was a member of the Alderstown family of this surname. He appeared first as cautioner for a kinsman, named Alexander Hepburne of Bangla, but he soon afterwards got possession of the above-named lands himself. In 1605 this undertaker was lieutenant of the King's guard, and was sent in this capacity to the Isles to receive from their respective owners the castles of Dunyveg in Isla, and Dowart in Mull; and in order to prevent the escape of the islanders, the inhabitants of Cantire, and the western isles were ordered, by proclamation, to deliver all their

boats to this officer. See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, p. 307.

(118). *O'Carragan*.—These lands retained the name of the Irish territory in which they were comprised. It lay in the south-eastern corner of the precinct of Mountjoy, adjoining the county of Armagh, having the then unappropriated territory of *Clanaghrie* on the north, and church lands on its eastern and western boundaries. The lands are represented on the map as wooded, but without bog.

(119). *Crayford*.—This undertaker, afterwards Sir Geo. Crawford, belonged to a very old family in the parish of Cumnock, Ayrshire, supposed to have been a branch of the Crawfords of Loudon. Lefnoreis castle stood on the banks of the Lugar, not far from Cumnock, and is described in old family charters as a square tower called the Ward; but it has long since disappeared. George Crawford was the tenth in descent from his ancestor who held Lefnoreis, or, more correctly, Lochnorris, in 1440. The chiefs of the family, in their generations, figured prominently in the raids, spulzies, abductions, &c., of the district in which they lived; but at the time of this undertaker, the family estates had become so encumbered that he was compelled to sell first one part, and then another, until all had disappeared from the family. Lochnorris eventually passed into the possession of the Crichtons and Stuarts, earls of Dumfries, who superseded the old square tower of the Crawfords by a fine residence known as Dumfries House. See Paterson's *Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., pp. 355, 357.

Tullelegan (120), consisting of the following lands, viz., Tullamore, Rose, Lurge, Rousky, Dergrun, Dromfeaghan, Nadoone, Nekaddy, Tullalegan, Killegarnan, and Gortnegawna, one balliboe each; Killnegar, 2 balliboes; Kilcredan and Fenwoigh, one balliboe each; Ballicroay, one balliboe; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe in Nekally, near adjoining to Fenwoigh; in all, 1,000 acres. The balliboe of Derrinagh, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Tullelegan, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 August, 8th [1610].

5. Grant to *Bernard Lindsey* (121), of 1,000 acres called *Creighballes* (122). 6. Grant to *Robert Lindsey* (123), of 1,000 acres called *Tulloghoge* (124). 7. Grant to *Robert Stewart* (125) of Rotton, of 1,000 acres called ———. These grants are not recorded in the printed Patent Rolls of the reign of James I., nor in the printed Inquisitions of Ulster.

III. The Precinct of Strabane (126), in the county of Tyrone.

1. Grant to *James Hamilton* (127), Earl of Abercorn. The small proportion of 1,000 acres

(120). *Tullelegan*.—These lands are represented on the map as being free from wood and bog. They lay at some distance westward of Robert Stewart's proportion of Ballyokevan, from which it was separated by the church lands of Dromarde and Keelog.

(121). *Lindsey*.—Lindsey came from Lough-hill, co. Haddington, and had been also a servant in the King's household. Among the State Papers is a warrant, dated 1603-4, "to deliver to Bernard Lindsay, Groom of the Bedchamber, stuff for his winter apparel." Another warrant for a similar purpose is dated the 17th of the following September. In 1608, Lindsay's name is returned with those of several "Scotsmen," who had obtained grants of various sorts from the King. See *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, James I., 1603-10, pp. 69, 150, 189, 433.

(122). *Creighballes*.—This proportion lay on the southern border of the precinct of Mountjoy, some parts of it being included in the other section of the great region known as Dungannon. On the extreme border of the map of this precinct it is stated that the "5 townes marked O belong to a small proportion in the other map of this barony."

(123). *Robert Lindsey*.—Brother to Bernard above-mentioned, both being the sons of Thomas Lindesay, of Kingswork, Leith, who had held the office of Searcher-General of Leith, which he resigned, in 1594, in favour of his son Bernard. In 1580, he held the office of Snowdon Herald, which he continued to hold until 1594. The King is described as providing for this person's whole family, sons and daughters, from lands and tithes that had belonged to the abbey of North Berwick and the friars of Linlithgow. Robert, his son, settled in Ulster, and founded a family in Tyrone. See *Burke's Landed Gentry*.

(124). *Tulloghoge*.—This proportion adjoined in part the barony of Loughinsholin, comprising the old Irish territory of *Ballhagan*, written thus on the map, and without the distinguishing O in the name. The surveyors do not even represent on their map of this district the

celebrated position on which the O'Neill princes were inaugurated. On a map of Tyrone, made at the close of the war, the hill in Ballyohagan is described thus:—"Tullogh-Oge.—On this hill were 4 stones in the manner of a Chorre, wherein the Oneales this manie yeares have bin made. The same are now taken away by his Lordship" [Mountjoy].

(125). *Robert Stewart*.—Uncle to Andrew Stewart, formerly Lord Ochiltree (see p. 286). *Rotton*, here mentioned as the name of his place in Scotland, is a contraction for *Roberttown*. He was one of the first to take out his patent; and had as cautioner his nephew, Andrew Stewart. He had his proportion assigned to him on the border between the precincts of Mountjoy and Dungannon, and partly in both. On the extreme verge of this map of Mountjoy, the map-maker has written opposite this Robert Stewart's lands—"The rest of this small proportion is in the other map of this barony" [Dungannon].

(126). *Strabane*.—The whole barony is bounded on the north by the county of Londonderry; on the south, by the barony of Omagh; on the east, by the county of Londonderry and the barony of Dungannon; and on the west, by the county of Donegal. On the survey of 1609, this barony of Strabane is represented in two parts, on two distinct maps. In one of these maps the compass points N.E.; but on the other due south. The boundaries, as may be supposed, differ altogether from those above stated. The area of the whole barony is 240,490 acres, all of which, with the exception of some church lands, is represented on the two maps of 1609, as being absorbed in eight proportions, the undertakers of which were at that time supposed to hold amongst them all only 13,500 acres of arable land!

(127). *Hamilton*.—The first Earl of Abercorn, son of Lord Claude Hamilton, fourth son of the second Earl of Arran. Lord Claude Hamilton had been created Viscount Paisley in 1587, and he died in 1621.

called *Strabane*, and the large proportion of 2,000 acres known as *Dunnalonge* (128). [The terms of this grant are not specially recorded in the printed Patent Rolls of James I., nor in the printed *Inquisitions of Ulster*; but the reader may see the denominations on this estate recited at length in the latter, *Temp. Gul. and Mar.*].

2. Grant to *Sir Claude Hamilton* (129), *Knight*. The small proportion of *Killeny* (130), consisting of the following lands, viz., Maneskenan, one balliboe; Aghnecree, one balliboe; Derriconly, one balliboe; [], one balliboe; Drome, one balliboe; Killeny, one balliboe; Rouskie, one balliboe; [], one balliboe; Dromeene, one balliboe; [], one balliboe; Ribetony, one balliboe; [], one balliboe; Coolecurry, one balliboe; Conkill, one balliboe; [], one balliboe; in Bulyalla, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe; in Lysnecreny, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe; and $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of a balliboe in Altinishnechchagh; in all, 1,000. Also the small proportion of *Teadane*, or *Eden*, containing the following mentioned lands, viz., Speran, one balliboe; Balliconaghe, one balliboe; Meneocrane, one balliboe; Shragnegalbolly, one balliboe; Loughess, one balliboe; Shragnebehy, one balliboe; Derrickalla, Dotterbrat, Agheteoslane, Teadane, Darboghane, Tiraneamaddyn, Garvaghe, Gortnecashell, Glanlark, and Coughlan, one balliboe each; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe in Lysnecreny next to Derrykalla; in all, 1,000 acres. From this grant were excepted the balliboes of Creaghanben and Clogherneagh, each containing 60 acres. Total rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (9) Car. I.

3. Grant to *James Clapen* or *Claphame* (131), *gent.* The two small proportions of *Newton* and *Lislapp* (132), including the following lands, viz., Cloghogall, Creighduffe, Galla, Newtowne, Castlemoyle, Straghalter, Doontebrianroe, Corlea, Shancaslan, [], Burnumner-Owen, Racreagh, Doonteig, Tallamuck, Leaglan, Tullagh, [], Killenure, Cashell, Clontecanonty, Colkillkarne, Bareagh, Gortnecreagh, Lytterbannagher, Baltyrry, Leightenesboy, Cavangarvan,

(128). *Strabane and Dunnalonge*.—These two proportions were separated from each other by that of Cloghogall, belonging to Sir George Hamilton, a brother of the Earl of Abercorn.

(129). *Claude Hamilton*.—The Earl of Abercorn's next brother, being known in Scotland as of Lerleprevicke.

(130). *Killeny*.—This proportion adjoined those belonging to Sir Claude Hamilton's brothers, the Earl of Abercorn and Sir George Hamilton. These Hamiltons were amongst the first undertakers to get out their patents.

(131). *Claphame*.—Another Scotch servant of the King, who had followed his royal master southward across the Tweed, to add to the crowd of his tormentors. James Claphame had determined, like many of his countrymen, not to return northward again, for among the State Papers of 1604 is copy of a grant of denization in England to himself and his heirs. The King had evidently owed this Scotch servant money, for, in December, 1607, there is a grant to the latter "of the moiety of so much money as is, or may be, due to the King, from the Statute for purchases of lands at undervalues." In August, 1610,

when this favoured servant was coming to Ulster for a slice of the escheated lands, he carried with him the original of the following note from the King to Chichester and the council in Dublin:—"The bearer, James Clapham, goes to Ireland as an undertaker. Inasmuch as he is an old servant, whom the King desires to favour, his Majesty has bestowed on him the castle of Newton, in Tyrone, and commands him to be kindly used and furthered in his settling. Grafton, 20 August, in the 8th year of our reign" [1610]. Thus the castle and much of the lands that had belonged for many centuries to the chiefs of the Slut Airt Oneills, passed into the hands of a servant, to pay, no doubt, for accumulated arrears of wages.

(132). *Newton and Lislapp*.—These two proportions adjoined, although Newton lay in one map and Lislapp in the other, of the precinct. These were both historical districts. In the former, the old castle of Newton—the residence of Sir Turlough Luineach O'Neill and his ancestors—appears prominently on the map; in the latter [Lislapp] the two great piles of Castlemoyle and Shancaslan are attractively drawn, and suggest many stirring events in the history of that great family of the O'Neills.

Lysneshannah, Lysnerey, Lyslapp, Gortcrannagh, Tibberrekeragh, and Gregaghey, one towne-land each; in all, 2,000. Glebe lands, containing 120 acres, excepted from this grant. The premises erected into the manor of Newtowne, with 600 acres of demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 May, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (5) Car. I.

4. Grant to *Sir Thomas Boyd* (133), *Knight*. The middle proportion of *Sheane* (134), containing the undermentioned lands, viz., Feoffyn, one balliboe; Fallart, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Ballinlear, one balliboe; Glanlasse, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Wrighan, one balliboe; Tullocosker, one balliboe; Gortgewiffe, one balliboe; Corlostie, one balliboe; Gri [], one balliboe; Kiellegarrie, one balliboe; Gortloanger, one balliboe; Sheane, one balliboe; Killmer, one balliboe; Mullane-doogarye, one balliboe; Cloutman, one balliboe; $\frac{1}{2}$ a balliboe of Coolene; Dromanhanagh, one balliboe; Lisdoonloaghan, one balliboe; Creaghnetonagh, one balliboe; Aliscragh, one balliboe; Cloughadoda, one balliboe; Carricknebohills, one balliboe; Tawnagh-Ibogan, one balliboe; Dounkankill, one balliboe; Mackgerme, one balliboe; Gortnegroagh, one balliboe; and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe in Listecomore; in all, 2,000 acres. Glebe lands containing 90 acres are excepted from this grant. The premises were created the manor of Sheane, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 August, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (5) Jac. I.

5. Grant to *Sir George Hamilton* (135), *Knight*. The middle proportion of *Largie*, alias

(133). *Boyd*.—This undertaker was brother-in-law to the Earl of Abercorn, the latter having married Sir Thomas Boyd's sister, Marion. This Sir Thomas was son of the 15th representative chief of the Boyds of Kilmarnock. He was known as Sir Thomas Boyd of Bedlay, Bollinschawn, or Bonshawe; and he married Grissell Conynghame, daughter of Alexander Cuninghame, only son by the second marriage of Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn. Sir Thomas Boyd's father, who was styled the fifth Lord Boyd, had made himself conspicuous in the feuds and fights of his own district, from the results of which he was afflicted with some malady in his head, which rendered him, perhaps, better known in his generation than even his exploits as a clan warrior. On various occasions he was obliged to travel in pursuit of health, requiring always the King's license to do so. Thus, in 1597, he had a pass from James VI. to go away for three years wherever he believed he could most likely obtain the precious boon which he seems to have so eagerly sought. This royal pass commences thus:—"We, understanding that our cousin, Thomas Master of Boyd, is vexed with ane grievous dolour in his heid, and other diseises in his body, as he cannot find sufficient ease and remeid within our realme, bot is in mind to seik the same in forein cuntries, quhair [where] the samyn [same] maist convenientlie may be had, thairfore, be the tenor, givis and grantis licence to him to depart and pass forth of our realme, to the partes of France, Flanderis, Wall [well] of the Spa, and other partes quhair he pleisis, there to remaine, &c., &c." (See *Paterson's Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 177). Sir Thomas Boyd was amongst the first undertakers in Ulster to take out his patent.

(134). *Sheane*.—This proportion lay on the border of the county Donegal, from which it was separated by the river Finn. On the map it is represented as then containing considerable quantities of wood and bog.

(135). *Sir George Hamilton*.—A brother of James the First, Earl of Abercorn, and son of Lord Claude Hamilton already mentioned. The father [Lord Paisley] adhered to the interests of Mary Queen of Scots, throughout all the discords that prevailed during her unfortunate reign. After the battle of Langside, in 1568, this nobleman was outlawed by the regent Murray, and his estates forfeited. During the regency of the Earl of Mar his lands were given to Lord Semphill, and during the regency of Morton he continued to be a sharer in the misfortunes and oppressions that fell so heavily on the whole Hamilton race. When the young King, however, undertook the management of Scottish affairs, he restored to them all their honours and estates. In addition to the family property, he granted to this Lord Claude and his heirs, in 1585, the lordship and barony of Paisley, with all the monastery lands there, raising him to the peerage by the title of Lord Paisley, in 1587. He married a daughter of Lord Seton, and by her had one daughter, and at least four sons. His daughter became the Marchioness of Douglas. This Sir George Hamilton, who became an undertaker in the barony of Strabane was his [Lord Paisley's] third son. (See *Crawford's History of Renfrew*, continued by Robertson, p. 319). He was known in Scotland as Sir George Hamilton, of Greenlawe, and was amongst the first undertakers to take out his patent.

Cloghognall (136), and the small proportion of *Derrie-woone* (137). These grants are not recorded in the printed Rolls of James I.; but in the *Inquisitions of Ulster* there occurs the following curious notice of lands included in Sir George Hamilton's property:—"Balliola being one balliboe of land, doth so lye betwixte the balliboe called Killenan, on the southe syde, and Fallasloye on the north. The two balliboes called Cavan-Ychoal and Foyfyn, lying together, are bounded by the balliboe called Gortcrome on the north and weste syde, and the balliboes called Barran and Tircarnen on the east and south syde. The 7 balliboes of land and two sessioghys commonly called by the names of Dirreowen, Ruskye, Dromlegagh, Towmamgrada, Latterbye, and Ennagh-Renan, with the two sessioghys of Caste and Clonte, being two parts of the balliboe of Cloghognall, as all the sayd lands are meared and bounded, with the quarter of Kilmartyn on the southe-east syde, Tirnerdart on the north-east, the river of Ferragh on the south-west, the 2 balliboes of Rosse and Clogher on the north syde. All the sayd parcells of lande, conteyning 10 balliboes and 2 sessioghys aforesaid, are parte of the mydle pporcon of Cloghognall, and the small pporcon of Dirreowne. The 10 balliboes and 2 sessioghys are not above the $\frac{1}{4}$ of Cloghognall and Dirreowne, and are most fitt to be sett to the Irishe, and the setting of same to the Irishe is not disadvantageous to the British freeholders or leaseholders of the same pporcons. There are no concealed lands within the sayd 2 pporcons or eyther of them. Clogher als Balleclogher, within the pporcon of Dirrwoen, is the fittest and most convenient place within the said pporcons to keepe one weekly markett at; and the sayd market may be uppon thursdaye, weekly, without prejudice or hindrance to any of the neighbouring marketts. One faire may be most conveniently houlden yerely, at the said Clogher al' Ballyclogher, upon the 25th Aprill; and one other faire at Ballymagorry in the pporcon of Cloghognall, the 21st Oct., yerely, without damage to any of the neighbouring faires." See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (10) Car. I.

6. Grant to *Sir John Dromond* (138), *Knight*. The small proportion of *Ballymagoieth* (139), including the lands undermentioned, viz., Crany, one balliboe; Mullaghmore, one balliboe; Bohereagh, one balliboe; Namullen, one balliboe; Tirequin, one balliboe; Meaghan, one balliboe; Crosse, one balliboe; Dirinoon, one balliboe; Gortenegarne, Ballymagoieth, Ballyshraghcroy,

(136). *Cloghognall*.—These lands lay between the Earl of Abercorn's two proportions of Strabane and Dunnalonge; they are represented on the map as being free from wood and bog.

(137). *Derrie-woone*.—This proportion was considerably distant from Sir George Hamilton's larger one mentioned in the preceding note, and lay on the border of the barony of Omey or Omagh. The lands of Derrie-woone stretched along the bank of the river Derg, and are represented on the map as mountainous and rugged. Near the centre of the proportion is a lake, with a lake-dwelling thereon, neither of which are named on the map.

(138). *Sir John Dromond*.—Drummond came from Menteith. He was one of a great Perth connexion, all of whom were devoted adherents of the House of Stuart. By the time James I. got the length of the English throne, this Sir John Drummond was quite ready to go southward also, and share in whatever pickings might

fall to his lot. The first was a grant, in Feb., 1603-4, of the keeping of the Park at Shenston, county of Stafford, void by the death of an old Countess of Warwick. The next was a grant in January, 1607-8, of the moiety of 5,000*l.* old debts due to the Crown, to be recovered by him [Sir John]. In July, 1609, another grant of a similar description; and, in the same year, a gift to Drummond of 1,000*l.*, being part of the King's moiety of a former grant to him of 5,000*l.* of debts due to the Crown. See *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, James I., 1603-10, pp. 78, 399, 527, 573.

(139). *Ballymagoieth*.—This proportion lay in the vicinity of Omagh, being only separated therefrom by the little river which formed the boundary line at that point between the two baronies of Omagh and Strabane. The lines do not seem to have fallen in this instance to Sir John Drummond in pleasant places, for the map represents the whole district of Ballymagoieth as a region of woods, mountains, and bogs.

Carnonen, Lissnerasse, Lysardoynagh, Tatenegallagh, and Tatenure, one balliboe each; $\frac{1}{3}$ of the balliboe of Raleagh, next adjoining the balliboe of Nargnoth; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the balliboe of Tubberagh-Erehill, adjoining the balliboe of Lisardoynagh; in all, 1,000. From this grant 60 acres for glebe land is excepted. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. The premises are created the manor of Ballymagoieth, with 3,000 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (3) Car. I.

7. Grant to *James Haig* (140), gent. The middle proportion of *Tirenemuriertagh* (141), consisting of the lands undermentioned, viz., Glanmackaffer, Shrareagh, Gortin, Downebimrower, Liskable, Relan, Drott Cloughfineitra, Cloughfinowtra, Dromenekelly, Racolpe, Corrigge, Corboylan, Feigharry, Ballygilla, Killin, Tagheleghan, Tirecurry, Allagh, Tirenemuriertagh, Quillan, and Lislapp, one balliboe each; Eskerdowy, $\frac{1}{2}$ a balliboe; Dromlea, one balliboe; and Raleagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ a balliboe; in all, 1,500 acres. From this grant is excepted 90 acres for glebe land. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of Tirenemuriertagh, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (4) Car. I.

8. Grant to *George Hamilton* (142), gent. The small proportion of *Teadane* (143), containing the following lands, viz., Speran, one balliboe; Balliconaghe, one balliboe; Meneocrane, one balliboe; Shragneagallbolly, one balliboe; Loughess, one balliboe; Shraghnebehy, one balliboe; Derrickalla, one balliboe; Dotterbrat, one balliboe; Agheteoslane, one balliboe; Teadane, one balliboe; Darboghane, one balliboe; Tiraneamaddyn, one balliboe; Garvaghe, one balliboe; Gortnecashell, one balliboe; Glanlark, one balliboe; Coughlan, one balliboe; and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe of Lisnecreeny, next to the balliboe of Derrykalla. From this grant is excepted the balliboe of Cloghernagh, containing 60 acres. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (9) Car. I.

(140). *James Haig*.—Haig had tastes which led him in another direction than among the wilds of Monterlony, and although he obtained a 'scope' of the escheated lands there is no evidence that he ever came even to look at his proportion. Among the State Papers, Domestic Series, of 1606, there is a letter from Salisbury to this Mr. Haig, in which the writer states that he "does not consider his [Haig's] writing to him an intrusion, and accepts his offer of corresponding with some foreign minister." Probably, that encouragement, from so influential a quarter, turned Haig's attention into another field for the exercise of his powers. At all events, his lands appear soon afterwards to have passed into the joint possession of Sir George Hamilton and Sir William Stewart.

(141). *Tirenemuriertagh*.—These lands comprised the comparatively wild and rugged district now known as Monterlony, and bordered throughout most of its extent on the barony of Omey or Omagh. In a paper headed *Patents already enrolled in Ireland*, and preserved among the public records of the time, this proportion is represented as originally belonging to Sir Claude Hamilton of Lerleprevicke, in Scotland. See note 129, *supra*.

(142). *George Hamilton*.—This undertaker was a kinsman, probably, of the other planters of this surname in the same barony, and was known as of Bynning in Scotland. He, in common with the Hamiltons generally, was descended from Sir Gilbert de Hamildown, the original founder of that numerous race. This Hamilton of Bynning belonged to the family seated at Fingalton, in Renfrew, and was the thirteenth in descent from Sir Gilbert above mentioned, being a son of Sir John Hamilton of Fingalton, by his wife Joane, daughter of Sir Thomas Otterburn of Ridhall. George Hamilton had served in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, and on his return he appears to have been attracted to Ulster for a time; but he soon disposed of his proportion to Sir Claude Hamilton, although he took possession, and had made some preparations for building.

(143). *Teadane*.—These lands were soon afterwards known as *Eden*. They lay on the boundaries of Coleraine and Loughinsholin baronies, and were intersected by the tail or termination of the great range known as the *Sperrin* mountains. The river Derg flowed through this proportion from end to end.

III. The Precinct of Portlough (144), in the county of Donegal.

1. Grant to the *Duke of Lennox* (145). The small proportion of *Magavelean* or *Magevelin* (146), containing the lands undermentioned, viz., Maymun, one quarter; Moymore, one quarter; Reteyn, one quarter; Credough, one quarter; Magavelen, one quarter; and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the quarter of Altacaskyn adjoining Maymore; in all, 1,000 acres. Also the small proportion of *Lyttargull*, containing Dromore, one quarter; Cooleghemore, one quarter; Tullyrapp, one quarter; Foyglasse, one quarter; Littergull, one quarter; Ballyblanan, one quarter; and $\frac{2}{3}$ quarter of Carrickneshinagh; in all, 1,000 acres. And also the small proportion of *Cashell*, including the lands of Kinikilly, one quarter; Cashell, one quarter; Glashogan, one quarter; Moynasse, one quarter; Cloghfin, one quarter; Tawnagh, one quarter; and $\frac{2}{3}$ quarter of Altacaskyn, adjoining the quarter of Cloghfin; in all, 1,000 acres. Total rent for the three proportions, 16*l.* English. From this grant are excepted $\frac{6}{8}$ of the quarter of Carrickneshannagh, containing 120 acres, and $\frac{5}{8}$ of the quarter of Altacaskyn, containing 60 acres. The premises are created the manor of Magevelin, Lettergull, and Cashell, with 900 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 23 July, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (4) Car. I.

2. Grant to *Sir Walter Stewart, Knight*, laird of Minto (147). The small proportion of *Corckagh*, containing the lands of Gortmore, one quarter; Tallibogilly, $\frac{2}{3}$ quarter; Labanedishe, one quarter; Carrickbodoohy, $\frac{2}{3}$ quarter next Labanedishe; Rousky and Lisclamedy, 2 quarters; Corekagh, one quarter; in all, 1,000 acres. The third part of the quarter of Carrickbodoohy, containing

(144). *Portlough*.—This precinct formed one section of the barony of Raphoe, the precinct of the Liffer already noticed, forming the other. As stated previously, the baronial maps relating to the counties of Coleraine and Donegal have not yet been discovered.

(145). *Lennox*.—The Duke of Lennox belonged to that great branch of the Stewart family which supplied the barons of Darnley and earls and dukes of Lennox in Scotland; and also, the earls of March, the earls and dukes of Richmond, and the Earl of Litchfield in England. This undertaker of lands in Donegal was Ludovic Stuart, the second Duke of Lennox, who was born in 1574; and during his life—which ended in 1624—had filled several high offices. He had been ‘great chamberlain,’ high admiral and ambassador of James VI. of Scotland to Henry IV. of France. He was one of those who accompanied the King to London in 1603, and was thereupon constituted master of the royal household, and first gentleman of the bedchamber. In 1607, he was appointed commissioner to the Parliament, being afterwards created Earl of Newcastle and Duke of Richmond. Although thrice married, he left no male heir, so that whilst his English honours became extinct at his death, the family estates devolved upon his brother, who was known as Esme Stuart, Lord *d’Aubigny*,—a title which had been introduced into the family by John Stuart, son of the third Earl of Lennox, so styled in right of his wife, the daughter of a French nobleman named De la Verrey, lord of Aubigny. The Duke of Lennox took out his patent among the first of the undertakers in this precinct.

(146). *Magevelin*.—This residence was occupied in 1608

by Inneen-duv Macdonnell, mother of the Earl of Tyrconnell, who appears to have been then expelled from it by her son-in-law, Sir Niall Garve O'Donnell.

(147). *Minto*.—This undertaker's hold upon his native estates in the Scottish barony (now parish) of Minto, had become loose and uncertain at the time of his thus speculating on lands in Ulster. The Stewarts of Minto, and their kinsmen, the Turnbells, had disputed during many generations about the right to their family estates there; and probably Sir Walter Stewart wished to escape altogether from these broils. His native parish lies partly in a level tract along the river Teviot, the remainder consisting of high and undulating ground which is traversed from east to west by a ridge of hills, culminating in *Minto Craigs*, a wooded eminence, and Minto Hills, two smooth, green, rounded elevations, overlooking the valley of the Teviot—the Craigs being 721 feet, and the hills 877 above the sea-level. In 1390, John Turnbull of Myntow granted to his nephew, Sir William Stewart of Jedworth ‘the whole lordship and lands of Myntow, to be held in chief of the King and his heirs, in free barony. From the date of that arrangement, the feud between the two families of Stewart and Turnbull appears to have commenced—now the one prevailing, and anon the other. Thomas Stewart seems to have been dominant in Minto from 1479 to 1490; Robert Stewart in 1526; Matthew Stewart in 1581; and this Walter Stewart, at the commencement of the seventeenth century. From 1530 to 1616, the Turnbells also appear prominently in record, their representatives being William, John, Thomas, and Hector Turnbull. See *Origines Parochiales Scotia*, vol. i., pp. 321-323.

60 acres, is excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Corckagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 20 July, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Alexander McAula* (148) of Durlin, gent. The small proportion of *Ballyweagh*, or *Ballyneagh*, containing Mullanehelosk, one quarter; Boylelawny, one quarter; Ballyveagh, one quarter; Levallymore, one quarter; Ballivegly, 2 quarters; and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the quarter of Roughan, next to Ballyvegly; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Loughswilly. Three out of eight parts of the quarter of Negracky, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Ballyreagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Irish. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 16 July, 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *John Cuningham* (149), of Crafield or Crawfield. The small proportion of *Donboy*, containing the lands of Donboy, one quarter; Monegragan, one quarter; Ardry, one quarter; Moyle, one quarter; Moyfadda, one quarter; Plaister, one quarter; and five-sixteenth parts of the quarter of Roughan, next Monegragan quarter; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Loughswilly. A parcel of land called Levallybeg, otherwise Ballivinbeg, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Donboy, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 16 July, 8th [1610].

5. Grant to *William Stewart*, laird of Dunduff (150). The small proportion of *Cooleaghy*, containing Drombarnagh, one quarter; Killbarry, one quarter; Moynymore, one quarter; Dromallis, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; Menclout, one quarter; Dromoghell, one quarter; Moydoohy, one quarter; in all, 1,000 acres. Cooleaghy, $\frac{1}{3}$ quarter, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* The premises are created the manor of Cooleaghy, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 August, 8th [1610].

6. Grant to *James Cunyngham*, laird of Glangarnocke (151). The small proportion of

(148). *McAula*.—This undertaker probably came from Dumbartonshire. He sold his proportion to an Alexander Stewart. The earls and marquises of Londonderry descend from the latter, their pedigree explaining the family descent by the introduction of a laird of Minto as their ancestor. That pedigree, as given in Burke's Peerage, and as most probably supplied by some member of the family, states that they "claim a common ancestor with the Earls of Galloway; namely, Sir William Stewart of Garlies, from whose second son, Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto, descended John Stewart of Ballylawn Castle, the first of the family settled in Ireland." But this John was not the first settler, for his father, Alexander, bought the patent from Alexander McAula.

(149). *John Cuningham*.—This was the last representative of the Glengarnock Cuninghams in Scotland, his father Sir James, and this son John, having both settled in Donegal. The family residence of Glengarnock was situated in the parish of Kilbirnie, Ayrshire, but this John Cuningham's estate of Crawfield, or Crafield, lay in the

parish of Beith, also in the county of Ayr. After coming to Donegal, he held Crawfield until the year 1632, when it was sold to Gabriel Porterfield of Hapland, in the parish of Dunlop, and Jean Maxwell, his spouse. The deed of sale was dated at Castle-Cunninghame, which stood on the proportion of Donboy, in the barony of Raphoe. See Paterson's *Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 120.

(150). *Dunduff*.—William Stewart came from the parish of Maybole, in Ayrshire. The family to which he belonged were sometimes called Dunduff and sometimes Stewart. Although styled a laird, he was perhaps not more than able to gather up as much means as enabled him to settle on his proportion in Donegal. The little estate of Dunduff was sold to a family of the Whitefords. See Paterson's *Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 354.

(151). *Glangarnocke*.—This undertaker, whose circumstances had become desperate in his own land, was the eighteenth in descent from Sir Edward Cuningham of Kilmaurs and Mary, a daughter of the High Steward of Scotland, living at the close of the 13th century. Sir

Dacostrosse, containing Sessiogh-Hugh-Boy, Dacostrose, Attachery, Tubberslane, Tullagroone, Gorteleny, each one quarter; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of Bohehy quarter, next to Gorteleny quarter; in all, 1,000 acres. Also, the small proportion of *Portelogh*, containing the lands of Dromlogheran, Corcamon, Gortlost, Portelogh, Leytrim, Moyglasse, each one quarter; and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the quarter of Tullyamcon, next Corcamon; in all, 1,000 acres. One third part of the quarter of Bohehy, containing 60 acres, and $\frac{3}{8}$ of the said quarter of Bohehy, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. Both proportions are created the manor of Dacostrose and Portelogh, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 20 July. 8th [1610].

7. Grant to *Cuthbert Cuningham* (152). The small proportion of *Coolem'Itrien*, containing Ballyhaskyn, Dromay, Rousky, Dromoylan, Gortrie, one quarter each; two $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the quarter of Tullyanon, next to Dromay; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Loughswilly. Three out of eight parts of Tullyannon quarter, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Coolem'Itrien, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 19 September, 8th [1610].

8. Grant to *James Cuningham* (153), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Moiagh al' Ballyaghan*, containing Moiagh, one quarter; Dryan, one quarter; Magherybegg, one quarter; Magherymore, one quarter; Tryan-Carrickmore, one quarter; two parts of the quarter of Eredy, next adjoining to the quarters of Grackye and Tryan-Carrickmore; and $\frac{1}{2}$ parts of the quarter of Grackye; in all, 1,000 acres. A parcel containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. The premises created the manor of Moiagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 19 July, 8th [1610.]

9. Grant to *John Stewart* (154), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Lismolmoghan*.

James Cunningham was compelled to assign his lands of Glengarnock to his creditors in 1609, his Scottish friends supposing that he had got 12,000 acres in Ireland. He found it difficult enough to manage the 2,000 acres he actually obtained. The rental of Sir James's barony of Glengarnock, several years after its sale by his creditors, was—money rent, £2,480; 52 bolls of meal; 14 bolls of malt; 24 dozen and a half of capons, with work sufficient from the tenants to plough, harrow, weed, shear, draw in and stack 25 acres of grain. On this estate there were 23 farms. See Paterson's *Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 119, 121.

(152). *Cuthbert Cuningham*.—Also one of the Glengarnock family, but whether a brother or cousin of Sir James Cuningham, we have not discovered.

(153). *James Cuningham*.—Uncle of Sir James of Glengarnock; both of whom, as we shall afterwards find, were brought into conflict with Sir Ralph Bingley on the subject of certain parcels of land claimed by the latter, although conveyed to the Cuninghams by their patent from the Crown. James Cuningham was known as of

Foumilne in Scotland, and was amongst the first patentees for lands in this precinct of Portlough.

(154). *John Stewart*.—This undertaker's proportion is not recorded in the printed Patent Rolls of the reign of James I., nor is it even incidentally mentioned, so far as we can find, in the printed *Inquisitions of Ulster*. It was well known to Pynnar, however, some years afterwards, and he refers to it in his 'Survey' by the name of *Lismolmoghan*. It lay adjoining the lands of the Duke of Lennox, and its owner—John Stewart—became agent to the latter for the management of his property in that district of Donegal. Amongst so many Stewarts as were then afloat, it would be difficult to discover the particular family to which this gentleman belonged. It is more than probable, however, that he was some kinsman of the Duke of Lennox, for the connexions of that branch were very numerous—their name literally 'legion.' This John Stewart was afterwards knighted, and appears to have got a lease from Lennox of the three small proportions belonging to the latter. He got into trouble, as we shall see, at the commencement of the following reign.

IV. The Precinct of Boyleagh (155), county of Donegal.

1. Grant to *Sir Robert Maclellan* (156), laird of Bomby. The great proportion called the *Rossis*, containing the undernamed lands, viz., Carrowschercas, Carrowneforrioghe, Moylagh, Toberkeyn, Donedee, Narlowehannegapell, Carrownecrutz, Eightermoye, Cashell, Carneboye, and Roskatt, one quarter each; $\frac{1}{16}$ of the quarter called Magherientermon; the island of Arran, 2 quarters; Eniskirragh, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; the island of Inish McIsdorne, one quarter; the island of Isinshally, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; the island of Inishfrye, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; the island of Inishrouge, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; the island of Inishineule, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; the island of Inishgolagh, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; the island of Inishweye, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; the island of Inishean, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; the island of Inishturen, $\frac{1}{12}$ of a quarter; and all the other islands within the sea (157), being parcel of the said townes, or of any of them; in all, 2,000 acres. From this grant are excepted $\frac{2}{3}$ parts, and a $\frac{1}{3}$ of the quarter of Loughfadda, containing 120 acres, for glebe land. The premises erected into the manor of the Rosses, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 19 September, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (9) Jac. I., and (32) Car. I.

2. Grant to *George Murray* (158), laird of Broughton. The middle proportion of *Boyleagh*—

(155). *Boyleagh*.—This precinct is comprised in the present barony of Boyleagh, which is bounded on the north and west by the Atlantic; on the north-east by the Guidore river, which separates it from Kilmacrenan; on the east by Raphoe; and on the south by Bannagh. It includes the district of the Rosses, and twelve inhabited islands off the coast. Although it has an area of 158,480 acres, it was all occupied, excepting comparatively small parcels of church lands, by eight undertakers, who were supposed to have had only 10,000 acres of arable land distributed among them all!

(156). *Maclellan*.—The Maclellans were anciently sheriffs of Galloway and barons of Bombie, which they forfeited by raiding unwarrantably and without authority on the lands of Douglas in Galloway. They subsequently recovered the barony, and this Sir Robert, the undertaker, was the seventh baron of Bombie. He soon became well known in Ulster, not so much, however, because of his being an undertaker in the remote barony of Boyleagh, as from the circumstance of his becoming son-in-law of the first Viscount Ards, and obtaining valuable lands in the county of Down as his wife's dowry. Referring to this alliance, the writer of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* states (pp. 88, 89, new edition), that "Sir Hugh [Montgomery] married his eldest daughter to Sir Robert McClellan, baron of Kircourbry [Kircudbright], who, with her, had four great townlands near Lisnegarvey [Lisburn], whereof she was possessed in December, 1622. Sir Hugh and his Lady, also, had likewise given him a considerable sum of money as an augmentation to the marriage portion; but the said Sir Robert spent the money and sold the lands after her Ladyship's death, and he died not long after her, but without issue."

(157). *Within the sea*.—There is a very large number of islands belonging to the barony of Boyleagh, of which more than one hundred have been considered worthy of

survey.

(158). *Murray*.—This undertaker (whose cautioner was Alexander Dunbar of Egirnes), came from the parish of Whithorn, in Wigtonshire. The Murrays of this branch are believed to have moved from Morayshire into Galloway so early as the twelfth century; but they only began to make themselves known in the district last named about the beginning of the fifteenth century—a period when the ancestors of several other leading families arrived and obtained settlements there. From that date, however, the Murrays were owners of the property known as Broughton, of which this George Murray was in possession at the commencement of the seventeenth century. He was in favour with James I., and became one of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber. His estate of Broughton, or Bruchtown, must have been then mortgaged so heavily as to render it valueless to the nominal owner. In October, 1603, there is a warrant to deliver to George and John Murray (brothers), grooms of the Bedchamber, stuff for winter apparel. In January, 1603-4, there is a warrant to deliver to them their yearly liveries. In the following March, another warrant to pay them annuities of 20*l.* each. And in May, 1605, warrant for a lease of 40 years to John Murray, of the lands called Plumpton Park, the Park Head, &c.; and for a lease in reversion of the same to George Murray, with an annuity of 100*l.* per annum, upon the reserved rents of the Debateable Lands. (See *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, James I., 1603-10, pp. 47, 64, 88, 219). Broughton appears to have been redeemed by another member of the family after George Murray had taken up his abode amid the wilds of Donegal. The lands belonging to the estate of Broughton lie in the parishes of Whithorn and Sorbie, and include among others, those known as Skeog, Gallows Outon, and Chapel Outon. See Paterson's *Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, pp. 476-9.

yeightra, including the under-written lands, viz., Lackaghe, Crusquyn, Farhyn, Magherikill, Cashellgailan, Irishton, Mace, Shraghcashell, Gortnesilloe, Kancreny, and Litterille, one quarter each; ten parts of the quarter called Loughfadda, in 32 parts divided, lying next to the quarter of Farhyn; and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter called Shaunaghe; in all, 1,500 acres, with free fishing in the creeks, bays, &c., of Ginbarrogh and Loughbarry. From this grant are excepted $\frac{27}{32}$ parts and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the half of the quarter of Loughfadda, containing 90 acres, for glebe. The premises created into the manor of Boylaghyeightragh, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 12 July, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (9) Jac. I., and (32) Car. I.

3. Grant to *William Stewart* (159), *Esq.* The middle proportion called *Downeconolly*, which included the lands of Cashell, one quarter; Dromnekill, one quarter; Dromhugh, one quarter; Ballycroye, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a quarter; Mullaghnocke, one quarter; Donconallye, one quarter; Aighan, one quarter; $\frac{10}{32}$ parts of the quarter called Carnemore, lying next to the quarter called Ardkill; Tullagh, one quarter; Ardkill, one quarter; Ballyhyn, one quarter; Knocknegan, one quarter; and $\frac{5}{8}$ parts of the quarter called Tedollicke, lying next the quarter of Cashell aforesaid; in all, 1,500 acres. From this grant are excepted $\frac{27}{32}$ parts of the quarter of Carnemore, containing 90 acres, as glebe lands. The premises are erected into the manor of Downeconolly, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 23 July, 8th [1610]. *Ibid.*

4. Grant to *Sir Patrick MacKee* (160) of Laerg, *Knt.* The small proportion of *Cargie*, containing the lands of Tawnytallon, one quarter; Cargie, one quarter; Dromaccullyn, one quarter; Cashellvogherye, one quarter; $\frac{3}{8}$ of the quarter of Teedollicke, next quarter of Cashellvogherye; one parcel called Rankall, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Dromroe, one quarter; $\frac{2}{3}$ of the quarter called Dromconnor, lying next to the quarter of Drummacullyn aforesaid; and $\frac{17}{32}$ parts of the quarter called Dromore, lying next to the quarter of Tawnytallon; in all, 1,000 acres. From this grant are excepted $\frac{15}{32}$ parts of the quarter of Dromore, containing 60 acres. The premises are created the manor of Cargie, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 24 July, 8th [1610]. *Ibid.*

(159). *William Stewart*.—It is always difficult to identify a particular Stewart amidst such a crowd of servitors, bearing this surname, as present themselves to our view in the State Papers. There were not fewer than four William Stewarts employed at this period in the Irish service. One of these gentlemen, Col. Wm. Stewart, writes privately to Salisbury, in May, 1603, that "the King's [James the First's] disposition is excellent, but he relies too much on others; advises Cecil how to guide him in this new world [England] to which he is come." In September, 1609, Col. Stewart, of Eaglesay, writes to Salisbury, complaining of the contemptuous conduct of the constable of Stone, in Staffordshire, "who refused to honour his [Stewart's] commission for post horses for the King's service in Ireland." *State Papers*, Domestic Series,

1603-1610, pp. 10, 544.

(160). *MacKee of Laerg*.—Larg, in the parish of Minnigaff, was long known as the estate of the principal family of the Mackies or McKies; but although Sir Patrick is here styled as of Larg, the property had passed from his hands. Other localities were also occupied by branches of this once numerous and influential sept, among which may be mentioned Mertoun-McKie, now Mertoun Hall, in the parish of Penninghame; and Whitehills, in the parish of Sorbie, Wigtonshire. Many settlers of this surname appear to have come to Ulster from that district, and they are numerous represented throughout several of our northern counties at the present day. See *Pater-son's Galloway Lands and their Owners*, pp. 318, 462.

5. Grant to *James McCulloch* (161), gent. The small proportion of *Mullaghveagh* or *Mullavagh*, containing Carnewefadda, one quarter; Killoweras, one quarter; Mullaghvagh, one quarter; Ballycannan, one quarter; Drombohell, one quarter; Ardtraghe, one quarter; Dromnasillaghe, one quarter; $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Shammaghe; and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Cornecarde; in all, 1,000 acres. From this grant is excepted the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Cornerarde, containing 60 acres. The premises are created the manor of Mullaghveagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 20 July, 8th [1610]. *Ibid.*

6. Grant to *Alexander Dunbar* (162), gent. The small proportion of *Kilkerhan*, including the lands of Tawnaght, one quarter; Killkassey, one quarter; Mackrose, one quarter; Kilkerhan, one quarter; Lagnasiltoge, one quarter; Fentragh, one quarter; Dramanoe, one quarter; $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the quarter called Maywhoho, lying next the quarter of Fentragh; and $\frac{17}{32}$ parts of the quarter called Dirrylaghan; in all, 1,000 acres. From this grant are excepted $\frac{15}{32}$ parts of the quarter of Derrylaghan, containing 60 acres. The premises are created the manor of Kilkerhan, with 300

(161). *McCulloch*. — This undertaker's residence in Scotland was *Drummorell*, and George Murray of Bruchton or Broughton was his cautioner. McCulloch was one of a family well known and highly influential at an early period in Wigtonshire. Their principal place of residence was Myrtoun or Mertoun, in the parish of Mochrum. It is stated that in the time of the Crusaders, a Scottish warrior carrying on his shield a boar [*culach*], was conspicuous for his daring in the Holy Land. On his return, the Scottish king, known as William the Lion, in acknowledgment of his prowess and valour, granted him extensive lands, among which was Myrtoun above-mentioned. The grantee took as his patronymic the word *Culach*, and his descendants have been since known as MacCullachs or McCullochs. The family originally belonged to Argyleshire, and moved southward, like other northern families, into Galloway, about the middle of the thirteenth century. A Duncan McCulloch is believed to have been the founder of the Priory of Ardhattan, in Lorne, about the year 1230. Fordun calls him Duncan *Mackowulo*, and Spottiswoode states that "ane Maccolloch, a man of great wealth, founded the priory of Ardhatte, in Lorne." The first of the family well known in Galloway was Thomas Mackulach, who not only signed Ragman's Roll, but warmly supported the cause of the English usurper, Edward I. of England. It is believed that Myrtoun belonged to the family in 1330. This James McCulloch, who became an undertaker in Ulster, was one of the family of William McCulloch, by his wife, Elizabeth Dunbar. This lady was probably daughter of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, her mother being Elizabeth Muir of Rowallan. See Paterson's *Galloway Lands and their Owners*, pp. 235, 239.

(162). *Alexander Dunbar*. — A kinsman, either uncle or cousin-german of James McCulloch mentioned in the preceding note. The Dunbars are early noticed as a family of high rank in Galloway. They are supposed to have been of Saxon origin, and to have derived their sur-

name from the lands and castle so called in Haddingtonshire. The first of the family in Scotland is understood to have been a fugitive Earl of Northumberland, who sought protection in the court of Malcolm III., by whom he was well received, and who granted him the lands of Dunbar. After Northumberland, one of the seven Saxon kingdoms, had become a province, its earls were not hereditary, but only official, and were often changed. The son of this distinguished Northumbrian refugee was promoted to a Scottish earldom about the year 1129, and there succeeded nine earls between that date and the year 1368. Waldeve, the fourth earl, was the first designated Earl of Dunbar. His son, Patrick, who succeeded in 1184, married Ada, a natural daughter of William the Lion, by whom, besides his successor, he had a daughter, Ada, to whom he gave the lands of Hume. She married her cousin, William Dunbar, and from that marriage came the earls of Hume. Patrick, the sixth Earl of Dunbar, succeeded in 1231, and married Euphemia, daughter of Walter, High Steward of Scotland. The seventh earl, also named Patrick, and styled Earl of Dunbar and March, married Christian, daughter of Robert the Bruce. Their son, Patrick, the eighth earl, succeeded in 1289, and claimed the Scottish throne as great grandson of Ada, daughter of William the Lion. He married a daughter of the house of Comyn Earls of Buchan; and his son, the ninth earl, married a daughter of the Earl of Moray. These powerful earls were rivals worthy of the Douglasses. The earldom of Dunbar and March was confiscated by James I. of Scotland in 1436. George Dunbar, brother of the tenth earl, was granted the lands of Mochrum, in Wigtonshire, by David II. in 1368, and from that date until very recently, the family held the property now named. (See Paterson's *Lands of Galloway and their Owners*, pp. 254-276). The undertaker of lands in Ulster, Alexander Dunbar, was a son of Sir John, who died in 1583. Alexander resided at a place named Egirnes (see *supra*), and his cautioner was George Murray of Bruchton or Broughton.

acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 19 September, 8th [1610]. *Ibid.*

7. Grant to *Patrick Vans* (163) of Libragh, gent. The small proportion of *Boylaghoutra*, containing the lands of Ballyboyle, and 2 islands next to Ballyboyle, one quarter; Donan, one quarter; Dromrouske, one quarter; Dromboyart, one quarter; Aghelaky, one quarter; Lettermore, one quarter; Carrowelohert, one quarter; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the quarter called Dromconnor, lying next the quarter of Dromkenan; and $\frac{7}{8}$ parts of Dromkenan, lying next the quarter of Donan aforesaid; in all, 1,000 acres. From this grant are excepted $\frac{1}{8}$ parts of Dromkenan, containing 60 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Boylaghoutra*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 11 August, 8th [1610]. *Ibid.*

8. Grant to *Alexander Coningham* (164) of Powton, gent. The small proportion called *Moynarga*, containing the lands of Cloghboye, one quarter; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Magherierogh; Carrowealley, one quarter; $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Drumurryn; Kilkashill, one quarter; Maghermayle, one quarter; Tyermoylin, one quarter; Moygunma, one quarter; $\frac{7}{8}$ parts of the quarter of Moynargun, lying next to the quarter of Moygunma; and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the quarter of Cornecarde, lying next to the quarter of Moynargan; in all, 1,000 acres. From this grant are excepted $\frac{1}{8}$ parts of the quarter of Moynargan, containing 60 acres. The premises are created the manor of Moynargan, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 August, 8th [1610]. *Ibid.*

v. Precinct of Knockninny (165), county of Fermanagh.

(163). *Patrick Vans*.—This undertaker came from the parish of Kirkinner, in Wigtonshire, where he had owned a small property known as Libragh, or Lybrack (see pp. 217, 218). He was the second son of Sir Patrick Vans, or Vaus, of Barnbarroch, in the same parish, and his wife the lady Catherine Kennedy, daughter of Gilbert, third Earl of Cassilis. The family of Vans, *Vaux*, or *Vaus*, (originally *De Vallibus*), is one of the first surnames that appears in England after the Conquest. Members of this family settled in Scotland during the reigns of David I. and his successor Malcolm, who succeeded to the throne in 1153. They originally settled in the barony of Dirleton, East Lothian. The first of the family in Galloway was Alexander Vaux, appointed bishop there in 1426. His nephew, Robert Vaux, obtained a grant of Barnbarroch and other lands from an Earl of Douglas, in 1451, and these lands were held by his representatives of this surname until the year 1809, when they passed by marriage into the family of Vans Agnew. This family of Vans "may be said to be the only one in Galloway retaining their documents from the date of settlement, in such good preservation, having met with no misfortunes, and evident care having been taken in the keeping of them. A considerable number of very interesting letters are in the collection." See Paterson's *Galloway Lands and their Owners*, pp. 359-384.

(164). *Coningham*.—This undertaker came from the parish of Sorbie, in Wigtonshire, but to what branch

of the then great and numerous race bearing this surname he belonged, we know not. The property known as *Poltoun*, or *Powton*, which he is mentioned in the above grant as then holding, was conveyed in a charter given by King Robert Bruce to the prior of Candida Casa, or Whithorn. In a charter granted by David II. to Gilbert Kennedy, the lands of Powtoun are coupled with those of Cruggleton or Carroldown, and are believed to have once formed part of that celebrated estate. The Coninghams, however, appear to have held lands in both at the commencement of the seventeenth century, for this Alex. Coningham is mentioned in Scottish records as owning Powtoun, whilst Agnes Coningham and William Coningham are stated to have sasines of the adjoining ten merk lands known as Cruggleton or Carroldown Caven. (See Paterson's *Galloway Lands and their Owners*, pp. 411, 449). This undertaker also had Geo. Murray of Bruchton as his cautioner.

(165). *Knockninny*.—See p. 203. This barony is bounded on the north-west, by the barony of Glenawley; on the north-east, by Upper Lough Erne; and on the south-east and south-west, by the county of Cavan. Knockninny stretches from the head almost to the foot of Upper Lough Erne, including about one-third of that lake and its islands; and generally it may still be regarded as an expanse of lakes, swamps, meadows, low-lying fields, with patches of demesne lands, and a liberal supply of bogs. The north-west and south-east ends are bounded re-

1. Grant to *Michael Balfoure* (166) Lord Burley. The great proportion of *Legan* (167), containing Mollolagha, 4 tates; Intramalta, 2 tates; Rameaw, 4 tates; Carne, 4 tates; Magallon, 4 tates; Macarrigio, 4 tates; Drombrouchas, 4 tates; Legan, 4 tates; Carrodawre, 2 tates, next to Drombrochas; the islands of Inishlaght, Inishlinne, and Inishgree, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate each, all in Lougherne, with free fishing therein; in all, 2,000 acres, together with the presentation, advowson, and patronage of the vicarage of Dromully. Also, the small proportion of *Carrowshee*, containing the lands of Ballinicaffer, 4 tates; Carrowshee, 4 tates; Castleskeagh, 4 tates; Coragh, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tates; Corrodore, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ tates; the island of Inishcorkish, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; the island of Tranish, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; the island of Dirrinish, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate, all in Lougherne, with free fishing in that Lough; in all, 1,000 acres. The islands of Inishturke and Tranish, and the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Intramalta, containing in all, 120 acres, are excepted from this grant. Total rent, 16*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of Legan and Carrowshee, with 900 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 June, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Michael Balfoure, junr.*, commonly called the laird Mountwhany (168). The middle proportion of *Kilspinan* (169), containing the lands of Tonedonan, Aghelhard, Lettergine, Kilspinan, Gortclare, Dromrian, Dromgoole, Dromsasserick, Lisaghnocke, one tate each; Kilboy, Dromgoolonagh, Lehinch, Cornebraugh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate each; $\frac{1}{2}$ of Kilvecran; Kilcloone, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a tate; Killelhard, Kilturke, and Killeard, one tate each; Port, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a tate; Derrybegg and Crum, one tate; Derrym^cRoe, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a tate; Aghedrom, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Dromhate, one tate; Dirrycorboy, Bun, Corlat, Cornebrasse, Dromcroo, and Dromkilly, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate each; the island of Gobcorolo in Lougherne, one tate; and all other islands there belonging to the said lands, except those of

spectively by the Cladagh and Woodford rivers. On the baronial map of 1609, this precinct appears in two divisions, one much larger than the other, and both represented as containing large quantities of wood and bog. The compass points directly north-west, and the boundaries, as given on the map, are nearly the reverse of what they appear on correctly drawn maps. This map of Knockninny in 1609 appears to have been hastily got up in several respects. Some townland names have been scored out; the colours which ought to have distinguished the proportions are not correctly given; whilst only three proportions, of the six in the precinct, have the circular marks intended to attract the eye, and thus save trouble in finding them. The larger of the two divisions comprises the ancient Irish territory called Coolenerer. No lands are marked as unappropriated, and only small quantities as belonging to the church. Yet the whole barony consisting of nearly 28,000 acres, exclusive of water-surface, is represented on the map as occupied by six proportions, although the undertakers of these proportions were supposed to have no more than 9,000 acres of arable land distributed amongst them all!

(166). *Balfour Lord Burley*.—Eldest son of Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich and Montquhanie, in Fife, and Margaret Balfour, of the ancient house so called from the barony of Balfour. Sir James Balfour had been a prominent actor during the troubled reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and afterwards at the commencement of her son's reign. His

influence had the effect of advancing his family, as proved by the grants conferred on this undertaker, who was known as Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh. He had first a charter of the lands of Nethertoun, in Banffshire; and secondly, in the year 1606, a charter of the barony of Burleigh. At that date he was ambassador to the Duke of Tuscany and Lorraine, and was then also advanced to the peerage by the title of Lord Balfour of Burleigh. At the time of receiving these honours, he was styled of *Balgarnie*, which was a family residence in the parish of Monimail, Fifeshire. But, notwithstanding these distinctions, the family was poor, and he was fain to undertake two proportions of the escheated lands in Ulster, one for himself, and one for his son. These Scottishmen, father and son, were among the first to take out patents.

(167). *Legan*.—This proportion is represented on the map as hemmed in by mountains on one side and Lough Erne on the other. It had also a plentiful supply of wood and bog.

(168). *Mountwhany*.—Son of Michael Balfour, Lord Burleigh, mentioned in the preceding note. Mountquhanie, whence the undertaker derived his title, is in the parish of Kilmany, Fifeshire.

(169). *Kilspinan*.—These lands occupied the central part of the Irish territory known as Coolenerer, and are represented on the maps as including within their bounds no fewer than four lakes.

Kenneneber and Golooe, with free fishing therein ; in all, 1,500 acres. Kilbecran, $\frac{1}{3}$, a tate, and Drombrochus, one tate, assigned for glebe land, are excepted from this grant. Rent, 8*l*. English. The premises are created the manor of Crum, with 450 acres in demesne ; power to create tenures, and hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (12) Car. I.

3. Grant to Sir John Wishart (170), *Knight*, laird Pettaro. The middle proportion called *Latryme*, or *Leitrim* (171), containing the lands of Killbricke, one tate ; Gort-camon, one tate ; Aghoieigh, one tate ; Mullaghenygowan, one tate ; Edenehowrye, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate : Lurgaboy, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate ; Enquillen, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate ; Drombrochios, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate ; Aghenehinchbegg, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate ; Aghenehinchmore, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate ; Dromrallagh, Kilrody, Leginacaffrey, Mulladuff, Aghirouskiebegg, and Aghirouskiemore, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate each ; Clonelty, one tate ; Latrym, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ tate ; Kircorman, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate ; Clonky, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate ; Lissnedorke, $\frac{1}{3}$ a tate ; Mullanelecke, one tate ; Cloncorricke, one tate ; Clonculliga, one tate ; Mullyoarran, one tate ; Dirriny, one tate ; Dromanurchiere, one tate ; the island of Derrycharris, in Lougherne, one tate ; the island of Coloee, one tate ; and the island of Keneneber, one tate ; in all, 1,500 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. From this grant 90 acres for glebe are excepted. The premises are created into the manor of Leitrim or Latrym, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l*. English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 25 June, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (11) Car. I.

4. Grant to Thomas Monepeny (172), laird of Kinkell, or Kinalle. The small proportion of *Ahaglane* (173), consisting of the lands Dromelly, Tenmore, Feugh, [], Corre, Derrinagore, Lorgombooy, Aghovolenaboc, Moulan, and Derredeny, one tate ; Aghadisart, Garvore, Dromgerrake-

(170). *Wishart*.—This undertaker, like nearly every other of his class, especially from Scotland, had left his native country when he could not conveniently remain ; but unlike most other Scotchmen in Ulster, this Fife-shire laird appears to have been involved in new difficulties even on this side the North Channel. In a *Memoir of James Spottiswoode, Bishop of Clogher*, there is the following reference to Wishart, several years after his coming to Fermanagh :—"In this mean time, there was one Sir John Wishart, sometime Lord Pittaro, in Scotland, who, having consumed his estate there, begged some escheated lands in the county of Fermanagh, and was possessed of 24 towns or tates of the Bishop of Clogher's lands, next adjacent to the temporal lands [as above granted by the Crown], for which he was to pay the bishop 36*lb*. per annum. The Bishop of Clogher sends to him many times for his rent ; but he did not only deferre to pay it, but returned the bishop's messenger with a disdainful and uncivil letter. The bishop's servants coming to the knowledge of the contents of this letter, desired the bishop to give them leave, and they would take and distresse for his rent ; soe by his direction, they went to his dwelling-place at Clantiverin, and brought away 16 poore beasts, kows and heyfars, prised at nine pounds six. Sir John took this in great snuffe, and by Balfour's advice tooke out

from the sheriff of the county a writt of replevin, to fetch back the goods upon security. There was no formality kept in takeing out the writ, nor in the execution thereof, and Sir John Wishart scorned to redeem his goods ; the bishop's bailiff, therefore, sold the cattle." See *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 110, 111). Wishart took out his patent among the earliest undertakers.

(171). *Leitrim*.—The name of this proportion is written Latrim on the map, which represents Wishart's lands granted by the Crown as full of bogs, woods, and lakes ; the church lands adjoining, as let to him by the Bishop of Clogher, are shown on the map as free from all encumbering causes now named, and represented as containing a church with a tower, in a townland or tate called Gortacurra.

(172). *Monepeny*.—This undertaker was also a Fife-shire laird, who came from the vicinity of St. Andrews, but the lands of Kinkell now know his race and name no more. Persons bearing his rather remarkable surname are found in several districts of Ulster, although he did not hold his lands in Fermanagh more than a few years. Moneypenny promptly took out his patent in 1610.

(173). *Ahaglane*.—These lands, like the others in the precinct of Knockninny, and particularly in the old territory of Coolenerer, were literally covered with woods, lakes, and bogs.

begg, Knicklagh, Coronene, Corg [] aghe, Derrenteine, Derarke and Greagheen, one tate; Gatnedon, Leglaghnedernagh, and Corregreagh, one tate; Corgelouse, Mullodnephren, Knoc, Partense, Enestallom, and Clance, one tate; the lands called Aghalanamoore, Aghalanebegg, Killeknawe, Killeclaghan, Correlane, Correlane, and Tonimore, one tate; Killeknockmore, Killeknockbegg, Kyllmoore, [], and Gartarde, one tate; Feugh, Kinrush, Drometa, and Dromhelster, one tate; Molonecough, Derregrany, Corlatt, Fermoye, and Tonaghmore, one tate; Gorgorgon, one quarter; Corterry, Sroe, Knockellrestan, and Knocksmodge, one tate; Klanteknose, Mullainshogga, Drumconna, Dromderrickmore, Erden, Clonebrack, and Golcomuckean, one tate; Dorrivore, Corelhin, Correvarran, Mullaghoise, Mullenehar, Teinan, Leighwollaghe, and Derrecorrian, one tate; Cackeneis, Corrahoise, Towralte, Corrugade, Strongallattie, Mullaghsallagh, Knockegarran, and Aghamore, one tate; the quarter called Derrykennan, containing the several denominations of Derrykennan, Gubbuckreere, Relagh, Cornowel, Cornakill, and the islands of Conny-Goiglam and Derrycree, one tate; Dromborry, Drombampony, Knockrenan, Bingarrowd, Kyllmeane, Keynoutra, Feughnuhi, Fermoye, and Oclanamwihi, one tate; Dromloughte, one tate; in all, 1,000 acres. For glebe 60 acres excepted from this grant. The premises created the manor of Ahaglane, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 15 October, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (9) Car. I.

5. Grant to *James Trayle* (174), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Dresternan* (175), containing the lands of Callaghill, 4 tates; Foyeglas, 4 tates; Dresternan, 4 tates; Carrowdorell, 2 tates; Dromlaghes, one tate; the island of Trassian, one tate; and the island of Blanishe, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. Sixty acres excepted from this grant for glebe land. The premises created the manor of Dresternan, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (13) Car. I.

6. Grant to *George Smelhome* (176). The small proportion of *Dirriany* (177), containing the

(174). *James Trayle*.—We have not been able to ascertain the native place of this undertaker, but he probably came from Fifeshire. He held his lands in Fermanagh no longer than the term of five years required by law, as, in 1615, he disposed of his interest therein to Sir Stephen Butler. There are still several families of Trayles to be found in Ulster. Although Trayle soon sold his lands, he had promptly taken out his patent.

(175). *Dresternan*.—This proportion lay westward of Lord Burley's proportion named Legan, from which it was separated by a stream flowing from the mountains into Lough Erne, but which stream is nameless on the map. At an Inquisition held in Newtown of Knockninny, in January, 1629, it was found that "it is verie fitt and convenient, and will be for the good and furtherance of the plantacion and Englishe inhabitants thereabouts, to have a weeklie markett upon the tewesdaye, to bee kepte within the said proporeon [Dresternan], upon the parcell of land called Callaghill al' Markett-hill, and 3 fayres yearlye to be kept the first upon St. Andrew's Day, the second upon St. Patrick's Day, and the thirde upon

St. Mary Magdelyne's daie; and the said marketts and fayres will not bee anie hinderance or nocument unto anie the neyboringe townes, where any fayres or marketts are kept upon those daies or tymes, at any towne or place within 8 miles distante of the said towne of Callaghill."

Inquisitions of Ulster, Fermanagh, (13) Car. I.

(176). *Smelhome*.—The surname of Smelhome is often written in Scotland *Smaitholme*. He is called *Smethorne* in an inquisition of 1629. He sold his interest in the lands so early as 1618. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (8) Car. I.) Smelhome was from Leith, and his cautioner was Robert Lindsay, also of the same place.

(177). *Dirriany*.—These lands occupied the northern extremity of Knockninny precinct, and are represented on the map as containing a large amount of bog and much wood. On their north-eastern border lay eight tates of church lands,—one of which, named Moyelagh, has a church marked with a tower on one end and a large cross on the other. On the north-western edge of this proportion stood Castleskeagh, an ancient and well-known residence of the Maguires.

lands of Diriada, Dirily, Gortgranagh, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate each; Encoragh, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; Rousky and Dromchoose, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate each; Dirriany, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; Drummurilbeg, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Tenester, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Dromlonan, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Corressale, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Quillan, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Garrowrousky, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Branish, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Dromcah, one tate; Cleenagh, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; all the islands in Lougherne, parcels of or belonging to the premises, except those of Dirrinish, Trasna, Tranish, and Blanish; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. The premises created the manor of Dirriany, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron; and power to create tenures. The parcel or tate of Drumurillmore, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 12 July, 11th [1613].

vi. The Precinct of Magheriboy (178), county of Fermanagh.

1. Grant to *Sir John Home* (179), *Knight*. The large proportion of *Ardgorte* (180), containing Defassagh, 4 tates; Ardgart, 4 tates; Rosswyne, 6 tates; Gartnerough, 4 tates; Drommaghmore, 4 tates; Tullagh, 2 tates; Menerin, 2 tates; Cargimore, 6 tates; the island of Muckinish, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; the island of Coonny, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; and the other islands in Lougherne, parcel of or belonging to the premises; in all, 2,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. From this grant 120 acres, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Menerin, were excepted for glebe land. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English. The premises erected into the manor of Ardgorte, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 24 July, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (46) Car. I.

2. Grant to *Robert Hamilton* (181). The middle proportion of *Dirrynefogher* (182),

(178). *Magheriboy*.—See p. 204. This precinct, commensurate with the present barony of Magheraboy, occupies the north-western portion of the county of Fermanagh. It is bounded on the west, by the county of Leitrim; on the north, by the barony of Lurg; on the east, by the baronies of Lurg and Tyrkenney; and on the south by the barony of Glenawley. On the baronial map the compass points S. E. Magheraboy contains upwards of 80,000 acres, exclusive of water; of this area, only small shreds belonged to the church; yet with these exceptions, the map represents the whole barony as being appropriated or occupied by seven proportions, although the undertakers were supposed to have only got 9,000 acres of arable land distributed among them all!

(179). *Sir John Home*.—This undertaker was a son of Alexander Home of Manderston, in Berwickshire, and brother of the well-known Sir George Home, or Hume, who accompanied the King into England, and in 1605 was created Earl of Dunbar. This gentleman not only made his own fortune, but was the means of advancing two of his brothers—among other methods, by obtaining for them proportions of the escheated lands in Ulster. Sir George Hume is described as having been “a person of deep wit, few words; and in his Majesty’s service no less faithful than fortunate. The most difficile affairs he compassed without any noise, never returning, when he was employed, without the work performed that he was

sent to do.” (See Burke’s *Extinct Peerages*, p. 289). His brother, Sir John, the undertaker in Fermanagh, appears to have migrated to London also. So early as August, 1603, when the King had not been there many months, this Scotch borderer obtained a licence to export 1,000 dickers of red hides, tanned, within two years. He soon afterwards obtained a pension of 200*l.* per annum, which he surrendered in 1611, no doubt according to agreement, and after he had got a provision for himself by the grant of these lands in Fermanagh. See *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, James I., August 17, 1603; and May 16, 1611.

(180). *Ardgorte*.—This proportion is represented on the map as lying between the mountains and Lough Erne, and as very much occupied by woods, bogs, lakes, and streams.

(181). *Robert Hamilton*.—This undertaker was a kinsman of Sir James Hamilton, Lord Clannaboy, being a son of Gilbert Hamilton, and having Gavin Hamilton of Raplock as his cautioner. Lord Clannaboy’s father, Hans Hamilton, was an illegitimate son of Hamilton of Raplock.

(182). *Dirrynefogher*.—The lands of this proportion lay westward on the map, but really south of the preceding one. Dirrynefogher was a middle proportion, and as such, ought to have been drawn in violet, but it appears in the usual uncertain hue, intended to be carnation,

containing Rossmire, $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Knockbey, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; Dromeherin, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a tate; Dirrynefogher, $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Listead, one tate; Leglan, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; Dromgormeny, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; Aghekeirin, one tate; Killduff, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Dromary, one tate; Aghasillus, one tate; Killroe, one tate; Dromcroghan, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate, Corr, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; Listomer, $\frac{2}{3}$ tate; Carnbeg, $\frac{2}{3}$ tate; Dromscobbe, one tate; Tullacreeny, 2 tates; Smurierta, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Tategillagh, one tate; Dromduller, $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Tullascanlan, one tate; Shankill, Tedan, Ranasough, Lughan, Cashell, and Dromcarban, $\frac{1}{3}$ tate each; Tullagarin, 2 tates; Tullacalter, one tate; Tonamulmora, $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Crott, $\frac{1}{3}$ tate; Dromeragh, one tate; Moyneghan, one tate; Maghernienekeragh, $\frac{2}{3}$ tate; half the tate of Mullaghgillicolm; the islands of Fushie and Clenishe, and free fishing in Lougherne; in all, 1,500 acres; the tate of Kilbay and half the tate of Smuriertagh, containing 90 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of Derrynefogher, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 Aug., 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *James Gibb* (183). The small proportion of *Dromra* (184), containing the lands of Dromskewly, 4 tates; Cavankeile, 4 tates; Dromra, 4 tates; Moyfadda, $\frac{2}{3}$ tate; Dromdowne, 2 tates; the moiety of the half quarter of Urrishe, one tate; the island of Inchmac-Moile in Lougherne; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. The moiety of the Urragh, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of Dromra, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 August, 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *Jerome Lindsey* (185), *Esq.* The small proportion of *Dromskeagh* (186), containing the lands of Dromskeagh, Cannerlagh, Dromeagh, Dromclane, and Lurgaviegh, each one tate; Callogh and Nerry, one tate; Urrisse, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Mullycreagh, 2 tates;

which characterises all the small proportions. This estate of Robert Hamilton, which also lay between the mountains and Lough Erne, is represented on the map as very wooded, but without much bog. Nearly in the centre is a small parcel of church land called *Monca*, in which there is a church marked, and beside it a small lake. On the western bounds, and immediately adjoining the mountains, there are two parcels of church lands called *Killchaman* and *Leytrim*, on the former of which a church also appears.

(183). *James Gibb*.—James Gibb was the son of John Gibb, a Scottish servant in the Royal household. Oct. 24, 1603, a warrant to deliver John Gibb, one of the grooms of the bedchamber, stuff for winter apparel. Jan. 4, 1604, warrant to deliver John Gibb his yearly livery. March 14, 1604, warrant to pay John Gibb an annuity of 20*l.* May 3, 1604, grant to John Gibb of 2000*l.* from fines paid for recusancy. December 17, 1604, grant to John Gibb, groom of the chamber, of 3000*l.* out of the penalties or forfeitures of recusants. The son, James Gibb, soon disposed of his interest in the Fermanagh lands, and remained in London. July 5, 1614, a grant to James Gibb of a pension of 200*l.* per annum, on surrender of a like pension by John Gibb, his father, groom of the bedchamber. And July 11, 1616, a

grant to Henry Gibb, of the bedchamber, for the benefit of his father, John Gibb, of lands called Brading, Isle of Wight, which have been much overflowed by the sea, and are to be enclosed at his expense. See *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, James I.

(184). *Dromra*.—This proportion lay close along the shore of Lough Erne, and adjoining those of Sir John Home and Robert Hamilton. It is marked on the map as having much wood and bog, with two islands lying opposite, but neither named on the map.

(185). *Jerome Lindsey*.—This undertaker was probably Bernard Lindsay already noticed. He did not long retain his lands in Fermanagh, having disposed of them in October, 1612, to Captain Cole.

(186). *Dromskeagh*.—These lands occupied the southern extremity of the precinct reaching to Enniskillen, which appears on the map as an island separated from the mainland by a not very narrow channel. Six tates of church lands intervene between this proportion and the lake, and at a little distance from the shore lies the island of Devenish, with its round tower, its abbey, and two other ecclesiastical buildings. Numerous black crosses are represented on the map as surmounting these structures, including the round tower.

Clonihawla, 2 tates; half of Lurgandarragh, one tate; Dirrilacka, 2 tates; and half of Doonconly, 2 tates; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. The other moiety of the said $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, called the tate of Lurgandarragh, containing 60 acres, is excepted from this grant. The premises are created the manor of Dromskeagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 17 September, 10th [1612].

5. Grant to *William Fowler* (187), *Esq.* The middle proportion of *Moyglasse* (188), containing the lands of Bohorne, 4 tates; Moyglasse, 4 tates; Billygonauight, 4 tates; Lavillamuragh, 3 tates; Aghrim, 2 tates; Kilderassan, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Rousky, one tate; Tenegh, one tate; Quillyn, one tate; Dromreaske, one tate; Carrigreagh, one tate; Mullaghgellycollyn, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; the island of Inishfoimer, in Lougherne, one tate; the island of Galleran, and all the islands in Lougherne, parcels of, or belonging to the premises; in all, 1,500 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. For glebe land, 90 acres excepted from this grant. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of Moyglasse, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 6 May, 9th [1611]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (46) Car. I.

6. Grant to *Alexander Home* (189). The small proportion of *Dromcoose* (190), containing the lands of Dromcoose, 4 tates; Coagh, 3 tates; Rattonnagh, 4 tates; Lenaghan, 4 tates; the island of Inishgollowe, one tate; the island of Inishlougher, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; the island of Inishcomeade, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; and the islands of Carr and Trasna lying in Lougherne; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Lougherne. Sixty acres excepted from this grant for glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The premises erected into the manor of Dromcoose, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 April, 9th [1611]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (46) Car. I.

(187). *William Fowler*.—A servant of the royal household, but specially employed in the Queen's service. On the 24th of October, 1608, the Earl of Shrewsbury writes to Salisbury, specially "recommending Mr. Fowler, the Queen's servant." On the 26th of October, 1609, this Wm. Fowler writes to the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, stating that he had delivered to the Queen their packet directed to Viscount Lisle, her Chamberlain; and adding that she will meet the King at London, or elsewhere, and that she hears his Majesty has a swelled foot. Fowler was a native of Scotland, but from what locality we have not discovered.

(188). *Moyglasse*.—This proportion lay northward of Dromskeagh, and separating the latter from that of Robert Hamilton, called Dirrynefogher, already noticed. Moyglasse is represented on the map as generally mountainous, and literally abounding in woods, lakes, and bogs. It was shut off from the shore of Lough Erne by lands belonging to other proportions on each side of it.

(189). *Alexander Home*.—A brother of Sir Geo. Home, or Hume, and of Sir John, already noticed as owner of the large proportion called Ardgorte; but Alexander does not appear to have migrated to London with his brothers. Although he took out his patent, he disposed of his grant

to his brother Sir John, and probably remained in the family residence, which was called Manderston, in the parish of Dunse, Berwickshire. This residence has been preserved, and recently very much improved, but it is not now occupied by any family of the Homes. In the seventeenth century, the Homes or Humes were a numerous and influential race in Berwick and Lauderdale. Among their leading families were those of Wedderburn, Blacatur, Aytoun, Cowdenknowes, Polwart, and Manderston. The heads of these families were all known as lairds. To these Homes of Berwickshire belonged David Hume, the historian and philosopher, whose name is now a household word; John Home, the author of the highly popular dramatic work entitled *Douglas, a Tragedy*; David Hume, of Godscroft; Sir Patrick Hume, and his nobly distinguished daughter, Grizel Baillie.

(190). *Dromcoose*.—This proportion lay on the lough shore, the several islands mentioned in the above grant being separated from the mainland only by a narrow channel. These islands, however, are not named on the map, although there is a church marked on one of them. Two lakes are marked near the centre of this proportion. Wood and bog are also marked as being plentifully sprinkled throughout.

7. Grant to *John Dunbarr* (191), *Esq.* The small proportion called *Dromcro* (192), containing the following lands, viz., Dromcroe, Drombocking, Correcloony, and Tounegowan, being 4 tates; Drommore, Dromdowne, Ganwen, Urbill, Drommarowe, and Dristernan, 4 tates; Rahaltane, Clonlawan, Rostagawhe, and half of Tullenedall, 4 tates; three-fourths of Doagh quarter; including the lands of Doagh, Ratonogho, Dromnemine, Rossnurbegg, Dirgonilly, and Mullaghclanagie; $\frac{1}{2}$ of the half quarter of Behagh, which includes the parcels of Letragan, Lecessioghore, and Gortagarne; in all, 1,000 acres. Also Tonnagh, 2 great tates, 120 acres; Killwhun, Revagh, Shrebagh, and Aghthovas, one tate each, 240 acres; Chosrogy, Tullaghstranaferne, Tullaghnastragh, Turgan, Monnisciribagh, Dromnagawna, and Kiltagart, $\frac{1}{6}$ tate each; rent, 9*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* The premises are created the manor of Dunbar, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 10 January, 13th [1615].

VII. The Precinct of Tullochenco (193), county of Cavan.

1. Grant to *Sir Alexander Hamilton, Knt.*, of Endervicke, in Scotland. The small proportion called *Clonkine* (194), containing Nardra, one poll; Lahard, one poll; Granecharrow, one pole; Quivie, one poll; Shancarrow, 2 polls; Dromchirivy, one poll; Carrow, one poll; Dromchollin, one pole; Dromgowne, one poll; Dremgohan, one pole; Keilagh, one pole; [], one poll; Drombess, one poll; Dromkeirin, one poll; [], the poll of Dromroe in 12 parts divided; and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the poll of Dromhyllagh; in all, containing 1,000 acres. Also, the small proportion of *Carrotubber* (194), including the lands of Behe, one poll; Druse, one poll; Gortneterine, one poll; Sallaghwy, 4 polls; Dromchachy, one poll; Nalosty, one poll; Carrotubber, one poll; Aghevehan, 2 polls; Cor-Ihy, one poll; Clovue, 2 polls; Partanure, 2 polls; Muhrack, one poll; Alewin; 12 parts of the poll of Syhoran; and 7 parts of the two polls of Aghanocho; in all, 1,000 acres, with the advowson, donation, and right of patronage of and in

(191). *John Dunbarr*.—Grandson of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, in Wigtonshire. He seems to have been heir to the latter, although at the time of Sir John's death there was little of the family estates left to inherit. Of the residue, however, there was the superiority of the two merk land of Egerness and Kerguill, and also of the five pound land of Pankhill, now Bonkill, in the parish of Sorbie, Wigtonshire. Even these fragments soon passed from the name of Dunbar, and now form part of the estates of the Earl of Galloway, lying on the northern and eastern shores of Garlieston bay. (See Paterson's *Galloway Lands and their Owners*, p. 461). John Dunbarr did not come to Ulster with the other undertakers from Wigtonshire, being detained, no doubt, in gleaning up the slender remains of his property. He came, however, in 1615, and his settlement in Fermanagh appears to have been prosperous. In consideration of the once distinguished position of his family, he was soon knighted. He also held the office of High Sheriff of Fermanagh.

(192). *Dromcro*.—This proportion adjoined that of Sir John Home on the north, and was bounded by Lough Erne on the east. It is represented on the map as literally

covered with wood, and as having a plentiful supply of bog.

(193). *Tullochenco*.—See p. 204. Now Tullyhunco, situated in the west of the county of Cavan, and bounded on the north, by the baronies of Tullaghagh and Lower Loughtee; on the east, by the baronies of Lower Loughtee, Upper Loughtee, and Clonmahon; on the south, by the county of Longford; and on the west, by the counties of Longford and Leitrim, and the barony of Tullaghagh. On the baronial map the compass points due west, the northern boundaries thus appearing on the east; the eastern boundaries on the south; the southern boundaries on the west; and the western boundaries on the north. The area of this precinct is about 39,000 acres, exclusive of water, which, with the exception of a few very small parcels of church lands, is represented on the map as occupied by the proportions of five undertakers, although the latter were supposed to have got only 6,000 acres of arable lands distributed amongst them all!

(194). *Clonkine and Carrotubber*.—These two proportions are represented on the map as lying between Lough Gauna and the head of Loughowtra. Both are shown also as containing much wood and bog.

the rectory or church of Killeshandragh. From this grant 90 acres were excepted. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises created the manor of Clonkine and Carrotubber, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 23 July, 8th [1610]. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Cavan, (24) Car. I.*

2. Grant to *Sir Claude Hamilton, Knt.*, and son of the above-named Sir Alexander. The small proportion of *Clonyn* (195), otherwise *Taughyleagh*, containing the lands of Derryvyla, 2 polls; Derryskerke, one pole; Disert, one poll; Derrylakyn, 2 polls; Portlive, one poll; $\frac{3}{4}$ of the poll called Derreged; Towlaght, one poll; Clonine al' Tagleagh, one poll; Dromardavan, one pole; Dromragh, one poll; Gortinagery, one poll; Dromcherill, one pole; Cloncose, one poll; Drombo, one poll; Dromoligh, 2 polls; and $\frac{1}{12}$ of the poll of Dromcartagh; in all, 1,000 acres; from which is excepted glebe land amounting to 60 acres. The premises are created the manor of Clonyn or Taghleagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 23 July, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Cavan, (24) Car. I.*

3. Grant to *Alexander Achmootie* (196). The small proportion of *Dromheada* (197), containing the lands of Drumfart, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Quinemore, 2 polls; Dromlyne, one poll; Gartnartin, $\frac{1}{4}$ poll; Laghtnafiny, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Corromaghin, one poll; Downanow, one poll; Amaghtarcorne, one poll; Aghcarrow, one poll; Tollagh, one poll; Cromcrin, $\frac{1}{4}$ poll; Shalghwy, one poll; Portlanghill, 2 polls; Dromchorie, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a poll; Carromconagh, 2 polls; Dromany, one poll; Crodrom, one poll; $\frac{3}{4}$ of Bohora; Dromheada, one poll; Dromvoloskie, one poll; Ardra, one poll; and $\frac{1}{12}$ of Dromro, next to Ardra; in all, 1,000 acres. The poll of Crinowe, and the $\frac{1}{4}$ of Bohora, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of Dromheada, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 24 June, 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *John Achmootie* (198). The small proportion of *Keylagh* (199), containing the lands of Tonyley, Dromany, Slutedwarid, Loughchenn, and Taghabane, one poll each; Croghin, 4 polls; Molaghdone, Aghnacriny, Markan, Keylagh, and Clonkeine, one poll each; $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of the poll of Clarhagh, next Kildailen; Listernan, 2 polls; Killnacrosse, Tagheagh, Carrotouny, and Kilnegreighan, one poll each; eleven of the twelve parts of the poll of Dromcartagh next to

(195). *Clonyn*.—These lands bordered on the county Leitrim, from which they are represented on the map as being separated by a river called the Owen Duff.

(196). *Achmootie*.—This undertaker had a brother in the royal household, through whose influence he, no doubt, was admitted to the benefits arising from the Ulster plantation, but as to what place in Scotland he originally belonged, we are unable to affirm.

(197). *Dromheada*.—The lands of Dromheada lay in the centre of the precinct, and are represented on the map as containing two small lakes not named, several small patches of bog, but no woods.

(198). *Achmootie*.—Brother of Alexander Achmootie, above-mentioned. On the 24th of October, 1603, there

is a warrant to deliver to John Achmouty as a groom of the Bedchamber, stuff for winter apparel. January 4, 1603-4, a warrant to deliver him his yearly livery. March 16, 1603-4, a warrant to pay him an annuity of 20*l.* July 4, 1607, a grant of sums received by divers persons for the King's service in Ireland. And in March, 1608, a grant to Achmouty, as groom of the Bedchamber, of 2,000*l.*, as a gift, payable out of the forfeitures of recusants. See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-10*, pp. 47, 64, 88, 316, 415.

(199). *Keylagh*.—These lands, marked on the map as densely wooded, occupied a nearly central part of the precinct between the county of Leitrim on the west and the barony of Loughtee on the east.

Keylagh; two-twelfth parts of the poll of Dromynan next Clonkeine; in all, 1,000 acres. The poll of Boched, and one-fourth of the poll of Clarhagh, containing 60 acres, are excepted from this grant. The premises are erected into the manor of Keylagh, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 27 June, 8th [1610].

5. Grant to *John Browne* (200) of Gorgeemill, gent. The small proportion of *Carrodonan* (201), containing the lands of Tagheroskery, one poll; Grenchill, one poll; Dromche, one poll; Tointragh, one poll; Dromlearn, one poll; Gartollagh, one poll; Farrangarran, one poll; Dromallo, one poll; [], one poll; Lecke, one poll; Garwayne, one poll; Cashell, 2 polls; Corridonaghy, 2 polls; Carrodownan, one poll; Dromchroe, one poll; Drombarry, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Aghocoran, 2 polls; Dromgoha, one poll; and $\frac{1}{12}$ of the poll of Syhorran; in all, 1,000 acres, excepting 60 acres from this grant for glebe land. The premises are created the manor of Carrodownan, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* and 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 23 July, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (31) Car. I.

VIII. The Precinct of Clanchy (202), in the county of Cavan.

1. Grant to *Esme Stuart*, Lord Aubigny (203). The great proportion of *Kinneigh* (204), containing the lands of Corveagh, one poll; Colclare, one poll; Shannagh, 2 polls; Killinerran, one poll; Cornelyan, one poll; Corley and Dromskeagh, one poll each; Lecke, 2 polls; Derry, Shannan, and Corcoast, one poll each; Killnecross-duffe, 2 polls; Lattrusse, Lissnedarsagh, Skarkoge, Darkley, Cornecarrowe, Dromlyn, and Carvillykie, one poll each; Dromcullen, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Latgaghan, Annagh-Irin, Corraghoo, Dromhilla, Corlateglanan, Crosbeg, and Rathlahan, one poll each; Dromad, 2 polls; Agherabeg, $\frac{1}{2}$ pole; Coranargan, Carravaddy, and Colloore, one poll each; Nowlagh, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Corlattecarroll, Kilmaghan, Kinegh, and Killalis, one poll

(200). *John Browne*.—This undertaker had also a grant of several Ferries in Ulster. He soon disposed of these lands in Cavan, as there is a King's letter of April 21, 1613, "to accept a surrender from John Browne of *Gorgemill*, in Scotland, gent., of the manor of Carrowdonen, in Cavan co., and to make a grant of the same to Archibald Acheson of Edinburgh, forever, with the advowson of the church of the manor." John Browne's cautioner was Harrie Aikman of Broomhous.

(201). *Carrodonan*.—This proportion lay along the southern extremity of the precinct, adjoining the county of Longford, and containing, as represented on the map, much wood and many patches of bog.

(202). *Clanchy*.—Now Clankee or Clonkee (see p. 204). This barony is situate in the extreme east of the county of Cavan, being bounded on the north, by the barony of Tullaghgarvie; on the east, by the county of Monaghan; on the south, by the county of Meath; and on the west, by the barony of Loughtee. In this barony map, the compass points N.W. The general appearance of the surface is varied by many lakes, and by a mountain range which runs through the greater part of the precinct, shutting

out the undertakers' lands from others that had not been appropriated when the surveyors passed, but had been set aside for corporate towns, free schools, and probably to endow forts. The precinct contains 64,377 acres, of which about two-thirds was occupied by four proportions supposed to represent only 5,000 acres!

(203). *Aubigny*.—Son of Esme Stewart, the first Duke of Lennox, and younger brother of Ludovic, the second duke. On the death of the latter, in Feb., 1623-4, he succeeded as third duke, but he only enjoyed this title a few months, as he died in July, 1624. His wife was Katherine, only daughter and heir of Sir Gervase Clifton, Lord Clifton of Leighton Bromswold, by whom he left a large family. This lady afterwards married the second Earl of Abercorn, and was granted the right of retaining her rank and title of Duchess of Lennox. See Burke's *Extinct Peerages*, p. 513.

(204). *Kinneigh*.—This proportion lay in the centre of the precinct, and is represented on the map as free from woods and bogs. Two roofless churches are marked at Kilian and Knockbreca respectively.

each; and $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the poll called Knocknelostye; in all, 2,000 acres. Also the small proportion of *Cashell*, containing the lands of Corrigireogh, Anyferne, Coreloghagh, Dorklagh, Dromdiny, Mollan, Corlecke, Moyegh, Knappagh, Lisnede, Liscloghos, Dromineveale, Awyferne, Barnagno, Kilcleery, Kesskeame, and Cashell, each one poll; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the poll called Lisnegowne; Lurgaboy, one poll; Dromconra, one poll; and $\frac{1}{12}$ of the poll called Ralaghan; in all, 1,000 acres, with the advowson, donation, and right of patronage of the rectory or church of Dromdone al' Dromgown. From this grant was excepted 150 acres of glebe lands. The premises are created the manors of Kinneigh and Cashell, with 900 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 16*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 15 Aug., 8th [1640]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (19) Car. I.

2. Grant to *William Baillie, Esq.* The small proportion of *Tonneregic* (205), containing the lands of Drombynis, 2 polls; Lisballagh, Dirrymore, Dromlume, Pottle, Lissegharr, Corbolle, Lier, and Tirenemurklogh, each one poll; Toneregic, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; $\frac{3}{4}$ of the poll of Rakenan; Aghenellan, Drombenan, Dromkeragh, Kilcolhie; Galbolly, Lissenalske, Litry, and Fasseraugh, one poll each; the $\frac{1}{2}$ poll of Trougher; and $\frac{1}{12}$ of the poll of Dromegrany; in all, 1,000 acres, from which 60 acres for glebe are excepted. The premises are created the manor of Toneregic, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 6 August, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (17) Car. I.

3. Grant to *John Raleston, gent.* The small proportion of *Kilcloghan* (206), containing the lands of Dirrnecasse, one poll; Clonra, one pole; $\frac{3}{4}$ of the poll of Cran; Lismulran, Corgarie, Lattully, Glastromen, Correneiry, Drombyns, Kilcloghen, Kilveerewe, Tonhult, Dromdromen, Dorreagh, Latsybulgiden, Ardmoan, Tonyduff, Tullylurkan, and Sioran, one poll each; Leglan, one poll; one and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the poll of Ralaghan; $\frac{1}{2}$ of the half poll of Cornewhoe; and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the poll of Knockeelosty; in all, 1,000 acres, from which glebe land amounting to 60 acres is excepted. The premises are created the manor of Kilcloghan, with 300 acres of demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 August, 8th [1610]. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (18) Car. I.

4. Grant to *William Downbarr*, of a small proportion of 1,000 acres. [This grant is not found in the printed Rolls of James I., nor in the *Inquisitions of Ulster*.]

III.

PRECINCTS OR BARONIES SET APART FOR SERVITORS AND NATIVES ONLY.

1. The Precinct of Orier (207), county of Armagh.

(205). *Tonneregic*.—This proportion lay chiefly along the border adjoining the county of Meath. On a small parcel of church land, called *Moybolga*, a ruined church is marked, and a round tower, at a little distance, surmounted by a cross.

(206). *Kilcloghan*.—This proportion lay principally along the mountain range called on the map *Sleuiccorrie*,

which separated the barony or precinct of Clanchy, or Clankeel, from that of Tullaghgarvie.

(207). *Orier*.—See p. 201. This large precinct is now comprised in the two baronies of Upper and Lower Orier. The former occupies the south-eastern part of the county of Armagh, and the latter, or Lower Orier, the middle of the eastern side or division of the county. The

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *Sir Gerald Moore* (208), *Knight*, privy councillor, of the lands called Kilnebodagh, Denone, Drombanchor, and Liscomon, one balliboe each; Kilrie, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Knockduffe otherwise Kilmanaghan, Ballinescarsagh, and Cavan-Icallon, one balliboe each; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Knockduffe*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 22 January, 8th [1609-10].

2. Grant to *Sir Oliver St. John* (209), master of the Ordnance, the castle and town of Tonregie [Tanderagee] otherwise Ballymore, Mullabedy, Tullagh-Hugh, Darrowgallen, and Lisbane, one balliboe each; Cargines, 2 balliboes; Mullaghglasse, Tawnereogh, Tawnatee, Coronaght, and Creenaghbegg, one balliboe each; Lisray, $\frac{1}{4}$ balliboe; in all, 1,500. Rent, 12*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Ballymore*, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 28 December, 8th [1609-10].

area of the old precinct, or of the two modern baronies, is about 75,000 acres, which the baronial map represents as entirely occupied by servitors and natives, excepting 1,910 acres for glebes, a free school, and Fort Mountnorris, the said servitors and natives not being supposed to have had more than about 11,000 acres of arable land distributed amongst them all!

(208). *Gerald Moore*.—He was among the most distinguished of the servitor class, both as to his family position and his services. He was son of Sir Edward Moore, of Mellifont, near Drogheda, who had come from Kent to make a fortune in Ireland during the war with the Earl of Tyrone, and succeeded even perhaps beyond his expectations. His son, Gerald, or Garret (as his name is always written in the State Papers), added considerably to the accumulations of his father. By a patent dated June 4, 1611, he had a confirmation in fee of the abbey of Mellifont, with all its lands; the priory of Duleek, with all its lands; the hospital of St. John the Baptist, in Ardee, with all its lands; the manor of Shenlis, and the monastery of Gallen, together with the rectories and tithes of Duleeke, Kilcarvan, Eight-Castles, Moorechurch, Stamullen, Cloneallway, Ardethe, Tymoll, Macestown, Dowth, Rathkenny, Killnessane, Rathconnell, Castle-towne, Killowene, Croyanestown, Kilcowle, Hollywood, the Grallagh, the Naull, Cowloge, St. Mary's and St. Peter's, Drogheda, Julianstown, Mullingar, and Maghericloo,—in the several counties of Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Dublin, Monaghan, and King's County. He had also obtained the castle and lands of Ballyscanlan, Krivagh, and others, in 1600, and last, though not least, this grant in the precinct of Orier. (See Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 95). Chichester, when recommending the council to concede some suit preferred by Sir Garret Moore, states the ground of his recommendation thus:—"The inducement for this is that he pays the greatest rent to the King of any man in the kingdom, and that he is a worthy and honest servant." Although

his proportion is stated in this grant to have only included 1,000 acres, the map has coloured and marked it as a middle proportion of 1,500 acres. Moore had originally asked for lands in Upper Orier, and he thus had his desire gratified. There appears to have been very little wood or bog on his proportion.

(209). *St. John*.—This undertaker was a no less distinguished servitor than the last mentioned, with a more popular manner, and more ambition. He was the second son of Nicholas St. John, of Lydiard Tregorze, Wiltshire. He had been originally educated as a lawyer, but having slain his antagonist in a duel he was compelled to leave England for a time. He went to Flanders, where he became a soldier, and so distinguished himself that he there received the honour of knighthood. On his return to England he was selected by Queen Elizabeth as a likely person to suit her Irish service, and accordingly he was sent to this country in the year 1601. Here he made rapid progress in the accumulation of wealth and honours, receiving in succession the appointments of president of Munster, vice-president of Connaught, Master of the Ordnance, and eventually Lord Deputy, with the style and dignity of Viscount Grandison. (See Nichol's *Autographs*). Among his various acquisitions the most fortunate, perhaps, was this grant of lands which had belonged to old Sir Oghie O'Hanlon, on which he [St. John] settled himself, adding other proportions to his own as they were offered for sale in the district, and founding there a family which is now represented by the dukes of Manchester. On the map, his proportion appears as one of the large size, being coloured yellow, and having the two red circles, one inside the other, used to mark great proportions, although in the terms of the grant as above, it is stated to be one of middle size. O'Hanlon's old castle is shown on the map, surrounded with bogs, and in the immediate vicinity of four lakes.

3. Grant to *Lord Audley* (210), of 500 acres, the grantee being promised 2,000 in this precinct at the death of Art McBaron O'Neill and his wife, both of whom were then [1610] very old and infirm. The lands granted in the meantime to Lord Audley were the two Tulliharpies, 2 balliboes; Carnshogagh, one balliboe; Ballynickrangan, one balliboe; and $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the balliboe of Lisnely; in all, 500 acres. Rent, 4*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 9 January, 8th [1610-11].

4. Grant to *Sir Thomas Williams* (211), *Knight*. The lands of Cloughneagh, Latneheir, Balligoragh, Dirrivologan, Glaschromen, Mullaglasce, Moytooan, Aghnecloghreogh, one balliboe each; and the half of Derriveg balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. The premises are created the manor *Mullaglasce*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 17 December, 8th [1610].

5. Grant to *John Bouchier* (212), *Esq.* The lands of Ballibrackagh otherwise Unchenagh and Ballylisky, one balliboe each; Mullavillie, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Balliknocke, Tawnavaltiny, Cornescribe, and Cabrie, one balliboe each; Clonecoose, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; and Cortreen, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Tawnavaltiny*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English, to commence from Easter, 1614. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 30 November, 8th [1610].

6. Grant to *Francis Cooke* (213), *Esq.* The lands of Tawnamore, Balliclare, Dromeneewre, Ballymoydagh, and Claghoge, one balliboe each; Ballysheales, 2 balliboes; and Moyculleneightra, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Balliclare*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English, from Easter, 1614. Licence to hold a Saturday market and a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of SS. Philip and Jacob, at Balliclare,

(210). *Audley*.—See pp. 79, 135, 268. The 500 acres thus granted to Lord Audley lay also in Upper Orier, adjoining Sir Garret Moore's proportion.

(211). *Williams*.—On the 6th of June, 1609, there is the following note from the council in London to Chichester:—"Would have been willing to gratify the bearer, Sir Thomas Williams, in his suit for some certain proportion of land in the Ulster plantation, because of his long services in Ireland, only that it would have disordered the course set down for that plantation. They, therefore, refer him to his [Chichester's] consideration, to gratify and encourage him as he best may." This undertaker's proportion lay on the border between the two sections of this precinct known as Orrierowtra and Orriereitra. It is represented on the map as entirely free from woods and bogs. Sir Thomas Williams ranked among those "servitors not in pay and willing to undertake."

(212). *Bouchier*.—Son of Sir Geo. Bouchier, who had been master of the Ordnance before Sir Oliver St. John. Captain John Bouchier ranked among those servitors who "were willing to undertake of themselves with some helps and encouragements." In January, 1610,

he sought payment from the Government of his father's arrears of pay, which amounted to 1,369*l.*, and the lands in Orier were probably given as in part an equivalent.

(213). *Cooke*.—This undertaker, whose *alias* appears to have been *Gray*, although comparatively young in the Irish service, had something special to commend him to Chichester, who wrote both to Salisbury and Dudley Norton, in November 1609, asking them to favour Cooke's suit, whatever it may have been. He appears to have been engaged in some conspiracy with certain Romanists, whom he betrayed, or perhaps falsely accused, and in this way secured the Irish Deputy's sympathy. "Durham, April 16, 1604. Examination of Francis Gray, *alias* Cooke, late of Norwich: Became a Papist through the persuasion of Edward Browne, but refused to join him in a murder, &c., and was assaulted by him." (See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1603-10, p. 95). His proportion lay in 'Orrieryetra,' adjoining that of Sir Oliver St. John. It was separated from Oneilan by the 'Coosher,' although at least one townland belonging to it lay on the Oneilan bank of that river.

—rent, 6s. 8d. Irish. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 30 November, 8th [1610].

7. Grant to *Charles Poynts* (214), gent. The lands of Brenoge, one balliboe; two-third parts of Listray balliboe; in all, 200 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Brennoge*, with 100 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 1*l.* 12s. English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 30 November, 8th [1610].

8. Grant to *Marmaduke Whitechurch, Esq.* The lands of Ballymacdermott, containing one balliboe, 120 acres; rent, 16s. 3d. English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 28 February, 8th [1610-11].

9. Grant to *Captain Henry Adderton*. This was a re-grant in perpetuity of lands which had been previously granted to Adderton or Atherton, for a term of years, as constable or keeper of the fort of Mountnorris. These lands amounted to 300 acres, the rent for which was 48s.

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *Arte McBaron O'Neile* [half brother to the Earl of Tyrone] and his wife, the towns and lands of Lawhill, Teocrum, Carrickesticky, Cleyquoine, Aghedonewan, Corrigillierine, Shean, Clarechill, and Leballimore, one balliboe each; Ballikeile, one and $\frac{1}{4}$ balliboe; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the balliboe of Aghnecloghmullen; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the balliboe of Corkinegaliog; Latebirgedy and Monelawne, one balliboe each; Tavonamulchreeny, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Mullabane, one balliboe; Shanrowe, one balliboe; $\frac{1}{2}$ the balliboe of Carrickecorke; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 21*l.* 6s. 8d. English, or, 28*l.* 8s. 10 $\frac{11}{16}$ d. Irish. To hold during the natural lives of them and the survivor of them. 13 June, 9th [1611].

2. Grant to *Henry McShane O'Neale*. The lands of Kamlough, Ballinecrosse, Ballicarrickabrackan, Ballimaghernehelle, Ballicharrickcruppan, Balliradromgower, Ballichorchlogan, Ballinessvarieytra, Ballinessvariotra, Ballitullomony, Ballilecky, and Derrymore, each one balliboe; and the half balliboe of Dromhernie; in all, 1,500 acres. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. Rent, 16*l.* English.

3. Grant to *Tirlagh Groome O'Hanlon*, gent. The towns and lands of Aghteraghan, one balliboe; and the $\frac{1}{6}$ of Nederny balliboe; in all, 140 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 9s. 11d. English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage.

4. Grant to *Shane McShane O'Hanlon*, gent., $\frac{5}{6}$ of Nederny balliboe; 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1s. 4d. English.

5. Grant to *Shane McOghie O'Hanlon*, gent., $\frac{5}{6}$ of Bally-Yenan balliboe; 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1s. 4d. English.

(214). *Poynts*.—This undertaker, only then a short time in the servitor class, was a son of Sir John Poyntz of Acton, in Gloucestershire. Although he had but small beginnings in the barony of Orier, he proved a very active

and influential settler, naming his little estate, which soon became larger, after the old family residence of Acton. The two balliboes mentioned in this small grant lay in 'Orrieryetra,' bounded on one side by the Bann.

6. Grant to Oghie Oge O'Hanlon's two sons, *Felim* and *Brian*, gents. Ballinelick, one balliboe; the half of Tawny-yocagh and Raconnel balliboes; in all, 240 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* English.

7. Grant to *Rorie McFerdoragh O'Hanlon*, gent., the town and lands of Corlosty, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

8. Grant to *Shane Oge McShane Roe O'Hanlon*, gent., the town and lands of Corcrom, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

9. Grant to *Carbery McCan*, gent., Ballitullinecross, Reaghan, and Ballycullin, one balliboe each; in all, 360 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*

10. Grant to *Donell McCan*, gent., the parcel of Caronare, being $\frac{2}{3}$ of a balliboe; 80 acres. Rent, 17*s.* 2*d.*

11. Grant to *Patrick McManus O'Hanlon*, and *Ardell Moore O'Mulchrewe*, the half of Racomvell balliboe, and Crevagh, one sessiogh, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

12. Grant to *Redmond McFardoragh O'Hanlon*, the half of Crenaghmore, 60 acres. Rent, 12*s.* 10*d.*

13. Grant to *Con McTirlagh [O'Neill]*, gent., Ballydoghertie, Lees, and Skeoghtellet, one balliboe each; in all, 360 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*

14. Grant to *Brian McFelim Roe McDonell*, *Hugh McCarbery O'Neale*, and *Shane McTirlagh O'Neale*, Carrickebracke, one balliboe; half the balliboe of Rathcarbrie; $\frac{2}{6}$ parts of the balliboe of Lissnelie; and $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the balliboe of Dromnibeg; in all, 240 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*

15. Grant to *Mulmory McDonell*, *Arte McTirlagh O'Neale*, and *Neale McTirlagh O'Neale*, gents., the two Dowvarnaghs, being two balliboes, containing 240 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*

16. Grant to *Felim Oge McDonell*, gent., five-sixth parts of the balliboe of Cullentra, containing 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

17. Grant to *Donough Reogh O'Hagan*, gent., five-sixth parts of the balliboe of Balligorman, containing 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

18. Grant to *Calvagh McDonell*, gent., Ballinelare, one balliboe, containing 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

19. Grant to *Laughlin O'Hagan*, gent., Lisnagree, one balliboe, containing 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

20. Grant to *Edmond Groome McDonell*, $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the balliboe of Ballyneany, and $\frac{2}{12}$ parts of the balliboe of Dromanterogan; in all, 80 acres. Rent, 17*s.* 2*d.*

21. Grant to *Alexander Oge McDonell*, $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Ballyneany, containing 83 acres. Rent, 17*s.* 2*d.*

22. Grant to *Brian Oge O'Hagan*, gent. Five-sixth parts of the balliboe of Rahelly and Ballinderry, containing 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

23. Grant to *Colla McArte McDonell*, gent., one-sixth part of the balliboe of Cullentra; the like of Gorman; the like of Rahelly; the like of Dema; $\frac{2}{12}$ parts of the balliboe of Dromanterogan; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of Ballinekillen; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

24. Grant to *Donough Oge McMurphie*, gent., Cashell, one balliboe ; and half the balliboe of Aghelegenecreene ; in all, 180 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

25. Grant to *Donnell McHenry O'Neile*, *Felim McTirlagh Brasselagh [O'Neill]*, and *Eugene Valley [Owen Ballagh] O'Neyle*, and *Edmond Oge O'Donnelly*. The lands of Towlorgan, Clontegoragh, and Killinemory, one balliboe each ; Carrickecoan, $\frac{1}{2}$, parts of a balliboe ; Ardry, $\frac{1}{2}$, parts of a balliboe ; in all, 540 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

26. Grant to *Owen McHugh O'Neale*, gent. The lands of Aghadamph, one balliboe ; and Moyfoner, one balliboe ; in all, 240 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.*

27. Grant to *Hugh McTirlagh O'Neale*, *Art McTirlagh O'Neale*, and *Henry McTirlagh O'Neale*. The lands known as Aghtubburin, one balliboe ; half the balliboe of Aghelegenecreene ; and half the balliboe of Carrickecorck ; in all, 240 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.* [These three brothers were sons of Sir Tirlagh McHenry O'Neill of the Fewes].

28. Grant to *Rorie McPatrick McCan*, gent. The balliboe called Carricknegawnagh, containing 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

29. Grant to *Brian*, son of Melaghlin, son of Art O'Neale, gent. The half balliboe called Clonmult, containing 60 acres. Rent, 12*s.* 10*d.*

30. Grant to *Patrick Moder [O'Hanlon ?]*, gent. The lands of Ballygargan, one balliboe, containing 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

31. Grant to *Cormack McTirlagh Brassilagh*, gent. The lands of Lismeige, one balliboe, containing 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

32. Grant to *Tirlagh Oge McTirlagh Brasselagh*, gent. The lands constituting the half of the balliboe called Creanmore, amounting to 60 acres. Rent, 12*s.* 8*d.*

33. Grant to *Neece Quin*, Creaghan, one balliboe, containing 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

34. Grant to *Hugh McGilleduffe*, gent. The lands of Dromneseogh, containing one balliboe ; 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

35. Grant to *Felim O'Quin*, $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Brackelagh, containing 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

36. Grant to *Cahier O'Mellan*, gent., $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Lissenuske, and $\frac{1}{3}$ the balliboe of Dromenleg, containing 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

37. Grant to *Hugh McBrian McCan*, $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the balliboe of Lissenuske, and half the balliboe of Dromhernie, containing 80 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

38. Grant to *Carberie Oge McCan* and *Toole McFelim McCann*, Shraghanaran, and $\frac{1}{3}$ part of Brackelagh, containing 160 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*

39. Grant to *Ardill McFelim O'Hanlon*, gent., $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Dromenlege, containing 80 acres. Rent, 17*s.* 2*d.*

These natives, although holding such small portions of land, held them on the same tenures as the other more fortunate undertakers, *i.e.*, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions generally of the plantation of Ulster. They got their patents for the most part in 1610, but a few of those mentioned above did not obtain them until the beginning of 1612.

II. The Precinct of Donganon, county of Tyrone.

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *Sir Arthur Chichester*, the Lord Deputy (215). The castle and site of *Dungannon*, with the water-mill and water-course in or near the same, and all the lands in the precinct of *Dungannon*, viz., $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the balliboe of *Dungannon*, extending from the castle north and north-west, upon which the castle is built; $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of *Kenemeale*; *Crosse*, one balliboe; *Broagh*, one balliboe; *Doongorman*, one balliboe; *Killernin*, one balliboe; *Colchils*, 2 balliboes; *Gortmaren*, one balliboe; *Moycashell*, *Knocksallagh*, *Dirricreevy*, *Colcoish*, and *Lisganie*, one balliboe each; *Mullireogh*, 2 balliboes; *Lismacdermott*, *Donatade*, *Dromenhugh*, *Draghvane*, and *Droghill*, one balliboe each; *Tempane*, 2 balliboes; in all, 1,320 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Dungannon*, with a demesne of 400 acres, and a court baron. Rent, 10*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of *Dublin*, in common socage. 14 Jan., 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Sir Thomas Ridgeway* (216), vice-treasurer, and treasurer at war in Ireland. The great proportion of *Largie*, containing the lands of *Mullanehorne*, *Mullasolus*, *Dromon*, *Cloncroe*, *Tully*, *Aghereclogh*, *Tantawnagh*, *Latm^emorough*, *Garvagh*, and *Cavan-Ineale*, one balliboe each; $\frac{1}{3}$ of *Dromsluggie*; *Tyrehurnyne*, *Lisgaudhane*, and *Dirricreeny*, one balliboe each; *Clonecroe*, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; *Cavangalgreene*, *Tullavara*, *Lochane*, and *Skeagh*, one balliboe each; *Tonlarga*, one and $\frac{1}{6}$ balliboe; *Tireluggane*, 2 balliboes; *Aghmoylan*, *Glastroman*, *Carrickelawghill*, *Leganagh*, *Board*, *Rathhabie*, *Tulliblintie*, *Clonekearne*, *Croby*, *Clonedaughy*, *Adanekerragh*, *Dirrinebawn*, one balliboe each; in all, 2,000 acres. The two balliboes of *Clankill* and *Glackelahane* are excepted from this grant. The premises are created into the manor of *Ridgwaie*, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of *Dublin*, in common socage. 3 Dec., 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Sir Richard Wingfield* (217), *Knight*, marshal of the army. The castle and

(215). *Deputy*.—Chichester was expecting to have 3,000 acres around *Dungannon*, and gave vent to his disappointment in no uncertain terms on finding that he was partly crowded out, and could only get 1,320. He complained also that the natives of *Tyrone* had got too little land, and that such of them as had been so fortunate as to get even a share in that little, should be all crowded into the barony of *Dungannon*. On Chichester's proportion the old castle of the O'Neills at *Dungannon* is marked, with two churches, one in the immediate vicinity of the castle, and the other at a little distance, in a balliboe or townland called *Tannagh*. The map also represents this locality as having a due amount of wood and bog.

(216). *Ridgeway*.—See pp. 264, 265. The large-sized proportion here granted to *Ridgeway* is represented on the map as abounding in woods and bogs. It lay along the upper course of the *Blackwater*, from the point where that river enters the barony of *Dungannon* to the boundary of *Muintirbirne*. In the centre of this proportion, there is a ruinous church marked on the map at a place called *Plaister*.

(217). *Wingfield*.—This undertaker was amongst the most distinguished of the servitor class. He belonged to

the *Wingfield* family of *Letheringham*, in the county of *Suffolk*, which family is believed to have represented an older branch seated at *Wingfield*, in the same county, before the Conquest. *Sir Richard* commenced his career under the auspices of his uncle, *Sir William Fitzwilliam*, the notoriously money-loving Lord Deputy of Ireland, whose administration forms one of the most disastrous periods in the history of this country (see pp. 38, 53). *Sir Richard Wingfield* was appointed Marshal of Ireland by *Queen Elizabeth*, in 1600, and after the close of the war, and the subsequent defeat of *O'Dogherty*, he was frequently in *Ulster* at the head of a formidable force required to keep the northern Irish in order whilst their lands were being confiscated, surveyed, and set apart for the occupation of strangers. *Wingfield* was created Viscount *Powerscourt* in 1618, and died in 1634, his estates devolving upon his cousin, *Sir Edward Wingfield*, who had served under *Robert Earl of Essex*. His proportion in the barony of *Dungannon* lay principally along the southern border, and was bounded by the *Blackwater*, which separated its lands from those in the county of *Armagh*. On the map, the old stronghold of the O'Neills at *Benburb* has due prominence; and this proportion is represented as a region of woods, lakes, and bogs.

town of *Benburbe*, and other lands adjacent, containing Benburbe, otherwise Faiegh, Moyar, Tullydony, Fedulla, and Dromcoose, each being $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe; Lemneagh, $\frac{1}{3}$ a balliboe; Sessioghmagerrill, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe; Killfeddy, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe; Lismelgenan, one balliboe; Lissduffe, Cormagh, Killnegrewe, Lisegatt, Cooleddorough, and Currinbegg, each $\frac{1}{3}$ of a balliboe; Lisnecroigh, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Garvaghie, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Drumflugh, Dirivanan, Lisbane, Dirripubble, each $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Kilgobbin, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Macemore, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Dromy, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Tirescolbe, Dirricreeny, Carrowbegg, Quiggilie, Croobanagh, Sawanaghanroe, and Carcalman, one balliboe each; Tounagh, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Taghcawsannagh, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Corr, Broghatoy, Dromonowtra, Crewe, Sierley, one balliboe each; Dromshraghad, 2 balliboes; Mullicarnan, Mullidaly, Doonsirke, Coolekeren, Dromgoole, and Dromonyeghtra, one balliboe each; Shanmoigh, Roane, Colchill, and Boallane, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe each; in all, 2,000 acres. The premises are created into the manor of Benburbe, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin. 3 Dec., 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *Sir Toby Calefield* (218), *Knight*. The lands of Glassmullagh, Monyshacketeny, Dromhirke, Riscor, Stackernagh, Aghloske, Dromnefarne, Killglasse, and Creeve, one balliboe each; Cullenrawer, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Glasstromen, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Mullabane, Lissogalen, and Dromcor, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe each; Tulliallen and Killolevin, one balliboe each; Ballyward, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Derrikill, one balliboe; Goory, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Agheantubber, $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; and Cessefoigh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. The premises are created the mannor of Aghloske, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 20 Jan., 8th.

5. Grant to *Sir Francis Roe* (219), *Knight*. The lands of Gortanalla, Moyry, Allon, Sessiogh, Gallcossagh, Dromonlart, Owterard, Dromballyhugh, Moynagh, Mullaboy, Skeanarget, Anaghawla, Laughie, Tullyva, Tullydoner, and Kilcleagh, one balliboe each; with $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Cornelonan; in all, 1,000 acres. The premises are created into the manor of Roe, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. - 28 Feb., 8th.

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *Tirlagh O'Neale* (220) of Caslane, Esq. The towns and lands of Kilbrackan,

(218). *Calefield*.—This name has been long written Caulfield. The first bearer of it in Ireland is said to have come originally from Oxfordshire, but not much appears to have been known about his family. He [Sir Toby Caulfield], however, served the Queen well and gallantly, first in Spain, then in the Low Countries, and lastly in Ulster. Among the numerous adventurers coming here during the war with Hugh O'Neill, no one, perhaps, was more fortunate than Sir Toby. After an uninterrupted career,—from about 1606 to 1620,—he wisely made a surrender in the last-named year of the various fragments of his lands, getting out a renewal of the whole in one patent, dated July 12, so that “an indefectible estate in all his lands might remain to him and his heirs,” in the

several counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, Derry, Antrim, Louth, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Donegal. His estates contained every variety of landed property, for he had extensive grants of rich abbey lands, and he had a patent also of all the mountains in Ulster, as concealments in the plantation of this province. He died unmarried in the year 1627, at the age of 62; and all his gettings went principally to his nephew, the son of a Dr. James Caulfield.

(219). *Francis Roe*.—See p. 248.

(220). *Tirlagh O'Neale*.—This gentleman, admitted as an undertaker, was styled as of Caslane, or the castle, his new residence in the barony of Dungannon. For previous references to Tirlagh O'Neill and his brothers,

Dirrigortenhugh, Doonamona, Cormullagh, Legilly, Aghenecartee, Broghasley, and Tullabaltiny, each one balliboe; Tian, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Crossdeely, Mullatawa, Dromneshalge, Mullicar, and Dirrilateneigh, one balliboe each; Cloghernagh, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Cadan and Droignan, one balliboe each; Gortawlattimuck, 2 balliboes; Knockneroy, Graghsmoddan, Mulliruddan, Resketerine, Edanteeroan, Caslan, Cramkslagh, Mullamosa, Knockenuary, Dirrinavory, Lenelisskeiran, Cullintra, Dromfaddadoan, Dirrinagh, Tullimony, and Lisdouart, one balliboe each; Lisbeg and Ardmolywghy, one balliboe; Tullahugh and Legaroe, one balliboe; Martiry, Lisherty, and Neheskeragh, one balliboe; Crievanagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Inishmaghee, Aghnewoha, Tullavarne, Lurgacullin, and Bocad, one balliboe each; Ballaghmacally, Derinacranlon, and Lurgeboy, 2 balliboes; Cormegillamarten, Dirnenah, and Dirinesiro, one balliboe each; $\frac{1}{3}$ of the balliboe of Altneredy; Cornemaddy, one balliboe; and in Largileagh, 30 acres. The foregoing all in the barony of Dungannon. This grant included also the following lands in the barony of Clogher, viz., Tullabren, Balliveddan, and Dromrourke, one balliboe each; in all, 3,330 acres. Rent, 35*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* English. The premises created the manor of Caslan, with 700 acres in demesne; power to create tenures; a court baron; and a Wednesday market at Caslan, with the usual customs—rent for the latter, 6*s.* 8*d.* Irish. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 9 Dec., 12th [1614].

2. Grant to *Neal O'Neale, Esq.* [brother of the above]. The towns and lands of Enis, Clonclevan, Clonfollo, Coolekill, Mullinehinchin, Cabragh, Neshee, Aghcanduff, one balliboe each; Tullavanen and Eskernegrewgoge, one balliboe; Faceglassagh, Cappoge, Farragher, and Aghneskeagh, each one balliboe; $\frac{1}{3}$ of Altneredy balliboe; in all, 800 acres. Rent, 8*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* English. 9 December, 12th [1614].

see p. 96. His grandfather and father,—Sir Turlough Luineach and Sir Arthur O'Neill,—had royal letters promising that the representatives of the *Slut Arte*, in their generations, should continue to inherit all the lands held by Niall Connelach O'Neill; but now this Tirlagh, the rightful heir, although he had spent most of his days in fighting on the side of the Government, was forced to content himself with two middle-sized proportions, and not even in his native district; whilst his three brothers, Niall, Con, and Brian, so loyal also to their English masters, had only one middle proportion, or 500 acres each, distributed amongst them. The family claimed much more, however, and even demanded it. Their ancestor, Niall Connelach, held, besides other smaller quantities, the eleven ballybetaghs, or eleven thousand Irish acres of Slew-sheese, so named from the mountain range at whose base these lands lay. Tirlagh, the eldest brother, went to London to forward as much as possible his rightful claim, but he could get no better terms than those now mentioned. After his return, the council in London wrote to Chichester on the last day of April, 1610, referring to this matter in substance, as follows:—"They recommend the bearer, Tyrlogh O'Neale, eldest son of Sir Arthur O'Neale, knight, for two middle proportions in the precinct of Dungannon in Tyrone. He besought them [the council in London] for all the lands in Ulster called Slew-sheese, which formerly belonged to Neale

Conelaugh O'Neale, his grandfather [great-grandfather], and were intended to be conveyed in her late Majesty's grant in the 29th year of her reign, to Tyrlogh [Luineach] O'Neale, and to Arthur O'Neale, petitioner's father. Of these lands he only has a custody grant [a custodiam] from him [Chichester] of the castles of Strabane and Newton, with some ballybetaghs of land belonging to them. But this the plantation would not admit of. He now prays that he may have, in addition to the two proportions they have recommended for him, the castles of Benburb and Knockeligh, in the barony of Dungannon; but this they leave altogether to his [Chichester's] judgment, as to him is left the placing of the natives. Considering his [Tirlagh's] acceptable services, and that he has humbly submitted to his Majesty's pleasure for his transplantation, they hope he may be extraordinarily respected in the goodness of his proportion, and in the choice of a good seat on his greater comfort. One other middle proportion in the barony of Dungannon should be divided among the three other sons of Sir Arthur O'Neale, viz., Neale O'Neale, Con O'Neale, and Bryan O'Neale." Such, then, was the result. The four loyal sons of this once great family must be moved from their lands, and even from their own native place, to make way for certain "Scotchmen" who had fancied to plant there—these Scotchmen being principally the Earl of Abercorn and his connexions.

3. Grant to *Bryan O'Neale*, gent., [brother of the two preceding grantees]. The towns and lands of Clonmoddie, Racline, Altglassan, Donoghy, Creevy, and Moghan, one balliboe each; with 10 acres in the balliboe of Largieleagh; in all, 370 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* 9 December, 12th [1614].

4. Grant to *Catherine Ny Neale* (221), wife of the late Terence or Tirlagh Oge O'Neale, and now [1613] wife of Robert Hovenden, gent. The following towns and lands in the territory of Mointerbirne, co. Tyrone, viz., Drommurre and Lisnaloghoge, one sessiogh each; Kinard, Carrickaonablie, and Edinadeenard, one balliboe; Kiltewanagh and Tawnaghatalin, one balliboe; Annaghawlen and Kiltcamue, one balliboe; Tullinashingan, one balliboe; [Dirriecrantohan], one balliboe; Mollinamanagh and Kilsamoge, one balliboe; Coologor, and Laghtm^aanab, one balliboe each; Mollaghmosagh and Gower, one balliboe; Ravickett, Aghenisheightragh, and Aghenishowtragh, one balliboe each; in all, 700 acres. This grant included also the following lands in the territory of Towrany, county Armagh, viz., Corrafinghna, Coolekill, Kilcanavan, Ratrellick, Dromgarne, Shantully, [Ardgonnell], Feduffe, Nacknockbana, and Shankill, Dromquoise and Cluntyecraghlin, Gortfadda, Skyrre, Crosdaleitragh, Crosdaloutragh, [Raconnure], and Glasdromen, each one balliboe; total 1,600 acres. To hold all the premises to her own use, for the term of ten years; remainder to Felimy Roe O'Neale, son and heir of the said Tirlagh.

To the said Catherine, mother of the said Felimy Roe [afterwards the Irish leader in 1641], were granted the following lands in the territory of Mointerbirne, viz., Clarekill, one sessiogh; Dirrigoolie, Dromasse, and Laraghteen-Larahken, one balliboe; Giney, Laune, and Towlaghtackligh, one balliboe; Mollaghmore, one balliboe; Kedeagh and Creggan, one balliboe; Annaghkneugh

(221). *Ny Neale*.—This lady was daughter-in-law to Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, who with his eldest son, Tirlagh, had fallen in the English service at the time of O'Dogherty's revolt. As Sir Henry, however, had left other sons besides this Tirlagh, it was wisely recommended by Chichester that the family estates should be divided amongst them, rather than that Tirlagh's son, who was then only a child, should inherit the whole. Although this was a violation of the law of succession, as introduced so determinately by the English themselves, yet Chichester was fain to act upon the Irish law in this case at least, as being not only more just, but more likely to promote the peace of the district. Having laid his views on this point before the authorities in London, a King's letter was issued on the 3rd of May, 1611, authorising the deputy "to distribute the lands of Sir Henry Oge among his issue male and their heirs, by grants under the Great Seal, to be held according to the articles of the new plantation." On the last day of March, 1612, the King wrote again to Chichester in the following terms:—"Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, knight, lately slain in the King's service against the traitor O'Dogherty, being possessed of lands in the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, under letters patent; which ought now to descend to his grandchild, his surviving heir; but the King being informed by his [Chichester's] letters, that it would tend to the quiet of those parts if the said lands were divided in some con-

venient manner amongst the issue male of the said Sir Henry, to which his said heir will consent, he [Chichester] is authorised to accept the surrender of the heir, and by letters patent to divide the said lands amongst the issue male of the said Sir Henry legitimate or [and] illegitimate, as he shall think fit, to be held by each of them and his heirs, forever, or for such estate, and at such rents and services as he shall think fit. He is also to assure to the wife of the said Sir Henry Oge, and to the wife of his eldest son, deceased, such parcel of the premises during their lives as he shall think fit." Accordingly, there are grants recorded above to the two or three grandsons of Sir Henry Oge, to his several surviving sons, and to his daughter-in-law, the wife of his deceased eldest son, during her life. Sir Henry Oge's widow is not mentioned in any of these grants, so that the probability is she had died before the documents were prepared. Each grantee, it will be observed, gets one parcel of his lands in Tyrone and the other in Armagh—an arrangement intended, perhaps, to evince due impartiality in the distribution of the estate. All the grantees, however, were to hold by the feudal tenure of knight's service, which was an unfair arrangement; for although Sir Henry held his lands thus, his successors being bound by conditions of plantation, ought to have had their lands by the tenure of free and common socage.

and Garvanagh, one balliboe ; in all, 320 acres ; to hold to her own use for life ; remainder to the said Felimy Roe O'Neale, her son, and his heirs forever. Rent, 4*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* The whole premises are created into the manor of Kinard, with 500 acres in demesne ; a power to create tenures ; to hold a court baron ; and a Monday market at Kinard, and a yearly fair there on the 10th of June ; with a court of pie-powder, and the usual tolls ; rent, 13*s.* 4*d.* Irish. To hold *in capite*, by the service of one knight's fee. -

5. Grant to *Tirlagh Oge O'Neale*, gent., [brother of Felimy Roe, aforesaid], the following lands in the territory of *Touranny*, co. Armagh, viz., Cornafefie, one balliboe ; Cornagillagh, and Killcauce, one balliboe ; Tullibrickeitragh, one balliboe ; and Tullibrickowtragh, one balliboe ; in all, 400 acres. Rent, 8*l.* *In capite*, by the 40th part of a knight's fee.

6. Grant to *Neal Roe O'Neale*, the following lands in the territory of Mointerbirne, Tyrone, viz., Rane, Aghatour, and Cran ; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 4*s.* To hold for life ; remainder to the said Tirlagh and his heirs. 14 December, 11th [1613].

7. Grant to *Bryan O'Neale*, gent. In Mointerbirne, the towns and lands of Bellagh, Downememea Carrowlatt, Commore, Lyosomoyldayne, Tawnagheleahane, and Agheyhireoffionna, one balliboe each ; Knockagoynywe, Coillabearny, and Corrnanyore, one sessiogh each ; in all, 480 acres. This grant included also the following lands in *Touranny*, Armagh, viz., Porteleggan, Mollin, Tulliglashe, Cavandine, Coilltibretts, Mullimore, Doogerie, Tolligloiseogovoun, Crewcorrin, Lislanelly, Knockcrannaslagh, Carrakeleahane, Dromharary, the Trim and Dromhillary, one balliboe each ; in all, 1,500 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 10*s.* English. To hold forever by one knight's fee.

8. Grant to *Neal O'Neale*, in *Towrany*, Armagh, the towns and lands of Doweragh and Banneragh, one balliboe each ; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 4*s.* To hold by the 40th part of a knight's fee.

9. Grant to *Henry O'Neale*, gent. The following lands in *Towrany* territory, Armagh, viz., Mollaghknocke, Ballenanenagh, and Balleloighadoine, one balliboe each ; in all, 300 acres. In Mointerbirne territory, Drommore, one balliboe ; 60 acres ; rent, 8*s.* To hold by the like tenure.

10. Grant to *Charles O'Neale*. In *Towrany*, the towns and lands of Cargagh ; Mullilary, Datenennamanragh, one balliboe each ; in all, 300 acres. In Mointerbirne, Taghisillagh, one balliboe ; 60 acres. Rent, 6*s.* To hold by like tenure.

11. Grant to *Con Boy O'Neale*. In Mointerbirne territory, the towns and lands of Crewlagh, Mollagh-Ineal, Mullyturgh, Coilemaile, Deane, Stragranie, and Coilmore, one balliboe each ; Golan, one sessiogh ; Cloynedostie, $\frac{1}{2}$ sessiogh ; and Cloynestelloige, $\frac{1}{2}$ sessiogh ; in all, 460 acres. This grant included also the following lands in *Towrany* territory, viz., Ballenametagh-Itragh, Ballynametaghoughtragh, Lisloughny, Breaghwy, Inshoge, Draynackakein, and Crossnyninagh, one balliboe each ; in all, 700 acres. Total rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* English. To hold forever, by one knight's fee.

12. Grant to *Hugh O'Neale*. In Moynterbirne, the towns and lands of Inisdroine and Tolleremonie, one balliboe each ; 120 acres. Rent, 4*s.* To hold forever, by the 40th part of a knight's fee. 14 December, 11th [1613].

13. Grant to *Robert Hovenden*, gent. Glanbeg and Galbolly, one balliboe each ; and the third part of Largalea balliboe ; in all, 140 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* English.
14. Grant to *Donill McShane* [surnamed] *Mallatas*, gent. The balliboe of Shraghcrow, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.* English.
15. Grant to *Con Boy O'Neale*, gent. Mullachteechaell and Killm^cCardan, one balliboe each ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* English.
16. Grant to *Hugh McDonell O'Neale*, gent. Skeagh, one balliboe ; 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.* English.
17. Grant to *Cormock McNemee*, gent. Bardacessiogh, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.* English.
18. Grant to *Tirlagh Oge McBrian* [*O'Neale*], gent. Tully, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
19. Grant to *Rorie O'Gormeley*, gent. Killegewill, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
20. Grant to *Jenkin O'Devin*, gent. Dirrigortenhugh, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
21. Grant to *Henry Oge O'Neale*, gent. Gortmarran, one balliboe in Knockloigh, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
22. Grant to *Bryan O'Neale* and *Neale Roe*. Kilmore, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
23. Grant to *Art McRowrie O'Neale*, gent. Dungarmanncar-Silawran, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
24. Grant to *Hugh Groome O'Hagan*, gent. Gortnebolly, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
25. Grant to *Art McArte O'Neale*, gent. One of the two balliboes of Teirglassog, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
26. Grant to *Felim McAmallan*, gent. Ballinecarrigie, one balliboe in the territory of Terraghter, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
27. Grant to *Shane McDonell Groome O'Donnilly*, gent. Gortoharim, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
28. Grant to *Shane Roe O'Neale*, gent. Ballineclognis, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
29. Grant to *James McGunchenan*, gent. Coolekeigan, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*
30. Grant to *Henry McNeal McArte* [*O'Neale*], gent. Dongellon, one balliboe ; and Lisadegany, one balliboe ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*
31. Grant to *Edmond Oge O'Haggan*, gent. Gortnedarragh and Clonborrowes, one balliboe each ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*
32. Grant to *Murtagh O'Quin*, gent. Tanagh and Dirrie, one balliboe each ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*
33. Grant to *Fardoragh O'Haggan*, gent. Corgirry, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*

34. Grant to *Hugh Groome O'Mulchallane*, gent., Corcheill, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
35. Grant to *Felim Boy O'Haggan*, gent., Ballymoolon, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
36. Grant to *Neale O'Quin*, gent., Ballineloughy, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
37. Grant to *Teige McEdmond Oge O'Hagan*, Ballidromon, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
38. Grant to *James Sheale*, gent., Tullygarrin and Corhill, one balliboe each ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 6s. od.
39. Grant to *Owen Roe O'Quin*, gent., Drumard and Monygower, one balliboe each ; one part in three of the balliboe of Cornelanan ; in all, 140 acres. Rent, 1l. 10s. od.
40. Grant to *Bartholomew Owen*, gent., Knockclogh, 2 balliboes, containing 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 6s. od.
41. Grant to *Gillaspick McDonnell*, gent., Anagh and Timoge, one balliboe each ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 6s. od.
42. Grant to *Shane McLaughlin O'Donilly*, gent., Sillawran, containing one balliboe, 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
43. Grant to *Owen O'Corr*, gent., Gortnegrallagh and Dirialsky, one balliboe each ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 6s. od.
44. Grant to *Brian O'Develin*, gent., Monigar and Knockfada, one balliboe each ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 6s. od.
45. Grant to *Fardoragh McCahir O'Mallen*, gent., the moiety of the two balliboes of Cloggin, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
46. Grant to *Caragh O'Donilly*, gent., the other moiety of the Cloggin, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
47. Grant to *Owen O'Hagan*, gent., chief of his name, Doongoroghan, one balliboe, 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
48. Grant to *Owen Oge O'Hagan McOwen McEvistan*, gent., Mullinecore and Aghnecreagh, one balliboe each ; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 6s. od.
49. Grant to *Shane McHugh McAderany O'Donilly*, gent., Crosse, one balliboe, 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
50. Grant to *Con McTirlagh O'Neale*, gent., Corboy, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
51. Grant to *Felim Groome McFelimy McNeale [O'Neale]*, gent., Broghvane, near the river of Ballinderry, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.
52. Grant to *Fardoragh McBrian Carragh O'Neale*, gent., one of the two balliboes of Tierglassog, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.

53. Grant to *Felim Oge O'Mulcreave*, gent., Ballinemucky, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.

54. Grant to *Laghlen O'Hagan*, gent., Tirenieskie and Lackagh, one balliboe each; 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 6s. od.

55. Grant to *Randal McDonnell*, gent., Kilneslee, one balliboe, containing 60 acres. Rent, 13s.

56. Grant to *Hugh McCawell*, gent., Tullinecrosse, one balliboe, 60 acres. Rent, 13s.

57. Grant to *Hugh McHugh Mergagh C'Neale*, gent., Ballydony, one balliboe, 60 acres. Rent, 13s.

58. Grant to *Mary Ny Neal* [daughter of Sir Cormack], Tiranegane and Cooleteffrangan, one balliboe each; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 6s. od.

59. Grant to *Tirlagh Oge O'Gormeley*, gent., Killdoogin, one balliboe, 60 acres. Rent, 13s.

60. Grant to *Bryan Crossagh O'Neale* [son of Sir Cormack, see p. 249], gent., Clontedonon, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; Tullycoole, one balliboe; Tubberlean, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Dromvarlim, Gortreagh, Ballinacreggy, and Dromnaclogh, one balliboe each; Gortnesoole, $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe; Coolerecurragh, Ballinegorhah, Drineleagh, Cornvaneghan, Ballinenoghelly, Rousky, Ballihawlaght, and Ballidromard, one balliboe each; Ballinenane, one and $\frac{1}{3}$ balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 10l. 13s. 4d.

The foregoing small patches given to natives were to be held in free and common socage, excepting such lands as were given to the sons and grandsons of Sir Henry Oge O'Neill on both banks of the Blackwater.

III. The Precincts of Doe and Fawnett (now Kilmacrenan), county of Donegal.

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *William Stewart* (222), *Esq.* Ilenbeg, Carrowcroghan, Gortivagh, Carrow-

(222). *William Stewart*.—This undertaker came originally from the parish of Whithorn, Wigtonshire, the lands belonging to his family there being known as those of Barclay, Castlewigg, and Tondergie. This branch was founded by one Walter Stewart, of the Garlies family, about the year 1550; but the property had become of little or no value in the time of this undertaker, who, with his brother Robert, was compelled to leave Scotland as soldiers of fortune, and serve under the Kings of both Sweden and Denmark. He was absent, therefore, until it was almost too late to go to Ireland; but being in great repute at court as an agent, who assisted in relieving this country of some swordsmen, he was recommended specially by the King as an undertaker at the eleventh hour, and it must be admitted that he made the best use of his time. He commenced the peculiar work of a planter so vigorously, even in connection with this small proportion in Kilmacrenan, that Sir George Carew, who was sent in 1611 to inspect and report on the progress of plantation, gave the King a very favourable account of his operations. Whilst other undertakers in Donegal had, at that time, done nothing, Stewart's bawn, of lime and

stone, was already built, containing an apartment suitable either for a munition house or a prison, just as circumstances required. This fact impressed the King with the conviction that Stewart could manage more than one small proportion of the escheated land, and that he deserved to be put in to the possession of more, at the earliest opportunity. In pursuance of this royal conviction, the King soon afterwards required his deputy, Chichester, to accept a surrender from James Haig of a middle proportion of 1,500 acres, called Tirenemuriertagh, in the precinct or barony of Strabane, and to grant it to Captain Stewart, with all concealments belonging thereto. The latter was forthwith—July 7, 1613,—made a free denizen and liege subject of Ireland by patent, empowered to enjoy the privileges of a native and true born subject thereof; which patent also granted and confirmed to him the said proportion of land, together with several additional parcels, containing 500 acres in the said barony, thus granting him 2,000 acres, in addition to the original 1,000 acres in Kilmacrenan. His lands in Strabane barony were erected into the manor of *Tirenemuriertagh*, with a demesne of 600 acres; and the lands in Kilmacrenan were erected

cashell, and Clonlarie, one quarter each; Ardroman, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Carrowtrasna, Cashelshannaghan, and Ilinmore, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter each; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Loughswillie. The premises are created the manor of *Clonlarie*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 30 November, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Patrick Crawford* (223) of Lifford, Esq. The towns and lands of Ballylirehan and Letterkevin, one quarter each; Salregrean, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a quarter; Gortlea, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Clancharaha and Carrownamoglagh, one quarter each; Killolosty, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a quarter; of Kallesedner, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Loughswillie. The premises are created the manor of *Ballylirehan*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English, to commence at Easter, 1614. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 20 September, 9th [1611].

3. Grant to *John Vaughan* (224), Esq. Dogh-Iyey, Carranagilly, Lisnadise, and Dromon, one quarter each; Colleboy, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Lissanana, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; half of Ellistran quarter; and half of Ighterosse quarter; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishing in Loughswilly

into the manor of *Stewart's Fort*, with a demesne of 300 acres. He continued so to accumulate and increase his stores that in June, 1629, he was able, as an Ulster undertaker, to accept the four additional proportions—containing 1,000 acres each—of Ballyneconolly, Ballytravill, Newton, and Lislapp, together with 140 acres of concealed land. The two former proportions, viz., Ballyneconolly and Ballytravill, were erected into the manor of *Mountstewart*; and the two latter, viz., Newton and Lislapp, into the manor of *New-Stewarton*, now better known as Newtonstewart, with free warren, liberty to empark 600 acres in each manor, and all other usual privileges. In the year 1630, this Scottish captain, who had now become Sir William Stewart, obtained a grant, in conjunction with Sir Henry Tichburne, of all the rents, profits, and forfeitures of sundry lands in Ulster, which had been forfeited because of being set to the Irish, contrary to the provisos in the renewed patents of the undertakers, to be held during pleasure, towards satisfaction of all arrears of pay due to them and their soldiers, from the Crown, since their [Tichburne's and Stewart's] employment in Ireland, until Michaelmas, 1629. And, finally, Sir William Stewart, in 1638, purchased from George Arundel, of Omagh, and Mary, his wife, extensive additional lands in the barony of Omagh. He thus laid his foundations broad and deep, his successors becoming Viscounts Mountjoy and Earls of Blessington. But this family is now extinct.

(223). *Crawford*.—This undertaker belonged to a Scottish family, which had settled in Donegal at the time of Inneenduv Macdonnell's marriage. These Crawfords had served in various capacities, not only the then lately deceased Earl of Tyrconnell, but his brother, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and their father, Sir Hugh. This captain Patrick Crawford appears to have entered the English military service cordially, and at an early age, although the other members of the family adhered to the old Irish party in the North. His father, Owen, or John Crawford,

was living in 1610 near the town of Donegal, and his brother David was servant to the Earl of Tyrconnell when the latter made his escape in the autumn of 1607. David returned in the month of April, 1610, landing at Killybegs, and afterwards acting as an agent in Ulster for certain exiles on the continent. Captain Patrick Crawford was a faithful and highly esteemed officer, being selected as one of those servitors who were supposed to be specially fitted to become undertakers. He did not, however, long enjoy his newly acquired estate. He was appointed to accompany Sir Oliver Lambert, in an expedition against Dunyveg in Isla, and fell at the siege of that fortress, early in the month of February, 1613-14. Lambert, when writing to the King an account of the expedition, concludes his letter in the following words:—"Your Majesty has lost, in the death of Captain Craiford, a valiant and painful captain, by whom I was not a little assisted. The fortune of war is not to be resisted."

(224). *Vaughan*.—A Mr. Fox, writing from Dublin to Salisbury, in May, 1610, mentions a report then in circulation "of the killing of Captain John Vaughan, the Sheriff of the county of Dunnagall, by a Scotchman, upon a sudden falling out between them." There were many Scotchmen crowding into that region at the date referred to, who would have made short work with English sheriffs, had circumstances required the practical use of the dirk; but whatever happened in the case talked of, Vaughan survived, and was destined to enjoy still greater wealth and more distinguished honours than he had then attained. He was afterwards created a knight, admitted a member of the Privy Council, and appointed governor of the city of Londonderry. His daughter and heir, Sydney Vaughan, married Sir Frederick Hamilton, youngest son of Lord Paisley, who followed his brothers to Ulster in the year 1620, and whose representatives became the Viscounts Boyle. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. v., p. 174.

The premises are created the manor of *Carranagilly*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 19 February, 8th [1610-11].

4. Grant to *John Kingsmill* (225), *Esq.* The towns and lands of Bally-Ivollely, Bochrill, Gortnavare, Arrhymore, Letter, Ragh, one quarter each; of Cashellshamaghan, of Ichteross, of Elistran, of Arrhibegg, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter each; in all, 1,000 acres, with liberty of fishing in Loughswilly. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Kingstown*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 5 March, 9th [1611-12].

5. Grant to *Basill Brooke* (226), *Esq.* Cadanecarnan, Chinaghane, and Clononarnoge, one quarter each; $\frac{3}{16}$ of Cabry quarter; Dromore, one quarter; Clonecarny, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Carrig, one quarter; half the quarter of Collessedner and of Clonecoose; in all, 1,000 acres, with the water, fishing, and weirs of Loughveagh belonging to the premises, which are hereby created the manor of *Brooke*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 5 March, 8th [1610-11].

6. Grant to *Sir Richard Hansard* (227), *Knt.* The lands of Gortivaghie, Ilinbegg, Carrowcroghan, Carrowcashell, and Clonlary, each one quarter; Androman, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; the half quarters of Carrowtrasna, Castleshenaghan, and Ilanmore; total, 1,000 acres; with free

(225). *Kingsmill*.—This undertaker, who had been a distinguished servitor in Ireland, belonged to an English family of park keepers, the head representative of which had been honoured by the dignity of knighthood. Sir William Kingsmill, his father, was keeper of Freemantle Park, Hampshire, an office which Henry, a younger son of the latter, had in reversion. Another brother, named Andrew, received a sum of 169*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, for his interest in certain coppices in Finkley Walk in the Forest of Chute, Hampshire, purchased by the King for the preservation of deer. See Domestic Series of State Papers, 1603-10, pp. 438, 517.

(226). *Brooke*.—This undertaker had distinguished himself as a servitor in Ireland, and was one of those selected by the King for a proportion of land in the plantation. He was soon afterwards knighted, and was styled of Magherabegg and Brook Manor, in the county of Donegall. He married Anne, daughter of Thomas Leicester of Toft, county of Chester, and died in 1633. His son and heir was Sir Henry Brooke, of Brooksborough, in the county of Fermanagh. Brook Manor was also known as Kildonnell, or Killydonnell. See Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. vi., p. 35.

(227). *Hansard*.—This undertaker was among the most useful and energetic of the servitor class, and yet he does not appear to have been rewarded for his services,—at least on the same liberal scale as others who were not, perhaps, so deserving. He had originally obtained the small proportion of Clonlary or Gortivaghie, but why these lands were so soon afterwards passed by the Crown to Captain William Stewart is not stated. In addition to

his dignity of knighthood, Sir Richard Hansard only appears to have got a comparatively small grant at the Liffey, and even this was coupled with certain stringent conditions. It is stated in substance as follows in the Patent Rolls:—"The town of Liffey or Ballyduffe, one quarter; Killenederiagh, one quarter; Croghan and Shandon, one quarter; and Cabragh, one quarter; with the ferry over the Fynne, between Liffey and Strabane; and power to erect one or more ferries over the river Deale [Derg] between the lands of Liffey and Clonleigh. From this grant was excepted the fort known as Captain Brooke's fort,—which was to be called for the future the King's fort,—and also the meadow of Stramore near Liffey, except four acres thereof, in the north-east point, where the rivers Deale [Derg] and Fynne meet, which [four acres] are to be reserved to Sir Richard and his heirs, with lyshing in the Fynne. Rent, 4*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* Sir Richard and his heirs, within four years, to settle 30 persons, English or Scots, chiefly tradesmen, to be burgesses; to 15 of whom are to be assigned 30 acres in the fields of Liffey, viz., two acres apiece; and one acre apiece to the other 15 burgesses, besides sufficient room for their houses, yards, and gardens; and also to assign, within the time aforesaid, 45 acres, with the said houses, yards, and gardens; with the bog of Roughan for common turbary, and 100 acres for common pasture. None to sell by retail, but the planters and freemen of Liffey, upon forfeiture of their goods. Licence to hold a weekly market, and fairs on Ascension Day and St. Matthew's Day. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 31 January, 9th [1611]."

fishing in Loughswilly. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 7 July, 11th [1613]. [This proportion was afterwards passed to Captain William Stewart.]

7. Grant to *Thomas Perkins* and *George Hilton* (228), gents., Carrownaclony, one quarter; Farkin, one quarter; and $\frac{1}{4}$ parts of the quarter of Kilnarran; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 8 December, 8th [1610].

8. Grant to *Sir Thomas Chichester* (229), *Knt.* Garrycarrow, Radonell, Lurganehoory, and Socker, one quarter each; in all, 500 acres, with free fishing in Loughswilly. Rent, 4*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Radonnell*, with 200 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 8 December, 8th [1610].

9. Grant to *Henry Hart* (230), *Esq.* The lands of Ballynasse, Dromnative, Ballichonell, Ardbegg, Ardmore, Magheriowartie, Gortecorky, and the island of Inisbofin, one quarter each; in all, 1,000 acres, with free fishings in the sea and rivers near the said lands. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Ballynasse*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 10 June, 9th [1611].

10. Grant to *Sir Ralph Bingley* (231), *Knt.* Balligallaghan and Cratelagh, one quarter each; Nydowny and Reighbegg, two half quarters; Molmoreightragh and Molmoreoughtragh, two half

(228). *Perkins and Hilton*.—Why these undertakers were thus associated in so small a quantity of land, we cannot determine. Thomas Perkins is styled *Lieutenant Perkins* in another plantation document, and Thomas Perkins, *Esq.*, in a third. He is mentioned in an inquisition as one of Sir Richard Hansard's executors, Sir John Vaughan and Sir George Malburye being the other two. George Hilton is mentioned also in an inquisition as renting a part of the quarter of Garwery, in the middle proportion of Shraghmurle, from Peter Benson of London, who had purchased from Sir Henry Clare. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (30) Car. I., and (10) Car. I.

(229). *Thomas Chichester*.—This undertaker was the youngest brother of the deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, and, in common with some others, had expressed a wish to be settled near the borders of Inishowen, which belonged to the deputy, and would, most probably, be well ordered and thoroughly protected against any attempts on the part of the natives. In the deputy's 'Instructions' for the treasurer going to London, in Jan. 1609-10, he says:—"Sir Thomas Chichester, and others, seek for land about those parts, because it joins so near his land of Enishowen, more than for the goodness of the soil." Sir Thomas Chichester, before obtaining this grant, had got a lease of extensive lands in the county of Wicklow, dated March 20, 1607. The reader may see a list of the names and quantities of these valuable lands in *Ereke's Repertory*, p. 400.

(230). *Hart*.—This undertaker, so well known in con-

nection with Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's revolt, belonged to a Roman Catholic family in London, but he appears to have changed his creed on entering the English service in Ireland. He received a grant in Feb., 1604-5, of the constableness of the castle and fort of Culmore, with 300 acres of land to the same adjoining, in the county of Donegal, including all fishings and other appurtenances, as reserved to the Crown out of the letters patent made to Sir Cahir O'Dogherty,—to hold for 21 years at the rent of 10*s.* sterling,—the grantee covenanting to search all shipping coming to the ports of Lough Foyle and the Derrie, for munition, armour, and all other prohibited wares and merchandises imported or exported out of the same; "provided the said Harte shall not use any unnecessary vexations to the Kinges subjectes, or others in amitie with his Majestie, comeinge to trade and traffique in those partes of Ulster." (See *Ereke's Repertory*, pp. 231, 232). In the spring of 1608, Harte was seized by O'Dogherty, who forced him to give up Culmore; and although he was probably not much to blame in permitting himself to be surprised, he appears to have been under a cloud for a time. But the whole series of events arising out of that surprise ended in securing the barony of Inishowen for Chichester, the latter may have felt tenderly towards Harte in his trouble, and gave him a recommendatory letter to Salisbury, which, no doubt, had the effect of getting Harte's name on the list of servitors considered suitable for undertakers.

(231). *Ralph Bingley*.—See p. 62.

quarters; Maghericullen, one quarter; Magheriarweymore and Magheriarweybegg, 2 half quarters; Derrycassan and Tullagh, Magheribegaitragh and Magheribegoutragh, Balleoghegan and Magheriloske []; Carrowreogh, $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter; half of the two $\frac{1}{4}$ quarters of Downedavanmore and Downedavanbegg; in all, 1,128 acres. Rent, 9*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Liberty to hold a court baron at Magherilosky in Rosquill; to plant within four years 20 English or Scotch persons, chiefly artificers, in Ramullan, to be burgesses thereof, and to assign to each two acres of land, besides their houses and gardens, with the whole bog of Ramullan for common of turf. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 18 May, 9th [1611].

11. Grant to *Edward Ellis* (232), gent. Five parts out of eight of the quarter of Kilnarran; Loughnamuckydony $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Fanonoghinbegg, one quarter; Carrownarran, one quarter; the 13th part of the quarter of Carrowroughan; in all, 400 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*, to commence from Easter, 1614. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster.

12. Grant to *Henry Vaughan* (233), *Esq.* Moyres, with the castle there, Ballymacaghy, Crooglian, and Magherihubbert, one quarter each; the two Ballihirins, 2 quarters; Ballichook, one quarter; Leaddan, one quarter; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises are created into the manor of *Moyres*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 30 November, 8th.

13. Grant to *Sir Richard Bingley* (234) of Westminster, *Knight*. Cowell and Glaury, 2 half quarters; Crivagh and Aghecorr, 2 half quarters, all in Rosquill; Magherifarsedy, one balliboe; and Killoghcarran, one quarter; in all, 500 acres. Rent, 4*l.* English. *Sir Richard* to maintain and sustain the castle of Castledoe, situate on his lands, which nevertheless is excepted out of this grant. Subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 19 May, 9th [1611].

14. Grant to *George Gale*, gent. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the quarter of Carrowreogh, containing 100 acres. Rent, 16*s.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 18 May, 9th [1611].

15. Grant to *Charles Grimsditch* (235), gent. Lagavracke, one quarter; $\frac{1}{16}$ of the quarter of Bonoyton; in all, 240 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 4 May, 8th.

16. Grant to *Thomas Browne* (236), *Esq.* The towns and lands of Clanrasse, Ballivickoster,

(232). *Ellis*.—This undertaker's christian name is more frequently written Edmund.

(233). *Henry Vaughan*.—Brother to Sir John.

(234). *Richard Bingley*.—Brother to Sir Ralph. See p. 325.

(235). *Grimsditch*.—This undertaker was either the son or brother of a John Grimsditch, who, in 1604, had a royal grant, in reversion after Bristow Pigeon, of the keeping of the King's Wardrobe in the Tower, and of the garden there, for life. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1603-10, p. 66.

(236). *Thomas Browne*.—Browne was probably the person sometimes mentioned in the *Domestic State Papers*

of 1604, as a sort of surveyor, who appears to have become rather troublesome by asking little pickings from Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. Among other things, Browne wrote to the latter, begging "confirmation of the bailiwick of Pinchbeck, &c., granted him by the late Lord Burleigh" [Burghley], Cecil's father. The surveyor, however, does not appear to have prospered in that suit, for he wrote soon again, stating that "he had heard he [Cecil] has granted to another the bailiwick of Pinchbeck," and urges his own prior right to it. *Ibid.*, p. 78. This grant in Ulster may have been probably given to compensate for disappointments in other ways, or to pay arrears owing to the grantee.

Magherivardan, and Ballivegarraghie, one quarter each; and two-sixteenth parts of the quarter of Bonoynton; containing 528 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Brownstowne*, with 200 acres in demesne; a court baron; and power to create tenures. Rent, 4*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 16 May, 9th [1611].

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *Walter McLaughlin McSwyne* (237), gent. Bally-Inchenane, one quarter; Raghe, one quarter; Glanalla, one quarter; Glanteedallie, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Ballychonill, one quarter; Rathdonnell, one quarter; Ballyveagh, one quarter; Creurmie, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; in all, 896 acres. Rent, 9*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 17 December, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Donald McSwine Fawnett* (238), gent. The towns and lands of Ringdooghargie, Carrownamoney, Iehadmore, Glinskic, Dowaghmore, Ararhinibiny, and Arhirinimore, one quarter each; $\frac{1}{16}$ parts of the quarter of Cashell; Bolyheirman, Rindrome, Twome, Fanavolty, Carrow-Inillan, Coolederry, Glannavadd, and Dowaghknabine, one quarter each; and Carrowblagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; 2,000 acres in all. Rent, 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 2 August, 9th [1611].

3. Grant to *Manus McNeale McSwyne* (239), Carrowblagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; containing 64 acres. Rent, 13*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 2 August, 9th [1611].

4 Grant to *Sir Mulmory McSwyne na Doe* (240), *Knt.* The lands known as Moyntmellon,

(237). *McSwyne*.—We cannot state to what particular family of the McSwynes this grantee belonged, but it appears from Pynnar's account of him in 1618, that he had cordially adopted the English policy in Tyrconnell, from the day of their appearance in the Foyle under Docwra, in 1600, and that he had never afterwards wavered in his new allegiance.

(238). *McSwyne Fawnett*.—For a notice of the district of Fanad, or Faynett, see pp. 102, 203. This Donnell was the representative or chief of the sept or family of McSwynes there seated. The principal residence of the chiefs of this branch was the ancient castle of Rathmullan, on Lough Swilly, which the Four Masters describe as the strongest fortress in Ulster. Donnell, however, was unable to keep Sir Henry Docwra from over-running his 'country,' and destroying his 'people,' so he made his peace through Niall Garve O'Donnell. He was eventually fain to accept such quantity of land, and in such district as the Government pleased to appoint. Sir Robert Jacob, the solicitor-general, states, in a letter to Salisbury, April 15, 1609, that "McSwyny Fanaght sate with them as a justice of peace [at Lifford], though he came in an uncivil manner in his mantle."

(239). *Manus McNeale McSwyne*.—This Manus was the son of an incorrigible rebel called Neal McSwyne, who was nephew to Sir Niall Garve O'Donnell, and

whose head was most anxiously sought for by the Lord Deputy Chichester. This Neal McSwyne was one of a small lot which Chichester declared "if he could get, it mattered not if all the rest were pardoned." His fate is not known, at least to the writers of State Papers, but the sins of the father were no doubt visited on the son, for Manus, though the head of a family, and a gentleman by birth and position,—only got a miserable patch of 64 acres, for which he must have, in some way, proved his loyalty to the Government.

(240). *McSwyne-na-Doe*.—See pp. 102, 203. This Mulmory McSwyne, is stated by Sir Robert Jacob, the solicitor-general, to have been a younger son of the house of Doe, but this is probably a mistake, as he bore himself in all respects as the representative of that branch of the great sept seated in the district of Doe,—that part of the coast overlooking Sheephaven Bay, at the southern extremity of which stands proudly their old castle. "From this point," says the writer of a *Handbook of South-western Donegal*, "there is a magnificent view over the red sands of Rosapenna, where, for miles, from Downing Bay, there is not a blade of grass nor a particle of verdure, but one wide scene of desolation, extending as far as the old chapel in the sands of Rosgull," p. 46. The sands have extensively encroached upon this part of the coast, as fifty years ago the whole sweep above mentioned was beautiful and well cultivated.

containing Muinterveilán or Muntermellán, one quarter; Lurgabrackmore, one quarter divided into the two half quarters called Auldoge and Clohórnaigh; Lurgabrackbegg, one quarter divided into the two half quarters called Massarey and Lurgabrackbegg; Pollageill, one quarter; Carrowclogany, one quarter divided into two half quarters called Klaggan and Knockagarcossey; Magherymannagh, one quarter; Maykooe, one quarter; Ennerweymore, one quarter; Ennerweybegg, one quarter; Derrigeile, one quarter; Portanellan, one quarter; Corcoeganagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Carrowinchefey, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Ramackevan, one quarter; Fengarte, one quarter; Sessaugh, one quarter; Breughwey, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; and Castlevickanawe, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; in all, 2,000, with free fishings and ayeryes of hawks. Rent, 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (12) Jac. I.

5. Grant to *Donough McSweyne Banagh* (241), gent. The lands known as Leanagh and Corragh, 2,000 acres. Rent, 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Held on the same tenure, &c., as above. [The particulars of this grant are not recorded in the printed Patent Rolls, nor in the printed *Inquisitions of Ulster*].

6. Grant to *Nene Duffe Neene James* (242), [Ineen dubh, daughter of James Macdonnell, see pp. 130, 131, 228], widow of Hugh, son of Manus O'Donnell. The towns and lands of Carrownedrientagh and Ballyclencallen, one quarter each; half of Carrowgarragh quarter; half of Clooncoose quarter; and $\frac{2}{3}$ of Drom-Ivray quarter; in all, 596 acres. Rent, 6*l.* To hold, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage; to her use for life; remainder to Sir Ralph Bingley, Knt., and his heirs forever. 18 May, 9th [1611].

7. Grant to *Honora Bourk* (243), widow of [] O'Boyle, [lord of Boylagh]. Carrowfurte, one quarter; BallymcQuinn, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Derryoutra, one quarter; $\frac{1}{4}$ of Dromtremen quarter; and $\frac{1}{10}$ part of Downekynella quarter; in all, 403 acres. Rent, 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To hold, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage; to her use for life; remainder to the said Sir Ralph Bingley and his heirs forever. 18 May, 9th [1611].

8. Grant to *Tirlagh O'Boyle*, gent., [son of the preceding grantee]. The towns and lands of Carrowbleagh, one quarter; Clonmasse, one quarter; Anahire, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Ballymore, one quarter; Killdorrough, one quarter; Carronamaddy, one quarter; half of Clanmore

(241). *Banagh*.—For a notice of this district, see pp. 102, 203. This Donough, or Donnell, was the representative of the branch of McSwynes seated principally around the great bay of Killybegs. "One of their castles is still to be seen by the traveller, after he passes Dunkineely, standing on a ledge of rock over McSwyne's Bay, and boldly confronting the western ocean" (*Handbook of South-western Donegal*). This was the residence of the princely Niall Mór McSwyne, whom the Four Masters, at the year 1524, describe as "a constable of hardiest hand and heroism, best in withholding and attacking, best in hospitality and prowess, who had the most numerous troops and the most vigorous soldiers, and who had forced the greatest number of passes of any man of his own fair tribe." The successor of this powerful chief

was obliged to be satisfied with 2,000 acres in 1610, which, perhaps, was more than he could then manage. He had been in prison for joining O'Dogherty, and did not probably expect even to have escaped a traitor's death.

(242). *Neene James*.—This lady was mother-in-law to Sir Niall Garve O'Donnell, and an important witness against him on his trial for complicity in O'Dogherty's revolt.

(243). *Bourk*.—This lady, one of the powerful sept of the Burkes in Connaught, was of true Anglo-Norman descent. Her race became so Irish in all their sentiments and habits that they were very generally regarded by the inhabitants of the Pale as of Irish descent.

quarter; half of Bradard quarter; Aghalatin, one quarter; Altcrone, one quarter; Femore, one quarter; Carricknasmere, one quarter; Carrowmassinassa, one quarter; Killnickelowe, one quarter; Gortnaleckie, one quarter; $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of Greslagh quarter; and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Breaghwy quarter; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 26 February, 8th [1610-11].

9. Grant to *Neale Garrow McRowrie* [O'Donnell], gent. The two towns or half quarters of Kill and Glannynagh in Rosquill, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

10. Grant to *Caffer McHugh Duffe* O'Donnell, gent. The two half quarters of Fynnower and Omlagh, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

11. Grant to *Hugh Boy McQuin*, gent. The two towns or half quarters of Feart and Glannyreogh in Rosquill, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

12. Grant to *Donell McQuin*, gent. The two half quarters of Glancho and Reighmore, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

13. Grant to *Hugh boy McSwine*, gent. The two half quarters of Tierbackhan and Island-Ivraie in Rosquill, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

14. Grant to *Patrick Crone McCree*, gent. The two half quarters of Develanaghey and Develanreagh, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

15. Grant to *Neale McMulmorie McSwine* and *Tirlagh Carragh McSwine*, gents. The two half quarters of Aghalattife and Dowaghbegg, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

16. Grant to *Owen McGillpatrick*, gent. The lands of Magherilegawregan in Rosquill, two half quarters, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

17. Grant to *Farroll McHugh O'Galchor*, gent. The moiety of the two half quarters of Glangillagranny and Raurisse in Rosquill, 64 acres. Rent, 13*s.* 7*d.*

18. Grant to *Donnell Groome McArte*. Carrowcreeny, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, 64 acres. Rent, 13*s.* 7*d.*

19. Grant to *Grany Ny Donnell*. Carnegara, one quarter, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

20. Grant to *Murtagh O'Dowgan Owen Modder McSwine, Owen McMorphy, Donell O'Deveney, Donough O'Seren, Calvagh McBryan Roe McSwine, and Neale McSwine*. The lands of Garrowgirrie, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Rousky, one quarter; Skeagh, one quarter; Creslagh, $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter; Carrowreagh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a quarter; Crevrin, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Oghtergliny, one quarter; Dromballagh, one quarter; and Carrownecreeny, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter. Rents as above, in proportion to their several quantities of land, to commence in all cases at Easter, 1614; and all grantees to hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 17 December, 8th [1610].

21. Grant to *Hugh McHugh Duffe* [O'Donnell], gent. Ramaltan, one quarter, with the castle thereon; Breaghwy, Nahard, Derriemoenaghan, Carne, Clone, Glanmore, and Glanbegg, each one quarter; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The premises are erected into the manor of *Ramaltan*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold during life; remainder to Sir Richard Hansard and his heirs forever; subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 8 December, 8th [1610].

22. Grant to *Donell Ballagh O'Galchor, Dowltagh McDonnell Ballagh, Edmond boy O'Boyle, Tirlagh Oge O'Boyle, Irrel O'Boyle, Cahir McMalcavow, Shane McTirlagh, Dowaltagh McGillduffe, Farrell McTirlagh Oge, Loy O'Cleary, and Shane O'Cleary.* The lands of Dromnenagh, Killo-mastie, Dromurackan, Glaske, Ticoragh, Cragh, and Derrenagh, one quarter each; and half of Clandonnell quarter; in all, 960 acres; rent, 10*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*

23. Grant to *Owen Oge McOwen, and Owen McOwen Edegany.* The other half of Clandonnell, and the half of Carrowgarragh, 128 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 8*s.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 10 January, 13th, [1615].

iv. The Precinct of Clinawly (244), in the county of Fermanagh.

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *Sir John Davys* (245), *Knight*, attorney-general. Shankill and Dirricurra, one tate; Saghcoagh and Dirriogh, one tate; Skegh and Drumdrinagh, one tate; Dirriguffe and Dirricarmicke, one tate; Aghadaraghan and Dirrilaghan, one tate; Lisbofin and Goacoreck, one tate; Dromcoulin, one tate; the moiety of Rahallan, one tate; $\frac{1}{3}$ part of Dromconily quarter; 4 quarters of Moieghvane, viz., Leyme, Trelick, Moykeele, and Mullalough, except $\frac{1}{4}$ of Lyme quarter; in all, 1,500 acres. Rent, 12*l.* English. The premises created the manor of *Moyeghvane*, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. A Thursday market, and a fair on St. John Baptist's Day, and for two days after, at Lisgoole, rent, 6*s.* 8*d.* Irish. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 9 January, 8th [1610-11].

(244). *Clinawly.*—This precinct, now known as the barony of *Glenawley*, is bounded on the north and north-east, by the barony of Magheraboy; on the east, by the barony of Tyrkenedy and Magherastephana; on the south, by the barony of Knockninny, and on the west, by the county of Leitrim. The baronial map of 1609 represents it as bounded on the north, north-east, and north-west by the county of Leitrim; on the west and south-west by the baronies of Knockninny and Magherastephana; and on the east and south-east by Magheraboy. The barony contains more than 75,000 acres, but the map represents nearly this whole area as occupied by servitors and natives, although both classes were supposed to have had only about 8,500 acres distributed among them all! The three servitors, Davys, Harrison, and Mostin, occupied the central and best parts of the barony, whilst the natives got their small patches of freehold on the outskirts, and along the mountainous districts.

(245). *Davys.*—Davys had evidently selected his position in this precinct when visiting the neighbourhood as a commissioner. His lands lay along those of Lisgoole abbey, and extended thence to the vicinity of Enniskillen. They occupied the very heart of that sylvan, meadowy, and wheat-bearing district. When rules were being drawn up to regulate the choice of such servitors as were to be undertakers, one rule was that no servitors but 'martial' men were to be admitted, "saving Mr. Attorney-

General, who may have a middle proportion in Clinawly, near Lisgoole." He had thus added the last and most coveted proportion to his list of grants from the escheated lands. When in England, to assist in making the final arrangements for proclaiming to every undertaker his special share in the spoil, Davys made known his anxiety to leave Ireland finally. In his memorial to be permitted to do so, he states at considerable length the many and great things he had been instrumental in securing for Ireland, without, however, referring in the remotest way to what Ireland, and especially Ulster, had done for him. After having "served a prenticeship of seven years in Ireland," he hopes to "receive some hope and comfort touching his recall, the rather because the public businesses wherein his poor labour and experience may be thought of some use, are now for the most part well reduced and settled." Of these 'businesses' the following may be mentioned:—"The escheated lands of Ulster are settled in the Crown, the pretended titles [on the part of the natives] cleared, the records entitling his Majesty thereunto made perfect and returned, and put into a place of safety. All the English lords and degenerated English, except very few of the meaner sort, have made surrenders of their lands, and taken back estates thereof, to hold the same according to the course of the laws of England. All the old corporations have renewed their charters, and divers new corporations are erected, to the increase of trade and handicraft within that kingdom."

2. Grant to *Samuel Harrison* (246), *Esq.* Killeconge, 2 tates; Mullyar, 2 tates; Balliroan, 2 tates; Urishe, 2 tates; and $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the tate of Rosigirinagh; in all, 500 acres. Rent, 4*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Harrison*, with 200 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 19 July, 8th [1610-11].

3. Grant to *Peter Mostin* (247), gent. Ballymoycharne, 2 tates, viz., Claghanagh and Cavan; Teegilleduffe, one tate; Knockeglasney and Mullycomead, one tate; Drumconilane, 2 tates, viz., Drumconilane and Carrickerane; Drowamullen and Cossrushe, one tate; the parcels of land in or near the mountain of Munterfodoghane, viz., Aghykilligolman, 3 acres; Greaghfurt and Inishteige, one acre; Latoone, one acre; Tebunane, one acre; and Killtrasney, one acre; in all, 246 acres. Rent, 2*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 21 December, 8th [1610].

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *Cormock O'Cassida*, gent. Five-sixths of the half quarter of Montag; 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*

2. Grant to *Donell dean Magwire* and *James McDonough Magwire*, gents. Brackagh, Bohewny, and Dromlaghin, 2 tates; half of the $\frac{1}{8}$ quarter of Rahallan, viz., Lisrahan and Oughtegillan, one balliboe; Cavan and Dirrihawlaght, one tate; half of $\frac{1}{8}$ quarter of Gortcorcke, one tate; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

3. Grant to *Rorie McAdegany Magwire*, *Owen McCoconaght Magwire*, and *Donell Oge O'Muldoon*, gents. Clontedarragh and Skrine, one tate; Callin and Shralaste, one tate; and half the tate of Carrickboyagher; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*

4. Grant to *Donough Oge Magwire*, gent. Dromgawgh and Nasraghana, one tate; $\frac{1}{8}$ of the tate of Claghanagh and Tully; $\frac{1}{8}$ of the tates of Killeighan and Cavanreagh; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

5. Grant to *Felim Oge Magwire*, gent. Lisbloyhick and Lisdirry, one tate; Agheanemy, one tate; $\frac{1}{8}$ part of the half of Carrickmeglearty; $\frac{1}{8}$ of the tate in Cavanreagh; in all, 190 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*

6. Grant to *Cahell McGilleduffe Magwire*, gent. The half of the $\frac{1}{8}$ quarter of Carrickmegliferty, one tate; $\frac{1}{8}$ of the tate of Killeighan; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

7. Grant to *Redmond McGillpatrick Magwire*, gent. Tibbredan and Tone-Ineal, one tate; half the tates of Cavanreagh and Carrickboyagher; Gortery, one tate; and $\frac{1}{8}$ part of the tate of Killeighan; in all, 190 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*

8. Grant to *Shane McHugh*, gent. Half of the quarter of Crottan, one tate; half of

(246). *Harrison*.—This undertaker was an English servitor in Ireland, but to what locality he originally belonged is doubtful. He was probably the progenitor of the numerous respectable families bearing his surname throughout northern Ulster.

(247). *Mostin*.—This undertaker, whose surname is more generally written *Mostyn*, came from Flintshire, in Wales, but he did not leave any mark of himself in Ulster, nor did he ever reside, even for a time, on his proportion. In 1618 Pynnar reported that he [Mostin] then dwelt in Connaught.

Coolearkan $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, one tate; Gortgullinan and Gortcasshely, one tate; Killaraide and Feuleany, one tate; half of Mollalosty $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, one tate; $\frac{12}{12}$ of the half quarter of Carrowille; in all, 350 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

9. Grant to *Donel McCormock*, gent., $\frac{5}{12}$ of the half quarter of Dromboy, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.*

10. Grant to *Coconaght McHugh*, gent., $\frac{5}{12}$ of the half quarter of Aghonaglacky, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.*

11. Grant to *Donough Oge McHugh*, gent., $\frac{5}{12}$ of the half quarter of Aghonaglacky, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.*

12. Grant to *Donough Oge McDonaghy Magwire*, gent. Dromleaghin and Listokerry, one tate; half of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Culyelane, one tate; $\frac{1}{12}$ of the half quarter of Kiltieryne; $\frac{1}{12}$ of the half quarter of Carrowille; and $\frac{1}{24}$ of the half quarter of Drumem^cWorne; in all, 145 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*

13. Grant to *Felim McAuly*, gent., $\frac{5}{12}$ of the half quarter of Aghoheris, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.*

14. Grant to *Bryan Oge Magwire*, gent. Rosay and Longe, one tate; half of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Garrowhille, one tate; $\frac{1}{6}$ of the tate of Tatenemona and Gartencally; $\frac{1}{12}$ of the half quarter of Aghoheris; and $\frac{1}{24}$ of the half quarter of Dromem^cWorne; in all, 145 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*

15. Grant to *Donough McRorie*, gent., $\frac{5}{6}$ of the tate of Tatenemona and Gartencally, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.*

16. Grant to *Rorie Magwire*, gent. Croscurrin, one tate; $\frac{1}{6}$ of the tate of Knockyghiline and Augherauna; $\frac{1}{12}$ of the half quarter of Dromboy; and $\frac{2}{12}$ of the half quarter of Aghonaglacky; 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

17. Grant to *Thomas McJames McDun Magwire*, *Bryan McJames McDun Magwire*, and *Hugh McJames McDun Magwire*, gents. Clontemoylan, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Necorahy and Teirnewho, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

18. Grant to *Tirlagh Moyle Magwire*, gent. Leanemoyle, one tate; half the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Laengenvy, being one tate in Glack; half the $\frac{1}{6}$ of Gortencorcke, being one tate in Monterfodoghane; Gortneconnell, one tate; half the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Mollaghdon, being one tate; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* English.

19. Grant to *Bryan McThomas [Magwire]*, gent. Gortnecronaghtee and Lawghto, one tate; Carricknenefawe, one tate; half the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromboy, one tate; $\frac{2}{3}$ of the tate of Tollyhony, Dirrilaghta and Knockmcgallacrum; in all, 220 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.*

20. Grant to *Patrick McDonell*, gent. Crowhtrim and Moher, one tate; Tulladean and Aghterorke, one tate; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

21. Grant to *Shane McEnabb [or McCabe]*, gent. Half the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Dromm^cEnvernie, one tate; the fourth part of the $\frac{1}{6}$ quarter of Aghorerishe; $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the half quarter of Carrownelugge; in all, 130 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*

22. Grant to *Patrick McHugh Magwire*, gent. Tireknight and Knockbrack, one tate; Rossem^cEvoyne, one tate; and the fourth part of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Agheherish in Glacke; in all, 140 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

23. Grant to *Bryan O'Corcoran*, gent. The moiety of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Anaboo, being one tate; and the moiety of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Aghcorreboy, one tate; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

24. Grant to *Edmund McBryan McShane*, gent. Lisdawericke and Megin, one tate; Cnaghan, one tate; $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the tate of Tollohony, Dirrilaghta, and Knockm'gallcrum; $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the tate of Gortnesillagh; in all, 140 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

25. Grant to *Felim Duffe McBrien*, gent. The moiety of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Carrowkeyle, being one tate; and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the tate of Gortnesallagh; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

26. Grant to *Cormocke McDonell*, gent. The moiety of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Carrownelugge; $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the moiety of the said $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Carrownelugge; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the moiety of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Aghrim; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

27. Grant to *Connor McTirlagh*, gent. The moiety of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Mollolostie, one tate; and $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the moiety of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Aghrim; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

28. Grant to *Bryan McMulrony*, gent. Garbolly, one tate; Lisromady, one tate; Dretcreagh, one tate; and Dromcreagh, one tate; in all, 240 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*

29. Grant to *John Magwire*, gent. Cough and Creenagh, one tate; Killbrissill and Dromboe, one tate; in the barony of Coole and Tiracanda; and $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the tate of Clagane and Tully in Clinawly; in all, 140 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

30. Grant to *Donell Groome McArte*, gent. The two Knocks, one tate; half the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Crotton, one tate; $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the tate of Clohonagh and Tully; and $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the moiety of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Carrickvickelasartie; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

31. Grant to *Hugh O'Flanagan*, gent. Two-thirds of one tate in Dromchoe and Risgirana; Tawnadoneh, one tate; Cleyonah and Tonilefin, one tate; half of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Legneyeagh; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the tate of Gortetowell; in all, 192 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.*

32. Grant to *Oghy O'Hossy*, gent. Corgaragh and Legneborne, one tate; Carrigenaran, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Dromcherine and Mullyarlogher, one tate; of and in Samsonogh, one tate; viz., Mullaghmore and Dromeluyhy, 210 acres; Carne, 2 tates, 120 acres; rent, 3*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*; Downegerit and Tysan, 60 acres, rent, 12*s.* 10*d.*

33. Grant to *Cormac Oge McHugh*, gent. Gortneridge, Roscorky, and Corlea, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Lisbranan and Cornegie, one tate; Dirries, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; in all, 180 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

34. Grant to *Shane McDenett*, gent. Carrickoleghan and Carrickordrentan, one tate, 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.* English.

35. Grant to *Shane McDonell Ballagh* and *Brian O'Skanlan*. Dromen, 2 tates; 120 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

36. Grant to *Shane Evarr Magwire*, gent. Mullaghbane and Corr, one tate; Trean, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; and $\frac{1}{20}$ of the tate of Gortetowell; in all, 96 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*

37. Grant to *Cormock McBryan Magwire*, gent. Cullintragh, Garrowff, and Cloghrane, one tate; Gortin and Mullaghgarowff, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the tate of Gortetowell; in all, 96 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*

38. Grant to *Cormock McCallo Magwire*, gent. Aboo, one tate; half of Kilechrine $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter, one tate; $\frac{1}{10}$ of the half quarters of Legeneyagh and Coolyellan; in all, 144 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.*

39. Grant to *Conogher Glasse Magwire*, gent., $\frac{2}{5}$ of the half quarter of Coolyellan, 48 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 4*d.*

40. Grant to *Henry McElynan*, gent. Four-fifths of the tate of Drian and Lurge; 48 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 4*d.*

41. Grant to *Felim McElynan*, gent. Two-fifths of the $\frac{1}{4}$ of Legneyeyh, 48 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 4*d.*

42. Grant to *Melaghlin Oge McCorr*, gent. Five-sixths of the tate of Agharosblonick and Gorteconnell, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.*

43. Grant to *Connell McWorrin*, gent. Cullintragh, one tate; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the half quarter of Glanganywy; $\frac{1}{10}$ of the tate of Drian and Lurge; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

44. Grant to *Moriertagh O'Flanagan*, gent. Mullyneshangan and Killymanymenagh, one tate; one-fourth of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Langanywy; $\frac{1}{10}$ of the tate of Cryan and Lurge; 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

45. Grant to *Hugh Boy Magwire*, gent. Half of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Aghrim, one tate; and $\frac{1}{5}$ of Gortetowell tate; in all, 96 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*

46. Grant to *Patrick McHugh*, gent. Five-sixths of the tate of Knockigighan and Agharauna, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.*

47. Grant to *Rorie McDonough Magwire* and *Pat. Ballagh Magwire*, gents, Dronurck and Tullyhallgwy, one tate; one half of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Mulladoon, one tate; Aghecorboy, one tate; $\frac{1}{6}$ of the tate of Aghrostlonick and Gorteconnell; in all, 190 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*

48. Grant to *Tirlagh Mergagh Magwire* and *Felim Duffe McRorie Magwire*, gents. Five-twelfths of the $\frac{1}{4}$ quarters of Drommacwornie and Kilkrene; 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

49. Grant to *Garrett Magwire* and *John Magwire*, gents. Dromany, one tate; 60 acres. Rent, 13*s.*

The above grantees to hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 16 February, 8th [1610-11], and 10 September, 9th [1611].

v. The Precinct of Coole and Tircannada (248), county of Fermanagh.

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *Sir Henry Folliott* (249), *Knt.* The tate of Cooleconragh, and the lands of

(248). *Tircannada*.—This precinct is designated on the baronial map of 1609 as *The Barony of Maghera Steffanah with ye Two Halfe Bar. of Coole and Tircannada*. The whole plantation precinct was thus simply commensurate with the two present baronies of Magherastephana and Tyrkennedy. The two baronies comprised in this precinct contain upwards of 116,006 acres, yet the baronial map represents this vast area as being almost entirely occupied by nine undertakers, four of whom were servitors, and

five natives, then supposed to have had about 9,000 arable acres distributed among them all. To this quantity, however, must be added about 6,000 acres granted to Connor Roe Maguire, and the comparatively small portion set apart for glebes.

(249). *Folliott*.—This undertaker was created baron Folliott, of Ballyshannon, in 1619, and the title became extinct at the death of his grandson, the third Lord Folliott, in 1716.

Sydcher, Cinliartinleigh otherwise Killgartinliaghy, Salry, Dromkyn, Dromroonagh, Dromcryne, Clynaghdy, Coolecarrane, Killigh, Kildrum, Cowlaughie, Killymittle, Telleraghan, Rosscorr, Dromcoone, Ardglea, Relaghe, Currin, Knocknemawell, and Drumcullin; in all, 1,500 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Dromchine*, with 500 acres in demesne, a court baron, and power to create tenures. Rent, 12*l.* English, to commence from Easter, 1614. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 1610.

2. Grant to *Roger Atkinson* (250). Ballydrombrochus, Keadagh, Tullohavie, and Killynan, 2 tates each; Carrowmamewe, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Killiwilly, one tate; Garwirry, 2 tates; Ballyreagh, 2 tates; and Lassan, 2 tates; in all, 1,000 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Coole*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. Rent, 8*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 20 January, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *William Cole* (251), *Esq.* The towns and lands of Tawnestrick and Corrigrade, one tate; $\frac{1}{2}$ Cavanlecke, one tate; Lavue, 2 tates; Dromyea, one tate; Ballidowla, 2 tates; Carrownagilla, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Breaghwy, 2 tates; Gortinesan, one tate; Mullyneskar, Dromore, and Gortanoghoe, one tate each; Dromean and Rosse, one tate; Killibrackan and Drombranagher, one tate; the five last mentioned tates being in the barony of Clinawly; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises created the manor of *Corrigrade*, with 300 acres in demesne, power to create tenures, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, by fealty, in common socage. 16 November, 9th [1611].

4. Grant to *Paul Goore* (252), *Esq.* Largiloughsharke, 2 tates; Carricke, 8 tates; Killiegh,

(250). *Atkinson*.—This undertaker came to Ireland about the time the war with O'Neill commenced, in 1595. In October, 1603, he was granted a pension of 4*s.* per diem, probably for his services as a spy. In 1604, this pension was increased to 6*s.* per day; and on the 10th of November, in the same year, he was granted the office of provost-marshal of Lough Foyle, and of the forces and garrisons in the city of Derry, or elsewhere in Ulster. See *Erick's Repertory*, pp. 75, 126.

(251). *William Cole*.—See p. 179. The representatives of this undertaker, have, since his time, laid claim to a distinguished origin from the circumstance that the name *Cole* appears with others in a deed of William the Conqueror, in the year 1070. At the time of this William Cole's advent to Ireland, there were very many families having the same surname in England, but how he was descended, or whether he was descended at all from the *Cole* of 1070, does not appear, although Lodge, with the help of a family pedigree, has done his best to make matters clear. (See vol. vi. of his *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, pp. 37, 43). In addition, however, to Captain Cole's proportion of Corrigrade, as above described, 320 acres were granted to him, 28th May, 1612, at a rent of 20 shillings Irish, 80 acres of which were "assigned for the town of Enniskillen, with exception of the castle and the other two third parts of the island of Enniskillen, together with covenants for planting, building, and inhabiting the said town, according to a plan set down by the Lord Deputy for Sir Ralph

Bingley, and Captain Basil Brook, with the grant of a market and a fair, the clerkship of the market, and keeping of a toll booth within the said town; and a prohibition that none should sell by retail within three miles of the town, but such as Captain Cole should plant there or be resident; for performance of which covenants he entered into bonds to the Crown, and having fulfilled his engagements, the town was incorporated by charter, he himself being the first provost." *Ibid.* p. 43.

(252). *Goore*.—This undertaker, whose surname is now generally written *Gore*, was the eldest son of Gerard Gore, a merchant-tailor and alderman of London. He came to Ireland as commander of a troop of horse, immediately after the defeat of the English on the Blackwater, by the Earl of Tyrone, in 1598. Gore was sent by Lord Mountjoy, in November, 1602, with the Queen's protection to Rory O'Donnell, who had petitioned to be admitted to mercy, with directions to bring him to Mountjoy, then in Connaught. On the 14th of December, Gore brought O'Donnell to Athlone, where, with O'Connor Sligo, he made his humble submission. For this and other distinguished services, Gore was knighted, and, as alleged, got a grant "from the Queen of the barony of Boyleagh and Bannagh, of which he was in actual possession for some years until King James I. granted these lands to the Earl of Annandale, and in lieu thereof gave Sir Paul, 3rd January, 1610, a much inferior estate upon the plantation of Ulster, viz., 1,348 acres of escheated

2 tates; Cloghogall, one tate; Shancogh, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Carrowkeill, 2 tates; in all, 1,000 acres. Also, the whole island called McManus Island, and Inishmore, in Lougherne, containing 5 tates and $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a quarter, being by estimation 348 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* The premises are created the manor of *Inishmore*, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 3 January, 8th [1610-11].

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *Con McShane O'Neale* (253), gent. In Dromcor, 2 tates, viz., Dromcor and Nabrackah; in Camgart, 2 tates, viz., Camgart, Dromginy, and Lisdrombreane; in Rathmaly, 2 tates, viz., Ramaly and Cloneconead; in Mullaswylogagh, 2 tates, viz., Mullosillogagh and Cloneltelten; in Maghsnaght, 2 tates, viz., Maghsnaght and Cavamine; in Farnis, 2 tates, viz., Farnis and Cromegawcha; in Clabby and Dromhirke, one tate; in Ratoran, 2 tates, viz., Ratoran and Lislaghlane; in Knoighmore, 2 tates, viz., Knoighmore and Rakilane; in Tiraltane, 2 tates, viz., Tiraltane and Lisrokearny; in Dromdirig, 2 tates, viz., Dromdirig and Tullynevoun; in Nafnell, 2 tates; and in Lisdronekyneragh, 2 tates; in all, 1,500 acres. Rent, 16*l.*, to commence with Easter, 1614. The premises are created the manor of *Clabbye*, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron, a Tuesday market, a fair on the 24th of June and day following at Clabbye, rent, 5*s.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. [1610].

2. Grant to *Bryan Maguyre* (254), gent. The moiety of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Carrowy, one tate; in Necrene, two tates, viz., Necrene and Killegane; in Inleyme, 2 tates, viz., Inleyme and Leaghill; Tulliollcho, one tate; in Killcraw, 2 tates, viz., Killcraw and Tateniwire; in Uncrogh, 2 tates, viz., Uncrogh, Bavadigane, and Dirigereh; in Dromachan, 2 tates, viz., Dromachan and Letterville; in Glangeasse, 2 tates, viz., Glangeasse and Tonyglassane; in Brochar, 2 tates, viz., Brochar and Coolecrenacha; in Glanegrefannane, 2 tates, viz., Glanegrefannane and Glanenevally; in Teadanmore, 2 tates, viz., Teadanmore and Disert; in Tullyneglog, 2 tates, viz., Tullyneglog and Letter; in Killtecollo, 2 tates, viz., Killtecollo and Gilleneclosse; in Clarhownagh, 2 tates, viz., Clarhownagh and Culineharrowill; in Ardgroahan, one tate; in Lishee and Dirirry, one tate. Clinawly barony. In Coole, one tate; the moiety of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter or two tates of Drumduffe and Lismully; in Clontichihy and Leanarra-mc-Enarr, one tate; in Monyawrigane, one tate; and half of Garrowchill $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 21*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* The premises are created the

lands called Magherabegg in the barony of Castlecoole and Tircannada in the county of Fermanagh, which lands were erected into a manor by the name of Manor-Gore." (Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 278). The alleged grant to Gore of Boylagh and Bannagh is, assuredly, mythical, as there is no record of it, and it would have been too liberal under the circumstances. He may have, probably, got a *custodiam* of the barony mentioned, and even that would have been only granted temporarily. Gore got his proportion in Fermanagh

simply as a servitor who had been selected with other servitors to be undertakers, and not in lieu of being deprived of the barony of Donegal. Among Gore's lands was the island of Ballymacmanus, in Lough Erne, now Bellisle, once the residence of Cathal Maguire, who there compiled the very interesting fragment of Ireland's history known as the *Annals of Ulster*.

(253). *Con McShane O'Neale*.—See p. 250.

(254). *Bryan Maguyre*.—This was a younger brother of Cuconnaght Maguire, who died at Genoa. See p. 61.

manor of *Inseyloughgeasse*, with 600 acres in demesne, and a court baron. License to hold a Wednesday market and a fair on Lammas day, Aug. 1, and the day after at Inseyloughgeasse, 6s. 8d. Irish. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 31 December, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Tirlagh Magwire*, gent. [brother of the preceding grantee]. In Doone, 2 tates, viz., Doone and Lannacrosse; in Carrowmore, in Magherynevan, in Mullaghmeen, in Ardgart, in Corcheirin, and in Cavanhullcarmuck, one tate each; in all, 500 acres. Rent, 5l. 6s. 8d. English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 28 February, 8th.

4. Grant to *John Magwire*, gent., Cough and Creena, one tate; Kilbrissill and Dromloe, one tate; in all, 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 5s. 8d. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage.

5. Grant to *Richard Magwire*, gent., Agharynagh, 2 tates; 120 acres. Rent, 1l. 5s. 8d. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage.

vi. The Precinct of Tullaghah (255), county of Cavan.

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *Sir George and Sir Richard Graeme* (256), *Knts.* The towns and lands of Bracklee, 2 polls; Camera, one poll; Gortnefreighan, one poll; Corsmongan, 2 polls; Killchrine, one poll; Kilsallagh, 2 polls; Mullaghvowtra, 2 polls; Cor, 2 polls; of Tawny-yeske, $\frac{3}{4}$ poll; Aghalough, one poll; Gortmore, one poll; Killsobb, 4 polls; the parcel of Nacloone, containing 24 polls, except the polls of Dromkaske, Gortnedary, Drombory, Dirirall, and Gortlawnat; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 16l. English. The premises are created the manor of *Graeme*, with 600 acres in

(255). *Tullaghah*.—See p. 204. This precinct is comprised in the present barony of Tullaghah, or Tullyhaw, which occupies the extreme north-western portion of the county of Cavan, projecting to a considerable distance between the counties of Fermanagh and Leitrim. Tullaghah is bounded on the north and north-east, by the county of Fermanagh; on the east, by the baronies of Lower Loughree and Tullyhunco; and on the south, the south-west, and west, by the county of Leitrim. The boundaries of this precinct on the baronial map of 1609 are the same as those above mentioned,—this being, indeed, the only instance we have yet found, where there is a rule of north and south observed in those maps. On the western side of this precinct there is a somewhat extensive region represented by the map as unoccupied, and the right to its possession disputed by the inhabitants of the two adjoining counties of Fermanagh and Leitrim. This 'debatable' territory is bounded by mountains on the south, east, and west, and on the north by a part of Lough McNeene. It is described as "Largie and Dowballie, being three ballybetaghes—this lande is in controversie between this countie and the county of Leytrim." In the centre there are two polls of church land, on which is marked a ruined church. Adjoining this territory eastward, there is shown on the map another sweep of unoccupied land called Nacloone, and containing 24 polls.

In this, also, there appears about one and a half polls of church land, on which a ruined church and a round tower are marked. The remainder of the precinct, which contains upwards of 80,000 acres, is represented on the map as comprised, with the exception of some church lands, in the grants to servitors and natives, who were supposed to have had about 10,000 acres of arable land distributed amongst them all!

(256). *Graemes*.—These undertakers were brothers, and the sons of Sir George Graeme or Graham, a well known servitor in Ireland, who came from the Scottish border, and had established a claim on the Government by the value and extent of his services. In January, 1608-9, the King writes to Chichester "to pass to Sir Geo. Graeme, knight, in regard of his service, a lease in reversion of the abbey of St. John the Baptist in the Nasse [Naas] in the county of Kildare, whereof he is now in possession, for the term of 31 years, to commence after the expiration of the lease in being, at a rent of 30l. 4s. 3d." Of the crowd of Grahams transplanted from the Borders to the county of Roscommon (see p. 228), several ran away to their kinsman, Sir George, at Naas, who probably assisted some of them to return to the banks of the Esk and the Leven. His sons must have also distinguished themselves as servitors, having received not only the grant above described, but also the honour of knighthood.

demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common soccage. 26 June, 13th [1615].

2. Grant to *Hugh Coolme* (257) and *Walter Talbott* (258), *Esqs.* Why these servitors obtained their grants thus conjointly is not stated. Culme's grant conveyed to him the manor of Dromany, comprising Tullienogeughteragh, Corrihen, Drumerstolly, Lismogan, and Fugh; $\frac{1}{2}$ of Beyheanahire and Bahaha; $\frac{1}{2}$ of Clonticonge; all in the barony of Loughtee; together with the whole territory of Doughbally, containing 16 polls; and the half territory of Aghrin, containing 8 polls; in the barony of Tullaghagh. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (14) and (16) Car. I.) The latter part, in Tullaghagh, had been at first granted to O'Reyly and Rutledge, gents. Talbott, who was styled of Beallaconnell, in the county of Cavan, held the following lands:—Derrogeny, one poll; Killog, one poll; Gortulleran, one poll; Mucklagh, one poll; Skeagh, one poll; Gortewey, one poll; Rathkillin, one poll; Downe, one poll; Enagh, one poll; Townaciateragh, one poll; Cowlynan, one poll; Cloughan, one poll; Cavan, 2 polls; Mullaghduffe, 2 polls; Kilcloghan, 2 polls; Carraghmore, 4 polls; Nationna, 2 polls; Ardagh, one poll; Rosbreassell, one poll; Crosse, 2 polls; Kildannagh, 2 polls; Kiltragh, one poll; Knocks, one poll; Killenawe, one poll; Dowerhannagh, one poll; Uzren, one poll; Nidd, one poll; Bartony, 2 polls; Dromyne, one poll; Cavanickehall, one poll; and Barrin, 2 polls. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (29) Car. I.

3. Grant to *Nicholas Pynnar* (259), *Esq.* All the towns, hamlets, polls, or parcels of land, of and in the territory of Largin, containing 24 polls; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 8*l.* English. The four polls called Tooun, viz., Gortnesillagh, Mullaghgarrowe, Rossan, and Towre, are excepted out of this grant. Free fishing in Loughme'Neane, near and belonging to the said lands. The premises are created the manor of *Pynnar*, with 300 acres in demesne; power to alien; and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 7 May, 9th [1611].

4. Grant to *Bryan McPhilip O'Reyly* and *Edward Rutledge*, gents. All the towns and lands of and in the territory of Dwoughbally, containing 24 polls, or 1,200 acres, with all fishings near the premises. Rent, 12*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. [Sixteen polls of Doughbally afterwards belonged to Captain Hugh Culme and his heirs].

5. Grant to *Thomas Johnes*, gent. Lisroerty, 2 polls; Tewrevy, one poll; Evelagh and $\frac{10}{12}$ of the poll of Drominon; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage.

(257). *Coolme*.—Hugh (afterwards Sir Hugh) Culme was a distinguished servitor of English birth, and son of Hugh Culme, Esq., of Chamston and Cannonsleigh, Devonshire. In the year ending September, 1608, he received 14*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for money disbursed in seizing certain rebels, and a further sum of 10*l.* for repairs made by him on Cloughouter castle. In 1610, he was constable of Cloughouter castle, with a force of ten wardens, holding also the appointment of provost-marshal in the county of Cavan, and certain parts adjoining.

(258). *Talbott*.—This undertaker had established a claim on the Government by his purchase and settlement of lands at a comparatively early period. Talbott is one of several whom Chichester recommends "to be respected the rather that they have begun a civil plantation already, which has done much good in that country, and have deserved other ways well by their good service."

(259). *Pynnar*.—This servitor and undertaker is chiefly known by his *Survey of the Plantation*, which will be fully brought under the reader's notice afterwards.

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *John and Connor O'Reily*, gent. Gortnekargie, 4 polls; Dowrie, one poll; Corneha, one poll; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*
2. Grant to *Cahir McOwen*, gent. Kildough, 2 polls; containing 100. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*
3. Grant to *Cahell McOwen O'Reily*, gent. Ballymagoechan, 4 polls; Gobeveany and Gortneclogh, 2 polls; containing in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* English.
4. Grant to *Donell McOwen*, gent. Clonkurke, Dirwony, and Killvannagh, one poll each; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*
5. Grant to *Owen O'Shereden*, gent. Curran, one pole; Derrenekrett, Drombeagh, and Corroboan, one poll; Mullaghsiffin, one poll; and Mullamore, one poll; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*
6. Grant to *Cahill McBrien O'Reily*, gent. Rolliagh and Tawnihulch, one poll each; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*
7. Grant to *Felim McGawran*, gent. Dromcorcke, one poll, Killemullane, one poll; Errenagh, one poll; Killcroghan, 2 polls; Camagh, 2 polls; Dirricassan, 2 polls; Sroogagh, 2 polls; Gortneleck, one poll; Killmuriertagh, one poll; Boely, 2 polls; Portur-Ilinchy, one poll; Ballymagirrell, 4 polls; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
8. Grant to *Mulmore McHugh McFarrall O'Rely*, gent. The towns and lands of Gortnatowill, 6 polls; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*
9. Grant to *Cormacke McGawran*. Garrerishmore, one poll; Dufferagh, one poll; Killanaigy, one poll; and half the poll of Meligg; in all, 175 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*
10. Grant to *Donough Magauran*, gent. Loughercan, one poll; and half the poll of Meligg; 75 acres. Rent, 16*s.*
11. Grant to *Hugh McManus Oge Magauran*, gent. Gortallaghill, one poll; Boevealan, one poll; Barne and Dromeneightragh, one poll; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*
12. Grant to *Breene Oge Magauran*, gent. Tewbay, 2 polls; Owingallis, 2 polls; 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*
13. Grant to *Mulmorie McTirlagh O'Reily*, gent. Dromcaske, one poll; Gortnedirrey, one poll; Dromboory, one poll; Direrall and Gortlaronagh, one poll; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*
14. Grant to *Felim, Brian, and Cahir*, sons of Hugh O'Reily, late of Ballaghaneó. The towns and lands of Clonmeoun, one poll; Dirriconosy and Moghereogh, one poll; Monenoure and Mogherlooby, one poll; and Tardirry, one poll; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*
15. Grant to *Tirlagh McHugh McBryan bane O'Reylie*. Corrytillan, Knockmore, and Broedell, one poll each; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*
16. Grant to *Bryan McKernan*, gent. Dronge, one poll; Cornacrum, one poll; Clontegerrin one poll; Cornahah, one poll; Derrenelester, one poll; Dromlare, one poll; Ardloagher and Kiltenseskelane, one poll; in all, 400 acres. Rent, 4*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

17. Grant to *Donnell McFarrall Oge McKernan*, gent. Tewreagh, two ploughlands, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

18. Grant to *Callo [Calvagh] O'Gowne*, gent. Clonekarnehan, 2 polls; and Derry, one poll; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*

19. Grant to *Shane McCabe*, gent. Caltragh, one poll; Knocke, one poll; Urrerin, one poll; Doorhawraght, one poll; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

20. Grant to *Wony [Una] McThomas McKernan*. Neade, Dowry, and Laraghtmought, 2 polls; 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

21. Grant to *Donill Backagh McShane O'Reyly*, gent. Dromeane, one poll; Cavanaugh, one poll; and Burrin, 2 polls; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

22. Grant to *Bryan McShane O'Reyly*, gent. Lissanover, 4 polls; Rathfyan, one poll; Clinareagh, one poll; in all, 300 acres. 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

The above-named grantees to hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 13 March, 8th [1610-11]; and 4 June, 9th [1611.]

VII. The Precinct of Clonmahone (260), county of Cavan.

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *Sir Oliver Lambert (261)*, *Knt.*, privy councillor. The towns and lands of Carricke, 2 polls; Lissnedarragh, 2 polls; $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 2 polls of Killgoalla; Maghery, 2 polls; Corhartnagh, 2 polls; in Omard and Lossett, 3 gallons (see p. 112); $\frac{1}{4}$ of the poll of Corrilloghan, Cargaghbane, Aghenehederny, Tullagh, and Killefassy, each one poll; Aghowtererry, 2 polls; Towrine, one poll; $\frac{1}{8}$ of the two polls of Ballaghnechos; Bailaghauria, 3 polls; Crovor, one poll; Corarnogagh, one poll; one of the two polls of Garrisallagh; one poll of and in Coulyn; Knockes-

(260). *Clonmahone*.—See p. 204. The name of this barony is now written Clannahon and Clonmahon. The old plantation precinct is comprised in the present barony so called, which lies on the southern border of the county of Cavan, and is bounded on the north and north-east, by the barony of Upper Loughtee; on the east, by the barony of Castlerahan; on the south, by the counties of Meath, Westmeath, and Longford; and on the west, by the county of Longford, and the barony of Tullaghonho, or Tullyhunco. On the baronial map of 1609, the compass points due west, and the boundaries, of course, differ accordingly from those now named. The map represents the surface of this precinct as a complete net-work of woods and bogs. A stream issues from *Lough Garonah* on the borders of Longford, and flows in an eastern direction to the head of Lough Sheillin. On the largest island in this part of Lough Sheillin there is a castle or fortress marked, and on the island next in size there is a ruined church; but neither island, castle, or church is named. The barony contains about 50,000 acres, exclusive of water, and with the exception of a few scraps of churchland, the map represents this whole area as occupied by a few servitors and natives who were then supposed to have only had about 8,000 arable acres distributed amongst them all!

(261). *Lambert*.—Lambert succeeded in getting possession of more Irish territory than many others among his fellow-adventurers. When he became very wealthy, and was created a lord, it was found that he belonged to the Lambertini family, was related to Benedict XIV., and that his ancestor, Ralph de Lambert, came with William the Conqueror, and fought at the Battle of Hastings. When Sir Oliver came first to Ireland, however, to share the good things in the shape of escheated estates temptingly described to attract spoilers from all quarters, he was, no doubt, contented to be known as the grandson of Richard Lambert, grocer, merchant-adventurer, alderman, and sheriff of London. He came here so early as the year 1581, and had so advanced in the service that when the Earl of Essex, in 1599, was about to leave Ireland, the latter appointed him provisionally, as master of the camp. In 1601, he was made governor of Connaught, which he thoroughly revolutionized, so far as seizing the lands and expelling the rightful owners could be described as doing so. The several inquisitions, taken after his death, revealed the prodigious amount of landed property he had clutched, not only in Cavan, but in at least a dozen other counties of Ireland. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 343-350.

gallon and Tulliegan, one poll; Dunguum, 4 polls; Ardigownan, one poll; one of the two polls of Clonbacogies; Lissenarruffe, one poll; Farren-Iconinyeightragh, one poll; Tonemickiragh, 4 polls; one of the two polls of Pollereoghs; Eanagh, 2 polls; Rathclaghagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; and Clontiduffy, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; in all, 2,000 acres, with the whole river and soil of Loughsillen and all the islands adjacent to the said lands. Rent, 16*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Lissendarragh*, with 600 acres in demesne; power to create tenures; and to hold a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 26 June, 9th [1611].

2. Grant to *Joseph Johnes* (262), gent. The towns and lands of Corgromon and Tocullen, 2 polls; Cartonfrigh, one poll; Cloncomedy, 2 polls; Tagherneras, one poll; Kilcoaga, 2 polls; Aghemuck, 2 polls; half of the two polls of Drombanuffe and Kilcatren, being one poll; Dromersnaw, Lissauny, Kilsaran, Aghenauchor, Dromhownagh, one poll each; Killedoone, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Ligwoy, 2 polls; Drombroghles, one poll; Turbull, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Aghalawnery, 2 polls; Ardleynagh, 2 polls; Kildorough, 2 polls; Dromhillagh, one poll; one of the two polls of Carnagh; in all, 1,500 acres. Rent, 12*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Tocullen*, with 450 acres in demesne; power to create tenures; and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 26 June, 9th [1611].

3. Grant to *John Russon*, gent. Drominoh, 2 polls; Tedenan, Aghoelyowtra, Drombartan, Dillagh, Pottayeagh, Corduffe, and Dromherman, one poll each; one-fourth part of the poll of Agholyeightra; and three-fourth parts of the poll of Dromkilly; in all, 500 acres. The premises are created the manor of *Drominoh*, with 200 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster.

4. Grant to *Anthony Atkinson* (263), gent. Aghogapull, one poll; Dromrouske, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Dromgouna and Dromcro, 3 polls; $\frac{3}{4}$ of the four polls of Carrowedergaowen, being 3 polls of land; $\frac{3}{4}$ of the 2 polls of Carricklenan; and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Dromkilly poll; in all, 500 acres. Rent, 4*l.* To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage.

(262). *Johnes*.—This undertaker was, no doubt, one of the numerous and hungry swarm of adventurers bearing the surname of *Jones* that invaded Ireland from Wales at the time referred to. Descendants of Joseph Jones are probably to be found in the family which rose into repute and respectability at Headfort, in the adjoining county of Leitrim, and not very distant from the original manor of Tocullen. In this Leitrim family the christian name *Theophilus* prevailed, which would lead to the conclusion that they descended from the same stock as the famous, or rather infamous bishop, who became Cromwell's Scoutmaster in Ireland, and who had a younger brother named *Theophilus*. See Burke's *Landed Gentry*, p. 795.

(263). *Anthony Atkinson*.—This undertaker may have probably been a brother of Roger Atkinson, who settled in Fermanagh. Like him, Anthony appears to have

been a soldier, and as such, to have obtained a share, although a smaller one than usual, of the escheated lands in Ulster. A lieutenant Anthony Atkinson settled at a place called Kiltobret, in King's county, probably about 1602, and from intermarriages in his family with families in the county of Cavan, we are inclined to believe that he was the undertaker of this name in the precinct or barony of Clonmahon. One of lieutenant Atkinson's representatives married a daughter of Robert Saunderson, Cloverhill, county of Cavan; another married a grand-daughter of Sir Francis Hamilton, of Killishandra, in the same county; and a third married a daughter of Sir Robert Newcomen, who had an estate in the escheated lands of the adjoining county of Tyrone. Branches of this Atkinson family are seated at Cangort, in King's county, and Ashley Park, county of Tipperary. See Burke's *Landed Gentry*, p. 36.

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *Mulmorie McHugh Connelagh O'Rely*, gent. Dromcorbane and Correchrane, 2 polls; in Dromkharne, one gallon; in Tonimore, one poll; Lismore and Aghconeleck, one poll; in Drombary and Shantolagh, one poll; Cavanfine and Crostony, one poll; Conedoutragh, one poll; Coneditragh, one poll; in Clonmolt and Dromkelly, one poll; Shankelly, one poll; Aghecome, 2 polls; Kilnecreevy, 2 polls; Arlowchare, 3 polls; in Dromore and Castlecormock, 2 polls; Narduarragh and Cornemihane, 2 polls; Cornesier, 2 polls; Derelahan, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Shanos and Potteneagh, one poll; Corrocrochery, one poll; Killekanin, one poll; Kilmoyonan, one poll; Corminhe, one poll; Shancor, one poll; Legoviole, one poll; Marchile and Rabrachan, one poll; in Dromnevaddie, 2 polls; Leggeganny, one poll; half of Quilly, one poll; Dromline, one poll; Dromoushin and Broby, one poll. In Loughtee barony, Lissinerie and Tollytrean, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Cornegnow and Aghlatofarrall, one poll; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 30 April, 9th [1611].

2. Grant to *Gerald Fleming, Esq.* The towns and lands of Creved, one poll; Cosetroose, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Ornyreogh, 2 polls; Cashell, 3 polls; Kilsallagh and Coolenecargy, one poll; in all, 475 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

3. Grant to *Hugh McBrien O'Reyly*, gent. Momoogan and Aghernore, one poll; and Killerdrim, one poll; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

4. Grant to *Edward Nugent*, gent. Dromrade, one poll; Corlessely, one poll; Coolenessog, one poll; and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the poll of Cornowe; in all, 162 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*

5. Grant to *Christopher Nugent*, gent. Gnive, one poll; Raknavin and Cavancolter, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Aghneskeagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; one of the two Clonbackogies, one poll; the moiety of Rahmier and a parcel called Monnirrie, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Ferrenyconellowtragh, one poll; Lisvecanegan and Finwock in Castlerahen barony, 3 polls; in all, 450 acres. Rent, 4*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.*

6. Grant to *Edward Nugent*, gent. Corglasse and Shannowfe, 2 polls each; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

7. Grant to *Philip McTirlagh Bradie*, gent. The parcel of land called Carrowogheraghy, 4 polls; $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the parcel of Lacken; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

8. Grant to *Richard Fits-Simons*. The towns and lands of Lisnenanagh, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* All the foregoing grantees to hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage.

VIII. The Precinct of Castle Rahen (264), in the county of Cavan.

(264). *Castle Rahen*.—See p. 204. This precinct is now represented by the barony of Castle-Rahan, which is bounded on the north, by the baronies of Loughtee and Clonkee; on the south and east, by the county of Meath; and on the west, by the barony of Clonmahon. On the border between this precinct and Meath, lies "Lough Rawre," now Lough Ramor, having nine islands, as represented on the map, five of which appear to be very small. On one island there are the ruins of a church;

and on the southern shore of the lake there are the remains of a castle or fortress. The general aspect of the precinct, as presented on the map, is not attractive, from the fact that its surface is too profusely supplied with marshes, bleak-looking little hills, and bogs. Hardly a tree appears on the whole expanse or area of 70,000 acres. The ruins of *Castlan-Rahan* itself are marked in a small parcel of church land near the base of the "Slew McKafry Mountains," on the borders of Munster. About 6,000

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *Sir John Elliot* (265), *Knt.*, baron of the exchequer. Kilcronehan, 4 polls, viz., Aghamada, Aghnemona, Morleagh, and Lishlin; Killi-Ighter, Cornekilly, Carrowronicke, and Clonarny, one poll each; in all, 400 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* The premises are created the manor of *Kilcronehan*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 30 November, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *John Ridgeway* (266), *Esq.* Lislierty and Gallownegerod, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Carrigneveagh and Coolemonie, one poll; Nenagh, one poll; Eadanport, 2 polls; Gallownegarrowe, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Necarrigy, one poll; Fertaghyeatra, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Fertaghowtra, one poll; Cloghvallymore, one poll; Lisleagh, 2 polls; Cloghballyowtra, one poll; Ballaghanneh, 2 polls, with a ruinous castle; Cloyergoole, one poll; half of the poll of Aghanedronge; Rahardrune, one poll; Doonancry, one poll; Naperton, one poll; in all, 1,000 acres, with the islands, fishings, water, and soil of Loughrawer, belonging or adjoining to the said lands. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Chichester*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. [No date].

3. Grant to *Sir William Taaffe* (267), *Knt.* Leytrim, 2 polls; Cloughpalleybege, one poll; Mullagh, Lissasseragh, and Lecke, 2 polls; Cornaglare, one poll; Cornagleigh, 2 polls; Killchony, one poll; Dromratt, one poll; Colkagh, one poll; Clonvickmaragh, one poll; Cashellsilloge and Carraghloone, one poll; Arlogh, 2 polls; Crossereogh, one poll; Killagh dough, one poll; Carnelinch, 2 polls; Lurganile, one poll; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises

acres of this precinct were given to natives, and 1,000 acres for glebes and public uses, the vast remainder being appropriated by five servitors, who were then supposed to have only about 4,000 arable acres distributed amongst them!

(265). *Elliot*.—This undertaker appears to have obtained only a small share of the spoil, although he had a large share of the work required in hunting it out. In a "Brief abstract of all the extraordinary payments," in the year ending September, 1608, there is the following item:—"Baron Elliott, for his charges and pains sustained in finding sundry indictments against the fugitive earls, 20*l.*" In a list of "allowances made by way of concordatum," during the year ending April 14, 1609, there is the following entry:—"Sir John Ellyot, one of the barons of the court, by two concordatums, 76*l.*" On a list of "Judges and Law Officers, with their Fees," 1609, there appears the name of "John Elliott, one of the Barons, his fee, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; his robes, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" Sir John's lands lay on the south-western border of this precinct adjoining the county of Meath.

(266). *John Ridgeway*.—A brother of Sir Thomas, the treasurer. He was classed among those "servitors who were not in pay but were willing to undertake;" and, it

might have been added that such were not merely 'willing' but quite anxious to become undertakers. His name was returned on the "List of servitors thought meet to be undertakers," a result which, under the circumstances, he could have hardly a right to expect, and which, very probably, was owing to his brother's great influence at head-quarters.

(267). *William Taaffe*.—This undertaker had proved himself a very distinguished servitor, although of Irish birth. His family was very ancient, and of great repute in the counties of Louth and Sligo. Sir William Taaffe, styled of Harleston, Ballymote, and Smarmore, appears to have rendered signal services to the Crown during the war against Hugh O'Neill. This grant of 1,000 acres in Cavan was but a small part of the reward bestowed in return by the Crown. In 1592, Elizabeth granted him extensive Crown lands in Connaught without fine; and James I. granted him lands in the counties of Waterford, Cavan, Cork, Sligo, Louth, Dublin, Kerry, Longford, Meath, Westmeath, Mayo, Tipperary, and Queen's Co. In his will, which was made in 1630, he directs that he was to be buried at Ardee, where his ancestors lay, and that his son, Sir John Taaffe, should cause a monument, costing 50*l.*, to be erected at his grave. His son and heir was created Viscount Taaffe. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iv., pp. 290, 291.

are created the manor of *Mullagh*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster.

4. Grant to *Roger Garth*, gent. Pollowtracorrada, one poll; Polleighttracorrada, one poll; Aghikinerty, one poll; Killychine, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Nacarran, one poll; Nachollchill, one poll; Lisnabantrowy, one poll; Cornacarha, one poll; half the poll of Aghnedronge; Dollowe, one poll; Dromony and Agheyerger, one poll; in all, 500 acres. Rent, 4*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Garth*, with 150 in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 18 December, 8th [1610].

5. Grant to *Sir Edmund Fettiplace*, Knight. Polleneheny, Carrikevey, Corrovadegoone, Mullomore, Dromhill, Cornakilly, Garurosse, Corvine, Aghanoran, and Carmine, one poll each; Dirrilurgane, 2 polls; Killcholly, one poll; Killaggagh, 2 polls; Luggagoage, Lurganlostie, Killowran, Cornaaran, and Rasodan, one poll each; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 8*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Mullomore*, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 29 January, 8th [1609-10].

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *Walter, Thomas, and Patrick Bradie*, gents. Greaghcleagh, 2 polls; Aghne-cloghfin, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Carrigneveagh, one poll; Invegerogy and Carraghdowan, one poll; Togher, one poll; Drotramen, one poll; Carneregerrill, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Killenure, 2 polls; Dromhallagh, 2 polls; Lissonowsy, one poll; Killiderry, one poll; Togher, 2 polls; Gortnagullen, one poll; Agholappan, one poll; Kiltogher, one poll; Coroneagh, one poll; the moiety of Derry, one poll; containing in all, 1,500 acres. Rent, 11*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* In Loughtee barony,—Dromaly, 2 polls; Dromola, 2 polls; Dromovanagh and Mollorora, 2 polls; Pollmore, one poll; Nekeadowe, 2 polls; Latorstragh and Lateightragh, 2 polls; Killigarry, one poll; Corglasse, one poll; Killinever, one poll; in all, 800 acres. Rent, 7*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 25 November, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Cahire McShane O'Reily* of Cornegall, gent. Greaghduffe, Greaghneferne, Cargagh-Ishall, Finernane, Dehernan, and Cargaghdowlan, one poll each; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* English. 25 November, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Barnaby Reily* of Nacorrages, gent. Lysmine, Nacorrages, and Lattoune, one poll each; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*

4. Grant to *Shane McHugh O'Reily*, of Ballaghana, gent. Ballinecargie, Kellyfinlagh, and Correkeogan, one poll each; Gallownebraher and Killyvally, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll each; Lackan, 2 polls; Gallownegappul, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Dromallaght, Fetawan, and Agholaghan, one poll each; in all, 475 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

5. Grant to *Thomas McJames Bane*, of Kilmore, gent. Kilmore and Clonekelly, 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.* 28 February, 8th.

6. Grant to *Philip McBrien McHugh O'Reily*, gent. Syarne, the gallons of Grumrat and

Greaghclagh ; Crosbane, Lysnehederny, Anaghcharnet, and Drombawry, one poll each ; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

7. Grant to *Owen McShane O'Reily*, gent. Dromfannony, Lurginure, Cornepesty, and Cornekilly, one poll each ; Corcarnagh and Ramuan, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll each ; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

8. Grant to *Bryan O'Coggye O'Reily*. Gradum, 2 polls ; Sallachill, Portane, and Aghaghy, one poll each ; one of the 2 polls of Derrie ; Cornickgillechir, 2 polls ; in all, 400 acres. Rent, 4*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*

9. Grant to *Mulmorie McOwen O'Reily*. Currabredin and Crosrowle, one poll each ; Aghenegeny, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll ; half of Dromby and Aghogasshell, one poll each ; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

10. Grant to *Hugh Roe McShane O'Reily*. Corrigorman, 2 polls ; Fartidrine and Carlatirnie, one poll each ; in all, 200 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

11. Grant to *Philip and Shane O'Reily*, brothers. Pollorea, Dromeloman, Shraghenarnoge, and Dromcassidy, one poll each ; $\frac{1}{8}$ parts of the two polls of Tonilihan ; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

12. Grant to *Shane McPhilip O'Reily*, gent. Downe, one poll ; Naburney, 2 polls ; Kilmore, Dromaghegolan, Clontikarke, Shranickmoyertie, Killiduffe, Nacarcragh, Boylly, Clonsoccan, Pollemeledy, Corroneadan, Bracklone, Lisagapull, Dromadiraglasse, and Lisgirr, one poll each ; in all, 900 acres. Rent, 9*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*

13. Grant to *Shane bane O'Moeltully*, gent. Coolenacoala, one poll, containing 50 acres. Rent, 10*s.* 8*d.*

14. Grant to *Edward Nugent*, gent. Aghadrinagh, one poll ; Tullyyogonnell, one poll ; 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

15. Grant to *Owen McMulmorie O'Reily*, gent. Cornemucklogh, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll ; Cladagh, one poll ; Dirrileigh, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ polls ; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the poll of Kinagh ; Dowcaslan, one poll ; Quiachar, one poll ; Carneroan, one poll ; Laghtnadroanagh, 2 polls ; and Cullogh, $\frac{1}{4}$ poll ; in all, 500 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

16. Grant to *Hugh McGlasney*, gent. Autenagh, one poll ; and Drumhurke, one poll ; in all, 100 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

17. Grant to *Shane McPhilip O'Reily*. Callew, one half poll, 25 acres. Rent, 5*s.* 4*d.*

The above grantees to hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 8th and 9th [1610 and 1611].

The Precinct of Tullaghgarvy (268), county of Cavan.

(268). *Tullaghgarvy*.—See p. 204. This precinct is now represented by the barony of the same name, which lies in the north-east of Cavan, and is bounded on the north, by the counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan ; on the east, by the county of Monaghan and barony of Clonkee ; on the south and south-west, by the barony of Upper Loughtee ; and on the west, by the barony of Lower

Loughtee. In the baronial map of 1609, the compass points due south, and the boundaries appear to be directly opposite to those above mentioned. The whole precinct is represented on the map as comparatively destitute of woods, without bogs, and containing many lakes, especially throughout its eastern and western districts. The area is about 59,000 acres, exclusive of water ; and, with the

SERVITORS.

1. Grant to *Sir Thomas Ashe, Knt.*, and *John Ashe* (269), gent. Corglasse, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Lettermore, one poll; Urriagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Garvagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Lysulhie, one poll; Dromsheele, one poll; Pottelortan and Pottlenegile, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Kilkreeny, one poll; Doocharry, one poll; Tonaghbane, one poll; Cormoylishe, one poll; Carrickcalwie, one poll; Quillagh, one poll; Dromwory, one poll; Carnalikill, one poll; Coraghbagh, one poll; Dromloghan, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; and Dromherine, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll in Loughtee; in all, 750 acres. Rent, 6*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Dromsheele*, with 200 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and to provide 4 muskets and hand weapons to arm 9 men for the King's service. 9 January, 8th [1610-11].

2. Grant to *Archibald* and *Brent Moore* (270), gents. Tullabin, Dromnegran, Raludan, Claragh, Cabbragh, Errgall, Dromhurke, Aghetotan, Cohurke, Dromloage, Gortin, Dromsillagh, Corgreagh, Dromontroade, Ratorosan, Vanbegg, Aghneclogh, Corboggie, Cornebraher, Come-

exception of some small portions of church lands, the map shows the whole vast expanse as occupied by a few servitors and natives, who were supposed at the time to have only about 10,500 acres of arable land distributed amongst them all!

(269). *Ashe*.—These undertakers were brothers, but whether they knew anything of the Norman origin found for them by their posterity is questionable. They were the sons of Thomas Ashe, by his wife, a daughter of Nicholas Bailey, Esq., of St. John's Abbey, county of Meath. Thomas, the elder son, was knighted by Sir George Carew, at Dublin, in 1603, and he was still more substantially rewarded for his services during the war against O'Neill. (See Burke's *Landed Gentry*, p. 28). Among other pickings, Sir Thomas Ashe obtained the wardship of Sir William O'Carroll's heir, but he found that business troublesome, and disposed of it as soon, and on as good terms for himself, as possible. The following reference to this transaction by Chichester, in January, 1609-10, is instructive as to the means often employed through the medium of 'discoverers,' to ruin native landowners:—"Patrick Crosbye [a prowler] tells him [Chichester] that the Lord Treasurer [Salisbury] had some speech with him about Ely O'Carroll, alias O'Carroll's country, which he [Chichester] has since his time made shire ground, and laid to the King's county. It is a pretty piece of land, and Crosbye says he can bring it into the King's hands by overthrowing the patent thereof made to Sir William O'Carroll. The pretending heir is an infant, whose wardship was given to Sir Thomas Ashe, before his [Chichester's] time. There has ever been strife and contention between the house of Ormonde and the lords of that country [Ely O'Carroll], touching the bounds and meares, and much blood spilt on either side; and now he is told that Sir Thomas Ashe has sold over the ward [O'Carroll's son and heir] to the Viscount Butler, notwithstanding his advice to him not to deal therewith, and to Sir Thomas Ashe not to sell it to him; for he doubted the sequel, as he still does, but still he wishes

well to the Viscount, who is an honest gentleman. Would not have his power and liberty increased upon that side of the country bordering upon Tipperary; and therefore if Crosbye can bring the country to the Crown, he deserves a good recompense. For this service he [Crosbye] deserves one half of the country in fee-farm, at 50*l.* English."

(270). *Moore*.—These undertakers were brothers. The christian name of the former is written *Archie*, or *Archy*, in military reports and lists of the time, but *Archibald*, in every grant to him which we have met. It is curious that he is not designated in these reports and lists by any military title, although he was a captain. He was probably the elder brother, for he had become well known as a servitor, whilst the other, although a soldier, does not appear to have been included in any of the several classes into which Ulster servitors were divided. Lodge, on the other hand, whilst noticing *Brent Moore*, does not appear to have known of *Archie's* existence; but it is often very difficult, indeed all but impossible to record, in any genealogical account, the christian names of all the members of a family that may have been scattered for years. Their family, which was the same as that of the Moores of Drogheda, came from Bennenden, in the county of Kent. John, the representative of the family during the latter half of the sixteenth century, married Margaret, the daughter and heir of John Brent, by whom, according to Lodge, he had six sons. The second, Sir Edward Moore, of Mellifont, was ancestor of the Earls of Drogheda; the fourth, Sir Thomas of Croghan, was ancestor of the earls of Charleville; and the sixth, lieutenant-colonel *Brent Moore*, was an undertaker of land in the plantation of Longford. Archibald, although not named by Lodge, was one of this family, and resided in Cavan many years subsequently to the date of the grant above described. *Brent Moore* probably dwelt on his estate in Longford, as his name does not afterwards appear in any printed Ulster inquisition. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 84, 85.

garrowe, Anaglie, Dromcoose, Dromult, Tulliard, Dromornirten, Cornenarne, and Lably, one poll each. Rent, 12*l.* English. The premises are created the manor of *Tullabin*, with 450 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 8 December, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Captain Richard Tirrell, Esq.* The towns and lands of Coolenelitragh, Clananmordy, Moyeghmore, Racawill, Rahalton, Napart, Corrirodd, Cloyragh, Dromrashedy, Rahillesten, Tootereogh, Kilfane, Cloncanry, and Leggechally, one poll each; Dromlechar, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Derryhiblin, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Aghadrinagh, one pole; Corchar and Quay, one poll; Dromloppe and Shennow, one poll; Dromargoras and Carnemorin, one poll; Glastromen, one poll; Kilduffe, one poll; Ancallowe, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Drombradenegree, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Killagh, one poll; Corcashell, one poll; Anahowis, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Dromvaddie, Drombrahen, Kilbanerick, Dromakenan, Killenure, Drumcurr, and Killcrosse, one poll each; Dromharley, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Moye, Corade, Dromgill, Lemgeltan, Tounevickelduffe, Drombarkan, Lessehegressane, Lismanie, Dung, each one poll; and Latelloo, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; in all, 2,000 acres. Rent, 16*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage. 25 May, 10th [1612].

NATIVES.

1. Grant to *Mulmonie Oge O'Reylie (271), gent.* Coolecassoge, one poll; Ardmagh, one poll; half the poll of Anaghowis; Mullaghloghernagh, one poll; Drombracke, one poll; Reskenenawe, one poll; Trowhoe, one poll; Neddadayeagh, one poll, Aghohirnaningle, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Copponagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Tullyfuble, one poll; Correcrawgh, one poll; Garvaghy, one poll; Cooleracanandoes, one poll; Dresternan, one poll; Kilmacworan, one poll; Ballinecarrig, one poll; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the poll of Dromscrine; Cullentra, one poll; Lislea, one poll; Corneloob, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; Lisclowan, one poll; Tawnyconnally, one poll; Corcomead, one poll; Killnecrosse, one poll; Corugal, one poll; Goriskeagh, one poll; Kilnegarvad, one poll; $\frac{1}{4}$ of Dromgallan; Dromawna, one poll; Dromrany, one poll; Kilmoylen, one poll; Dongunim, one poll; Mullatagh, $\frac{1}{4}$ poll; Dromewry, Dongowran, Langhill, Dromsaltagh, Dromgony, Dromrott, Taltneagh, Moniley, Kileroney, Cordengan, Dromnicke, Dromockan, Corsmottoge, Tullyballyreogh, Lisnemollagh, and Dirrineskea, one poll each; Glinskier, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll; half the poll of Latteloo; Bennult, 2 polls; Killcally, one poll; Dromdrinagh, one poll; Corcreaghagh, one poll; Lisnegir, one poll; Tawneveagh, one poll; Knocketyne, one poll; Pottlereagh, $\frac{1}{4}$ poll; Lisderge, one poll; Aghaglassan, one poll; Grelly and Shrivickneboe, one poll each, the two last mentioned being in the barony of Loughtee; in all, 3,000 acres. Rent, 32*l.* English. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 14 March, 8th [1610].

2. Grant to *Mulmorie McPhilip O'Reilie, Esq.* The polls of Doonmurrie, Drombrolushe, Shraghoran, Lisbree, Clongollga, Ballyhollogh, Bonowe, Lisbodowe, Killagh otherwise Lisbofin in the ballibetagh of Ballinikillcheel; also the polls of Lislea, Dromon, Carnacarowe, Monily, Kilnaghan, Correlenan, Killurrell, Coragh, Dromrohull, and Tullibrick; 2 polls in the ballibetagh

(271). *O'Reylie*.—See pp. 60, 114.

of Magherymore ; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To commence from Easter, 1614. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 25 November, 8th [1610].

3. Grant to *Hugh O'Reylie, Esq.* The polls of Liscanan, Cornekillie, Corragh, Tonemaglenan, Rakenny, Dromco, Lappanmore, Lappanbegg, Condullar, Aghavey, Croscroghan, Ardtonagh, Cormeenbeg, Aghdromgawnagh, Tullymuchin, Knockcooderie, Dromowle, Cornecarrowe, Cornepisty, and Tullyballybane, containing 1,000 acres, more or less. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English, to commence from Easter, 1614. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster, 26 Nov., 8th [1610].

4. Grant to *Terence Braddy, gent.* The towns and lands of Catrashe, one poll ; Boghy, one poll ; Lisnegir, one poll ; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*

5. Grant to *Morish McCully, gent.* Dromhillagh, Dromcassan, Liscowan, Lislin, Cavanerinhy, and Dromlyon, one poll each ; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

6. Grant to *Thomas Braddy, gent.* Dromaveale, Maghery, and Kilcrawegh, each one poll ; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*

7. Grant to *Connor McShane Roe [O'Bradie], gent.* Camsnagh, Anaghkean, and Anaghard, each one poll ; in all, 150 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*

8. Grant to *Henry Belagh, gent.* Tolly-Inshin, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll ; Drombrade, one poll ; Barragh, one poll ; Cohagh, Magheheryneh, and Aghnekaltra, one poll ; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the poll of Moyo ; in all, 262 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*

All the above to hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, and subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 2 May and 4 June, 9th [1611].

From the foregoing list of grants to natives, we find that only a very few of such in each county were admitted to partake in the plantation scheme, and that whilst they had previously held the rank of gentlemen—so styled, indeed, in their miserable patents—they were obliged to accept the merest shreds of their own soil. Of those half dozen or so among the Ulster nobility, who got grants varying from 600 to 4,000 acres, some were only given a life interest therein, whilst in other cases the lands were appropriated under one plea or other by neighbouring servitors, either at, or even before, the decease of the Irish grantees. Thus, Art Mac Baron O'Neill, (who had several valiant sons, of whom Owen Roe, afterwards the famous Ulster general, was one), removed in extreme old age from his own Oneilan, and got his new estate of 2,000 acres only during the lives of himself and his wife, the lands thus passing in less than two years into the hands of Lord Audley. Two noble ladies in Donegal—one, the mother of the Earl of Tyrconnell, and the other, the widow of the chieftain who had owned the whole territory of Boyleagh—obtained only a life interest in certain estates, which were miserable alike in size and situation, Sir Ralph Bingley having got a reversionary grant of their lands. Henry, the eldest son of Shane O'Neill, and Tirlagh, the eldest son of Sir Arthur O'Neill, of Newtown and Strabane, were both removed from their own districts into the barony of Dungannon, evidently with the view that their lands, which were of considerable extent, might eventually fall into the possession of some one or more of the powerful servitors

then settling in that district. And such was indeed the result ; for the 2,000 acres granted to the one, and the 3,000 to the other, soon came into the hands of Sir Toby Caulfield, and were eventually incorporated by the act of settlement in the Charlemont estates. These are only a few cases among several of minor importance that might be mentioned.

But the fate of such native gentry as were serviceable in various ways to the Government, and afterwards rewarded by small shreds of barren soil far away from their native homes, was pitiable indeed. For them, and still less for the much greater number of equal rank who had been utterly cast out, the British settlers generally do not appear to have had any kind thoughts or sympathies. The policy of the latter in the winter of 1611, or, as soon as they had got their first crops saved, (and almost exclusively by native hands), was to discourage and drive away such Irish as had even supplied them with provisions during the twelve months preceding. The British settlers did not wish to dispense with Irish churls or labourers, but for that class who had been more respectable than themselves, they naturally cherished a vague terror, even whilst receiving civilities at their hands. But these civilities could be dispensed with after the November of 1611, and, therefore, the Irish who were doomed to transplant themselves, were no longer required. Their 'civilized' supplanters were bound to have in readiness for immediate use ample stores of arms and ammunition,—a fact of which the natives were made fully and frequently aware. The latter had no reason to complain, therefore, should anything unpleasant happen to them at times, if they persisted in loving their old homes "not wisely, but too well,"—a sentiment which was interpreted by the planters to mean only a sort of incipient treachery and conspiracy against themselves. Any natives found lingering or lurking around premises that had once been their own, could generally expect no more cordial welcomes than calivers pointed at them from the gates of new bawns or the windows of great stone houses in the course of erection. Not until that fatal winter, therefore, did the natives appear to realize the actual horrors of their condition—the full extent of their serfdom and desolation. We may imagine something of the agony and dismay of those who had occupied positions of comfort and respect throughout the several counties of Ulster, but who were doomed to become outcasts on their own soil, and to feel that their families were now likely to be lost. And such was, indeed, generally the lamentable fact. Their daughters, thus rudely pushed from their places in life, were constrained to intermarry beneath their rank ; and such of their sons as submitted peacefully to their destiny were soon constrained to dwell among the humblest of those who had been their fathers' tenants and servants. It frequently occurred that many of the gentry class, who had been children in 1610, were known in 1670 as old men, wearing freize coats, and farming the scraps that had been granted to their fathers in the year first mentioned. Even the representatives of ancient and noble families in Ulster were found, in very many cases, to depend for their support on the kindness of humble friends, who knew and remembered from what they had fallen. See Moran's *Life of Archbishop Plunket*, pp. 82, 108, 110.

But there were also fiery spirits among the youthful gentry and nobility of Ulster,—young men who could not brook the new order of things, and who, after coshering for a time among their fathers' former tenants, betook themselves to the great green woods, adopting that craft or occupation which has been made comparatively respectable, under such circumstances, by

men like Robin Hood, Redmond O'Hanlon, Shane Crossach O'Cahan, and several others that might be named. These gentry affected or afflicted the British settlements in the county of Armagh more than in any other district of Ulster—a fact which was accounted for in part by the prevalence of dense woods therein, and in part by the greater numbers of the upper classes that had been there dispossessed. The sons of these numerous families appear to have been admirers of Oghie Oge O'Hanlon, who, before his departure for Sweden, had organised a daring company, whose only object was the levying of black mail from the British settlers. In the winter of 1611, this company became a formidable band, whose movements, strangely enough, appear to have been winked at by the servitors in that county, from some feeling of jealousy, it was supposed, towards their fellow-colonists, the British undertakers. At least, so thought the latter, who, instead of appealing in this instance to Chichester, carried their complaints directly to the King. The deputy believed that they were too easily frightened by the woodkerne, that in fact they had not courage equal to the occasion, or to the position they had assumed as colonists. But, although Chichester affected to rise above the fear of mere woodkerne, he seems to have literally trembled when he got time to think over the probable feelings and sentiments of the native people of Ulster. This state of affairs will be best explained by the King's letter in reply to the complaints from Armagh, which, with its marginal remarks and explanations, was found among the collection of Irish State Papers recovered, some time since, from Philadelphia, in the United States.

We close this chapter, therefore, by submitting the document to our readers *in extenso*, with the deputy's 'apostils' or marginal observations, which are all in his own handwriting:—

"Having heard by complaint of Sir James Douglas, and the rest of the British undertakers in the county of Armagh, how much they are discouraged in their plantations by the robberies that
[1].

The reason why more stealths have been committed upon the undertakers in that county than the rest, is that the woody countries of Clanacan, Brasilough, Killultagh, Killwarnan, the Brentie, the lower part of Orier, and Onealan, which have ever bred kernes (272), do border upon them

are daily committed upon them by the natives of the country; the King, for the future safety of the undertakers, and to secure them against the practices of such lewd persons as endeavour to dishearten them from proceeding any further in their plantation, directs him to lay his [the King's] express command upon all servitors

(272). *Bred kernes*.—Chichester's own policy in Ulster, and particularly after the revolt of O'Dogherty, really bred more kernes than all the woods he thus enumerates in his first note. When 'bred,' however, so plentifully at that crisis, and during many a dreary age of English oppression before it, the kerne found splendid haunts prepared for them in the old woods of Antrim, Armagh, and Tyrone, above named. Sir Henry Baginel wrote a *Description of Ulster*, about the year 1586, and these woods did not fail to attract the worthy knight's attention. *Clanacan* he describes as "a verie stronge countrey, almost all wood and deepe bogge. In this countrey are no horsemen, but about some 100 kerne, who lyve for the most parte upon stealthes and roberies." *Clanbrasell* [which Chichester calls Brasilough] is a

very woodie and boggie countrey, uppon the greate Loghe's syde called Eaghe [Neagh]; it hath in it no horsemen, but is able to make 80 kerne" [foot soldiers]. "*Kilulto* [Killultagh, *Coill Ultagh*, 'wood of Ulster'] is a verie fast countrey, full of wood and bogge; it bordereth uppon Loghe Eaghe and Clanbrasell. . . . He [Cormack McNeill,—Cormack, son of Neal O'Neill] is able to make 20 horsemen and 100 kerne. This countrey (afore the Barons' wars in England) was possessed and inhabited by Englishe men, and there dothe yet remayne an old defaced castle which still [in 1586] berethe the name of one Sir Miles Tracie." "*Kilwarlyn* [incorrectly named Kilwaman by Chichester] boundinge uppon Kileltagh, is a verie fast woodlande." The 'Brentic,' 'Brentur,' now Brantry, is a district in the southern part of

[the undertakers]; besides which Oghie O'Hanlon's rebellion left there many a mischievous knave unpardoned, whom I have now (at the instance of the undertakers) taken in and given them his Majesty's pardon, and I pray God it may make them honest.

[2].

I have given express command herein generally, and if I can learn out any particular person, who hath so forgotten himself, and abused the service, I will follow his Majesty's directions precisely.

[3].

I think Sir James Douglas can acquaint him what they are; for here they that should inform him will not tell him.

[4].

The British undertakers do still retain the natives, all directions and proclamations notwithstanding, of which I have by former letters acquainted the Lords, and expect further directions and new warrant to remove them, if that be the King's pleasure.

[5].

There never was any such man pardoned, but some (as I have been told), have broken prison before they were brought to their arraignment, and therefore to prevent the like I have required to have them hanged by martial law, and have given a commission for that purpose.

Tyrone, and comprised in the parish of Aghaloo. It was once densely covered with wood. "Ohanlon's [Orier] is for the most parte without wood," says Bagenall; but Chichester correctly states that "the lower part of Orier" was wooded, which it certainly was, in his time. "Oneylan," says Bagenall, is likewise a woode lande betwene Ard-mache and Clancann." Thus, the statement about woods, in Chichester's note, is amply borne out by Sir Henry Bagenall's *Description*, and might be further confirmed by other early authorities. See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii. pp. 149-152. Brantry, in Tyrone, we may safely infer was a favourite haunt of the unhappy outcasts known as woodkerne. About five miles southwest of Dungannon, and three miles east of Carrateel, in the bosom of an almost perfect amphitheatre, surrounded

there, to aid the undertakers to the uttermost of their power, in defence of their lands and goods.

And because it has been rumoured that some of the servitors there are willing enough to see the undertakers thus discouraged, that they may relinquish their plantation imperfect and quit the country, if he [Chichester] should find any of them to offend in this manner, he is to discharge them of all their commands and entertainment, and hold them incapable of any future preferment. And because the servitors have the special privilege that they may have the natives to inhabit their lands, they ought the more carefully to keep them from being offensive to the undertakers by thefts and robberies. And therefore thinks it fit, if any of them [the woodkerne] shall be apprehended and convicted of such capital offence, that justice be severely executed upon them by his [Chichester's] command, without any pardon.

by vast hills to the east, south, and west, and within the last 80 years, having a dense wood cresting the north, lies the 'Friary Lough,' shaped like a rose leaf. To the west stretch the hills of Carrowcashel; to the east is a high hill called Stoney-Batter, running precipitately to the lough, covered with boulders of freestone and immense tracts of furze; while southward is Gort-Hill, terraced to the top, and crowned with an earthen fort. This is the highest hill in the district, and on a clear day a circuit of forty miles, including Lough Neagh, the mountains of Donegal and Derry, with large sweeps of the counties of Down, Armagh, and Fermanagh, can be traversed by the naked eye. See a *Note* by J. W. Hanna, Esq., on the fly-leaf of a Translation of O'Mellan's *Journal of the Wars of 1641*.

[6].

The benefit of tracks is afforded to all, which gives more than the true value ; but the British undertakers are careless in keeping of their goods, and being lost, do seldom or never follow the track, but seek restitution out of the whole county, or sundry baronies, according to their own valuation ; and it has been proved unto me that one of them lost a horse or gelding, on which he demanded 15*l.*, but offered to sell him for 5*l.* before he was stolen ; and, if restitution be made after that manner, they would not care to be robbed every day.

[7].

The Lord Chancellor has order to put some of

(273). *Last winter*.—From this passage in the King's letter, and the admissions of the deputy in his accompanying remarks, it is evident there had been serious raids from the woods during the winter of 1610. Of this fact we have a curious confirmation in a pamphlet printed in that year, and known as Blennerhasset's *Direction for the Plantation in Ulster*. In reference to the doings of woodkerne, and other interesting denizens of the woods, the writer gives the following illustration :—"Sir Toby Caulfield's people [in county Armagh] are driven every night to lay up all his cattle, as it were inward, and do he and his what they can, the wolfe and the woodkerne, within caliver shot of his fort [Charlemount], have oftentimes a share." In Adair's *True Narrative*, there is also the following general but interesting reference to the same matter :—"The wolf and woodkern were greatest enemies to the first planters, but the long rested land did yield to the labourers such plentiful increase, that many followed these first essayers." (See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 80; Killen's edition of Adair's *Narrative*, p. 9). The plentiful crops reaped during the first years of the settlement, together with the facilities enjoyed by the Scotch in coming across the Channel to visit their friends, and make their marketings, "took quite away," says the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, "the evil report of wolves and woodkerns which enviers of planters' industry had raised and brought upon our plantations." (See 2nd edition, p. 60). But the stealths complained of in the King's letter were not confined to woodkern only, for 'the benefit of tracks,' as Chichester expresses it, could only be enjoyed by the settlers when the thieves happened to dwell in neighbouring houses, and not in the woods. The nature of this old but rather uncertain mode of seeking remedies against robbers is explained in Payne's *Briefe Description of Ireland, made in 1589*, as follows :—"And if any of the said kine be stolne, the owners doe track which way they

And further, as it has always been difficult in that country to find out the offenders in theft, through secret conveyances and combinations to conceal them, he [the King] thinks it fit, according to an order which has been long in use and practice there, that if, after stealth from any of the undertakers, the goods may be found, or by tracks may be proved to have come into the hands of any of the natives, or of the servitors, that then either the stolen goods, or the true value of them, should be restored to the undertaker, and that restitution according to this order be made to the petitioners for stealths committed upon them last winter (273).

And as he [the King] presumes that the

were driven from their ground . . . for the law is there, if you tracke any stolne goodes into any man's land, he must tracke them from him, or answer them within forty days, see where the tracke ceaseth the goodes must be answered." (See A. Smith's edition, p. 8). The settlers could not, and in several instances would not, see the 'benefit of tracks,' for they were able, in another fashion mentioned by Chichester, to secure a more certain, and at the same time, a much more liberal remedy. The memorial to the King, on the occasion above mentioned, had been forwarded by Henry Acheson, one of the most extensive and energetic undertakers in Armagh (see p. 284), and by him the King's letter, in reply, was received, and forwarded to Chichester. The following account of a tragedy enacted by woodkerne about this time, in the county of Down, is preserved by the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* :—"This John [Montgomery, cousin-german of the first Viscount Ards], had the Towneland of Gransheogh, in Donaghadee parish, given him in fee-farm, at a small chief rent, by the said Viscount, when he was Sir Hugh Montgomery. The said John was murdered in his house there ; which was broken into and rifled in the night, by the Irish woodkernes (we now call such Robbers, if on foot, Torys, if on horseback, Rapparees), his son, Hugh, left as dead, of his many wounds by their skeins ; but he crawled out when the Irish were gone with their plunder, and was by the neighbourhood found in a bush ; for they had taken the alarm from some one servant that had escaped, while the father and the son, in their shirts, were fighting with swords against the Irish and their half pikes. They murdered the said John's wife also, and the rest of the servants." (See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 357). This Hugh Montgomery, who so narrowly escaped with his life, is represented at the present day by Hugh Montgomery, Esq., of Greyabbey, county Down.

them into the commission.

[8].

There was 140*l.* applotted upon the county of Armagh towards restitution of goods stolen, which the British undertakers refused, albeit the innocent as well as the offender was charged therewith, whereupon the officers forbore to levy it, as well by order from me as the judges of assize, upon the previous complaint of the country, praying to be eased of such unlawful taxations, and to hang the offenders (274).

[9].

It shall be proclaimed together with the remove of the natives, if I may receive order therein.

they may be encouraged to proceed with cheerfulness in this great and expensive work of their plantation; the King being well assured of his [Chichester's] faithfulness in his service, since first he entrusted him with the sword of that kingdom.

[10].

I humbly thank his Majesty for his good opinion of me, and I will carefully put in execution what I am directed and shall otherwise think fitting.

(274). *Hang the offenders.*—This bloody code was carried out 'with a vengeance' to reassure and encourage the startled settlers. Cattle-lifting was, indeed, the principal, almost the only offence then to be dealt with in Ulster. The following, among other records, remain from the Spring Assizes, held at Armagh, on the 8th of March, 1613-14:—"Brian O'Mullen and William Drumallen stole a cow worth 4*l.*, the property of Richard Hanley. Guilty. To be executed.—Hugh O'Creggan, of Creena, yeoman, on the 9th of February, 1612-13, at Drumullen, stole a grey mare, worth 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, the property of Richard Hanley, yeoman. Guilty. To be executed.—Laghlin McDonnell O'Hanlon, of Carrickelaghan, yeo-

undertakers will be very active in the inquiry and prosecution of thieves and robbers, he holds it fit that such of them as are sufficient to the execution of the place should be put into the commission of the peace.

He [Chichester] is also to authorise the justices of assize to examine any order made by virtue of any commission in prejudice of any of the undertakers. And, for as much as the King is informed that many of the tenants of the undertakers, by reason of the great spoils which have been done upon them, are ready to forsake the country, he authorises him [Chichester] to publish a proclamation, both declaring his royal care to have the estates of the undertakers preserved in peace, and the strict command laid upon the servitors in their behalf, with such further assurance as he [Chichester] shall think fit, whereby

And therefore lets him know that he has not given him those directions, as if he conceived that he had slackened the reins of his government there, but only to strengthen his [Chichester's] authority, and to quicken the endeavours of some subordinate ministers, who, perchance, neglect the duties of their places. Westminster, 11 March, 1611"-12.

man, on the 10th December, 1614, stole three cows, value 20*s.* each. Guilty. To be executed.—Art McGillechree and Gillese McKerney, of Mollenbracke, yeomen, on the 3rd January, 1613-14, stole a black 'gelldinge' worth 4*l.*, belonging to Patrick Granton, of Dromfergus. Guilty. To be executed." (See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii., pp. 27, 28). These culprits were hanged immediately after sentence had been pronounced upon them, the custom then being to put halters round their necks in the dock, and lead them along the principal streets or thoroughfares of the town to the place of execution.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE LONDONERS' PLANTATION.



UCH, then, was the plantation in the five escheated counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan. We now take up that part of our story which tells of the Londoners' settlement in four remaining baronies, one of which, Loughinsholin, had previously belonged to Tyrone (see p. 29), whilst the other three constituted the old county of Coleraine, or the ancient and celebrated Irish territory of Oireacht-Ui-Cathain. These several fragments, with a small portion of the county of Donegal, including the island on which the city of Derry stands, and a small portion of the county of Antrim adjoining Coleraine, were united to form the present county of *Londonderry*, and handed over to twelve London companies for plantation.

I.

The principal districts above-named have more or less attracted the notice of Chichester. In his 'Notes of remembrances,' referring to the county of Coleraine, he expresses himself as follows:—"This county is of small circuit, containing only three baronies [then known as the baronies of Coleraine, Lymavadie, and Annagh], two of which are not so large as the barony of Dungannon. It has been for a long time attempted for parcel of Tyrone. The chief Septs that inhabit it are the O'Cahanes (see p. 19), the O'Mullanes (1), Magilliganes (2), and McCloskies (3).

(1). *O'Mullanes*.—This sept, from an early time, was influential in O'Cahan's country, but had fallen into comparative decay at the commencement of the seventeenth century. A few of the less respectable members had taken the side of the Government in the war against Hugh O'Neill, but only one is specially mentioned as having been worthy of reward as a servitor. This was Captain Dennis O'Mullan, who retained the command of one of the forts in Ulster at the head of thirty men, until the time of his death in 1608. Chichester's account of his journey to the north, in 1605, contains the following reference to this native officer:—"Upon the recommendation of Sir Henry Docwra of the good services of Dennis O'Mullan, in spying and guiding upon sundry services in the time of the late rebellion, they [the deputy and commissioners] have persuaded the Earl of Tirone and O'Cahane to pass unto him in freehold forever, one town of land [or townland] in the place where he was born, without payment of any other rent, duties, or customs, but 12*d.* per annum to the chief lord." This O'Mullan, whose land was considered (among his kinsmen) only as the reward of treachery and baseness, could hardly have hoped long to enjoy his good fortune, or even his life, on the outbreak of O'Dogherty's revolt. He, and one of his brothers, were among the first victims, being slain by a party of Shane Carragh O'Cahan's men, with whom was a brother of the O'Mullans. The two murdered brothers were Dennis and Shane, and Donagh, or Donnell, the third brother, was one of the several rebel leaders afterwards pardoned and sent to Sweden. A friar of this family or sept reconciled the quarrel between O'Neill and O'Cahan, at Dungannon. A Hugh Duff O'Mullan was one of the witnesses against Sir Donnell O'Cahan; and

in 1615 several persons of this name gave evidence about the intended revolt in Ulster of that year.

(2). *Magilliganes*.—The Magilliganes were then the scattered families of a once numerous and influential tribe, whom McFibbis notices in his enumeration of the descendants of Oilíoll, son of Eoghan Breadach, as the *Uí-Giollain*, or *Giollagain*. "The parish of Tamlaghtard was called Ard McGillygan in the sixteenth century, from the family who were the hereditary tenants of the twelve quarters of church land which were in it. In later times the *Ard* has been dropped, so that this parish appearing on the Ordnance Map as Magilligan will prove a lasting memorial of the family." (See *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 39). None of the family appear to have distinguished themselves on either side during the struggles between the English and the natives of Ulster in the sixteenth century. Possessing the church lands in the parish, the leaders of the sept were probably 'scholars,' or persons devoted to the study and administration of the Brehon laws. The parish bearing their tribe-name of *Magilligan* extends from the summit of Benyevenagh and the mouth of the river Roe northward to the east side of the entrance of Lough Foyle, and thence four miles in a south-eastward direction along the Atlantic. The Magilligans were hardly known at the commencement of the seventeenth century, from the cause, no doubt, already mentioned. Only one Donough Magilligan is named in the State Papers relating to that period, as having been a deputy from Sir Niall Garve O'Donnell to Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, during the revolt of the latter.

(3). *McCloskies*.—"A branch of O'Kanes took the name of MacBloscaidh (now McClosky) from Bloscaidh O'Kane, who lived in the 12th century." (*Irish Topo-*

The Earl of Tyrone made challenge unto this country, as passed unto him by letters patent, and required Sir Donnell O'Cahane, the now chief of that name, to give him 200*l.* a year, in consideration of his challenge, but being unable to make him payment of so much, in respect of the waste and riotous expenses otherwise, he yielded one of the baronies [Maghery, see p. 251] up to the earl in lieu of the 200*l.* which the earl possessed at the time of his flight; and albeit it is thought that neither Tyrone nor O'Cahane had any good and lawful estate in that country, (the right being in the King by the statute 11 Elizabeth), yet it is his duty to declare that the whole country (the castle of Annogh, with a good quantity of lands thereunto annexed, and the Bishop's and Church's rights excepted), was promised to the said Sir Donnell O'Cahane upon his submission in the year 1601, by the Lord Mountjoy, then lord deputy; and in confirmation hereof a *custodiam* was passed to him under the great seal (see p. 61). He is now [1608] prisoner in the castle of Dublin. They [Ley and Davys] are to acquaint their lordships [the council in London], with his crimes and the accusations made against him; and in his cause, as in Sir Neale O'Donnell's, to receive directions. In this county they [the Government] neither hold ward, nor keep men upon the King's charges. If Sir Donnell O'Cahane be found unworthy of the King's favour by reason of his treasonable practices and misdemeanours, then is that country in the King's hands to dispose as shall seem best unto his Majesty. The principal places to be cared for [held and garrisoned] within this county are the castles of Annogh (4), Lemavadie (5), Colerayne, and Downgevyne (6), albeit most of them are ruinous and out of repair. If Sir Donnell O'Cahane be enlarged, or if, upon his trial, he escape the danger of the law, two parts of that country will not content him, nor he [Chichester] thinks, the whole; but whatsoever becomes of him, good consideration must be had of his brother, Manus O'Cahane, Manus ut Quayvally (7) O'Cahan, and some few others, whom he has found honest in those troubles, and before. They

graphichal Poems, Introduction, p. 12). The Four Masters; at the year 1196, mention Donough, son of Blosghadh O'Kane; and the latter is believed to be the founder of the numerous clan or tribe of the McCloskeys. One side of the Benade Glen, south-east of the Roe, is still almost exclusively inhabited by this race. See *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Reeves, pp. 48, 49.

(4). *Annogh*.—"About two miles to the north-east of Derry, on the left side of the Coleraine road, are two small lakes, close by each other, called Enagh Loughs, between which, in the townland Templetown, is a cemetery containing the interesting remains of an ecclesiastical building, which, in former times, was a chapel of Clandermod in the corps of the deanery. Here the O'Cahans had their chief residence, and from them the whole tract, from the Foyle to the Bann, got the name 'Patria de O'Kane.' The castle of Eanach, which Mr. O'Donovan states 'was situated on an island in Lough Enagh East,' was demolished, according to the Four Masters, in the year 1555, by Calvagh O'Donnell, but afterwards 'it must have been re-edified, as it is shown on several maps of Ulster, made in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.' In Speed's map of Ulster it is called *Anoghe*, and placed at the west edge of the lake. Mercator and Bleau call it

Anagh." *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 28.

(5). *Lemavadie*.—This castle stood on the Roe, at a short distance from the present town so called. "*Leim-an-mhadaidh* is mentioned by the Four Masters, at 1542, as one of O'Cahan's castles. The name signifies 'the Dog's Leap.'" (See *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 129). This position must also have been one of early importance, as it gave name to the old barony of *Lymavadie*, now Keenaght. It was the last residence occupied by the O'Cahan chiefs.

(6). *Downgevyne*.—Dr. Reeves states that "Dungivin and Glengivin may be latinised 'Munitio pellium' and 'vallis pellium,' and it is a curious coincidence to find them both, a thousand years after they received these names, accidentally granted to the *Skinners' Company*." See *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 41.

(7). *Quayvally*.—The O'Cahan here so ridiculously misnamed by Chichester has, also, in another State Paper, been made to represent no fewer than three individuals! His real name was Manus McCoe Ballagh (not ut Quayvally) McRichard, or Manus, son of Cumhaighe or Coey Ballagh, son of Richard or Rory O'Cahan.

[Ley and Davys] must remember to declare the fishings of the river of Loughfoyle, the Ban (see p. 100), and other places which are in this county, and what claims are made to them, and therein [to request the council in London to] declare their pleasures."

Such is Chichester's account of Sir Donnell's 'country,' written when that chief was awaiting his trial; and although the writer affected not to know what would be the result of O'Cahan's imprisonment in Dublin castle, on one point he seems to have made up his mind, to wit, that the captive should be no more permitted to trouble the 'civilizers' in Ulster. Davys and Ley did not then go to London to explain how efficiently Sir Donnell had assisted them, first, to subjugate the North, and afterwards to banish O'Neill; nor to plead that, because of his usefulness and fidelity to the English, he might be generously dealt with, even although his allegiance had been made somewhat shaky by harsh treatment afterwards. They did not go to demand, in fact, as they ought to have done, that O'Cahan might be secured in peaceable possession of at least a portion of his estates. On the contrary, with Chichester's 'notes' in their hands, and his inspiration to prompt all their arrangements with the council in London, they went prepared to explain how that by an Act passed in the eleventh year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they could seize every foot of O'Cahan's country, that the best interests of the plantation required them to do so, and that should it really not be found possible to have him hanged in Ireland, he must be transferred to England, and there, by some means, prevented from ever setting foot in Ulster again.

As already stated, Derry, an important position, was taken from its former connection with Tírconnell or Donegal, and included in the county of *Londonderry* for the special interest and gratification of the Londoners. Chichester's 'notes of remembrances' referring to this place in 1608, are as follow:—"The Derry has not a foot of land laid to it; all on Tyrconnell's side [what belonged to it on the Donegal side] was passed to private men, or is the Bishop's, together with the very site of the city (8); and by reason of the contention arising thereon, the inhabitants have

(8). *Site of the city*.—On the 25th of May, 1603, were demised to Sir Henry Docwra, governor of Lough Foyle, "one newe house in the fort of the Derrie, builded by him, wherein he nowe dwelleth, with the late dissolved chappell of Nounes [nuns], and the Stone Tower by the boggy-syde, situate in the island of the Derrie, in county Dounagall, with the whole island of the Derrie, and all other buildings, gardens, &c., in said island—to hold for 21 yeares." (Erek's *Repertory*, p. 48). "Derry is placed on the western or Donegal side of the Foyle, about five miles above the junction of that river with Lough Foyle, and fourteen below Lifford. The situation is equally remarkable for its distinguished local advantages and picturesque features, being a hill nearly insulated by a broad and navigable river, and commanding on every side views of a country rich in natural and cultivated beauty. This hill, which, in troubled times, was selected as the natural *acropolis* of the North, comprised till lately within its limits the whole of the city and suburbs. The hill or 'Island of Derry,' as it is still usually called, which is of an oval form, ascends to an elevation of 119 feet,

and contains 199a. 3r. 30p." (See *Memoir of Templemore Parish*, p. 17). The grant to Sir Henry Docwra of a charter for this place, in 1604, recites that "the town or borough of the Derrie beinge, by its naturall seate and scituation, verie commodious, and fitt to be a towne of warre and merchandize, a charter was graunted on the 11th daie of July, to Sir Henry Docwra, and to the inhabitants of the towne of Derrie, and of the circuit of lande and water lying within three myles, from the olde church walles in said towne, in a right line everie waie round aboute." This distinction as well as advantage was conferred on the old knight above named, because of his having, as it is stated, "by his valour, industrie, and charge, repossessed, repaired, and repeopled the towne of Derrie, which was utterlie ruined by the late rebellion in those partes, and having by his indevors, laide a good foundation for plantinge a colony of civill and obedient people in that place. His majestie, for establishing the same in perpetuities, erected a new corporacion there; and also as a memoriall and recompense of the service and charge [expenses] of the said Sir Henry, who had bene the

had little comfort to continue and abide there, and their departure from thence, as he conceives, was not the least cause of the loss of that town [during O'Dogherty's revolt]. They have, however, new-made the rampiers and parapets of the two forts, and are in hand with a strong and substantial castle for keeping the King's arms and munition, which is done, and to be done, with a small charge to his Majesty, the burthen thereof being laid upon the county of Enishowen, and borne out of such preys and booties as were gotten from the rebels [after O'Dogherty's revolt]; but the rampiers and parapets being of earth and sod (which is not good in those parts), it will soon moulder and decay as it did in former times. Could wish, therefore, that the King would be pleased to bestow a wall of stone, at least about the two forts; and albeit the charge will be somewhat great, yet greater benefit will redowne [redound] to the Crown in the settlement and reformation of that country; indeed the continual patching thereof will, in a few years, consume more money than the present work will require. Considering the help of labourers and charge which Enishowen and the counties adjoining should give to it, and the ditching of the town, until the whole work were finished, he is moved to propound for this charge, seeing that the city was lately planted there with so great expense and consumption of men and money, and that it is fit to be continued and countenanced for his Majesty's service. In his letters of the 2nd of June urged the lords [the council in London] that part of the lands of Enishowen might be disposed to that town, as appears by a branch of that letter, which he delivers herewith (9). Upon sight of the plate [platt or map], and further consideration of the matter, thinks fit that the land which Sir George Pawlett purchased from Sir Henry Docwra, may be gotten by purchase, or exchange of other land, and laid to the town for the use of that corporation, since it lies adjoining to it, and is more commodious than the lands of O'Doghertie, none of these being within two miles of the city (10); but this he must leave to the consideration of the lords, as it will appear to be a

principall cause of said foundation, appointed him provost for life, as also clarke of the market and escheator, the King's admiral within said boundes, and maior of the staple; and empowered him, duringe life, to nominate the sheriffes, aldermen, burgesses, and freemen." See *Erek's Repertory*, pp. 114, 115.

(9). *Herewith*.—The letter to which Chichester refers was written by him on the 2nd of April, not on the 2nd of June; and the "branch of that letter" then quoted or enclosed for the edification of the council in London was as follows:—"Among the rest, he will be able to report concerning the present state of the Derry, a place for the prosperity whereof he has always been as careful as possible. The city of Derry, as they know, had its beginning and growth by the great garrison which was planted there in the time of the rebellion [in the year 1600], and the victuallers, provant masters, and other adventurers who visited the same for that cause. But, since the garrison was dissolved before the place had taken sufficient root for long continuance, it is no marvel if it fall to decay, and is abandoned by the inhabitants.

There was not an equal distribution of the lands made to the soldiers and common people, nor yet any commons, pastures, or fields reserved for them; but all belongs to a few private persons, who either assumed the same by colour of right, or have since purchased great

scopes to themselves without regard of the public good of the place. . . . The very site of the place is the Bishop's, as he alleges; but Sir George Pawlett possesses it, and all the other lands next adjoining on the Tyrconnell side belong either to him [the bishop], or to Sir George Pawlett, who purchased the same from Sir Henry Docwrae. Moreover, the office of Provost there is made perpetual during the life of Sir Henry Docwrae (see note 8), neither the honour thereof, nor the benefit, if any, being communicable among the inhabitants. By reason of all which, and of the dissensions between Sir George Pawlett and the Bishop, captains, and principal inhabitants, the poor infant city daily consumes and wears away, and will be soon resolved into her first principals again, if she be not forthwith strengthened and restored with some comforts from the King, or if the Government thereof do not by fortune take a better settlement than he can hope for."

(10). *Two miles of the city*.—This, it must be remembered, was written after the defeat and death of O'Dogherty, and whilst Chichester had just been urging his own claims to get possession of Inishowen. He did not now, therefore, recommend that any part of O'Dogherty's lands should be annexed to Derry, but only such as lay between that place and the boundary line of the O'Dogherty estates which reached within two miles of Derry.

charge to the King ; yet he is of opinion that the widow and heir of Sir George Pawlett, in lieu of this, takes lands in Enishowen, or a reasonable sum of money ; and unless some such care be taken for that town, he sees not how it can continue, or bring comfort to the inhabitants. But howsoever this be dealt in, they [the Irish Government] must not omit to assume to the King's use the site of the town, together with the island or parcel of land in which it stands, which is but three score acres, and fit only for a common and walks for the inhabitants. This was in question between the Bishop and Sir George Pawlett, and it is like it will be continued by the successors of the one and the heirs of the other until it be determined by law, or other powerful and overruling course. His meaning is, to leave to the Bishop and the heirs of Pawlett sufficient room to build a house, and for gardens, orchards, curlladge [curtilage], and other appurtenances, to each of their houses, if they will build any within the circuit."

II.

Soon after the arrival of Ley and Davys in London (see p. 68), the plan was first mooted for the colonisation of Sir Donnell O'Cahan's lands, but it would be difficult now to discover exactly in what quarter it originated. One theory is, that Elizabeth, having been liberally assisted by the purses of London citizens in her struggles against the O'Neills, had made promises at some time or other, to repay or reward those patriotic men, from the expected forfeitures in Ulster. It is further alleged, that although the Queen died before she could meet her engagements in this respect, her successor received an application for payment from the citizens aforesaid in a very gracious spirit. Another theory is, that the King, being deeply impressed with a belief in the great power and resources of the London corporation, could find no rest until he had enlisted its assistance in the settlement of Ulster. It is certain, however, that in the negotiations between the King and his council on the one side, and the corporation of London on the other, both parties professed to be actuated by the most pious and patriotic principles. When the successors of these negotiators on both sides quarrelled with such vehemence early in the next reign, their recriminations were chiefly instructive as illustrating the motives by which the whole arrangement had been originally conducted. The courtly party roundly charged the corporation with having dishonestly and furtively introduced conditions into the charter of 1613 which the King had never intended should be there, and by which, among other results, it came to pass, that the corporation, instead of obtaining a Crown grant of 27,000 acres of arable land, as had been agreed, obtained not only this quantity, but 70,000 acres "more than was intended to be granted unto them, whereby his Majesty hath been greatly damnified in loss of the rents of above three score and ten thousand acres of land ever since the said first undertaking of the said plantation." The corporation, on the other hand, alleged that they had been all but seduced into the transaction by the King and his council. "About July," they say, "in the 7th year of James [1609], came a proposition by the lords of his late Majesty's Privy Council to the city of London, to undertake the plantation of divers lands of great extent in the province of Ulster, in the remotest parts of the north of Ireland, at that time deserted by other planters, which the city at first refused to undertake, but upon pressing importunity of the said lords that some selected persons from the city might be sent to view the country, and that the

said plantation might be undertaken, and upon the signification of his said late Majesty's earnest desire to further the said work, and upon tender of large privileges and immunities to invite them thereunto, certain persons of that city were employed to view the premises." See *The Skinners' Company versus the Irish Society*, pp. 88, 100.

The foregoing extract puts on record a curious and significant fact, to wit, that O'Cahan's country was offered to the city of London because of its being 'deserted,' or rather shunned, 'by other planters.' The question is here at once suggested—Why was the county of Coleraine thus avoided by English and Scottish undertakers? Not certainly because it was more barren, or barbarous, than other districts. On the contrary, it was admittedly amongst the most fertile and attractive in Ulster. This refusal, therefore, to be concerned with O'Cahan's country, on the part of sharp-witted undertakers, both English and Scotch, must have arisen from a fear that Sir Donnell might return to claim his own; and that even should he not, his clansmen, confessedly the most warlike in Ulster, could hardly be expected to become pleasant, or even practicable neighbours. This state of affairs had evidently led the King and his council to the conclusion that, since undertakers singly, or even in consorts, could not be induced to sit down anywhere between the Foyle and the Bann, the land must be occupied by a powerful party, such as the London corporation could easily throw across the channel. The citizens were much flattered by this favourable opinion of their greatness, as entertained, and even loudly expressed in high quarters, the first public move in the business being made by the King himself, who directed a printed copy of the 'Orders and Conditions' to be forwarded to the lord mayor, and to be accompanied with an intimation that the Sovereign would graciously accept assistance from the city, in the great project which he had really so much at heart.

This intimation was, of course, very gratifying to begin with; and the lord mayor could do no less than issue a 'precept' on the subject without delay to the masters and wardens of the twelve principal London companies. His mandate has been preserved in what is known as the *Irish Letter-Book*, and is headed—"The first generall instaunce of the proiect begunn 1^o Julii, 1609." It is expressed in the following terms:—"Whereas, I have latelie received from the Lords of his Maties most hon^{ble} Privie Counsaile a proiect for a plantation in Ireland, the Coppie whereof, together with a printed book, you shall receive hereunto annexed, with intimation of the King's most gracious favour and love to the cittie of London, to graunt unto us the first offer of so gracious an action, which is likely to prove pleasing to Almighty God, honourable to the Cittie, and profitable to the undertakers. These are, therefore, to will and require you presentlie to assemble together a competent number of the gravest and most substantiall of your Company, to consider advisedly of the said proiect, and of them to nominate fower men of most judgment and experience to join with like number of fower of every other of the Companyes of this Cittie amongst themselves to consider of and sett downe in writing such reasons, orders, demaunds, and other circumstances as are fitt to be remembered, required, or performed in the undertaking of so worthie and so honourable an action, and to certifie mee in writing, before the fifth day of this instant July, the names of such fower of your Company as you shall soe nominate and appoint, wherein you are not to faile in anywise. From Guildhall, this first of July, 1609."

The above communication is known as the first 'precept' on the business of the Londoners' plantation, and it called upon the several companies to assemble for the purpose of nominating four persons in each company, whose special duties would be to weigh well certain proposals submitted by the Government to induce them to undertake for lands in Ulster, and also to examine the contents of the 'printed book' accompanying these proposals. This book contained a printed copy of the 'Orders and Conditions' with which our readers are already familiar. The proposals, however, specially addressed to the Londoners on this occasion are headed—" *Motives and Reasons to induce the City of London to undertake plantation in the north of Ireland.*" This was considered a very important paper at the time, and it is here submitted *in extenso*, as explanatory to some extent of the general subject:—

"The late ruined city of Derry situate upon the river of Lough Foyle, navigable above Derry, and another place near the castle of Coleraine, situate in the river Ban, navigable with small vessels only, by reason of the bar a little above Coleraine, seem to be the fittest places for the city of London to plant. 2. With small charges, these places, especially Derry, may be made impregnable (11). 3. His Majesty offers to grant to these two places charters of incorporation; the whole territory betwixt them, however, which is above 20 miles in length, bounded by the sea on the north, by the Ban on the east, and the river Derry or Lough Foyle on the west (out of which 3,000 acres or more may be allotted to each of the towns for their commons), to be planted with such undertakers as the city of London shall think fit (12), paying only for the same the easy rent of the undertakers. 4. These towns to have the benefit of all the customs on goods imported or exported, as also tonnage and poundage, and the great and small customs for 21 years, paying yearly 6s. 8d. Irish as an acknowledgment. 5. That his Majesty would be pleased to buy from the possessors, the salmon fishing of the Ban and Lough Foyle, and bestow the same upon these towns.

(11). *Impregnable.*—It is probable that these "Motives and Reasons" were principally drawn up by Sir Thomas Phillips, who had closely studied the resources of Ulster, as a field for settlement. Soon after the date of this document, however, he prepared what he called a "Project for the Londoners' plantation in the county of Colrane and the Derry," a copy of which he sent to Salisbury. In this 'Project' he has the following estimate of the expense of fortifying Derry:—"For fortification for the present, 6,000*l.*; 100 houses, at 100*l.* a house, 10,000*l.*; storehouse or magazine for arms and munition, 200*l.*; storehouses for merchandise, 150*l.*; brewhouse, 200*l.*; arms and munition, 100*l.*; tools for fortification, 50*l.*; locks, hooks, hinges, &c., 40*l.*; bakehouse, 50*l.*; rent to the King, —. Total, 16,790*l.* The following is his estimate of the expense required to secure Colrane against attacks from enemies without:—"Fortifications, 4,500*l.*; 100 houses, at 75*l.* a house, 7,500*l.*; magazine or storehouse for arms and munition, 200*l.*; storehouse for merchandise, 150*l.*; locks, hooks, hinges, and such like, 40*l.*; tools for fortification, 50*l.*; brewhouse, 150*l.*; bakehouse, 50*l.*; arms and munition, 50*l.*; rent to the King, —. Total, 12,740*l.*

(12). *Think fit.*—Phillips argued that the Londoners

ought to expend at least 50,000*l.* in thoroughly commencing their plantation, which he described as "being one of the most famous enterprizes that hath of long time been, and which, without doubt, will redound to the great good of the King's service as well in England and Scotland, as in Ireland; remaining a perpetual strength to the kingdom, and an everlasting memory to the city of London." Among the items of outlay he enumerates the following, which they ought willingly to incur at the starting:—"Cattle and tillage to stock the lands, which will bring the corn down to a low rate, by which means great gain may be made by transporting it into other countries, 2,800*l.*; fly-boats and hoys for transporting commodities 2,200*l.*; fort in Clinconkane, or Glin, to lodge the workmen, which will serve for a market, 500*l.*; factors, servants, and other extraordinaries, 1,000*l.*; charge of five sufficient men, viz., two from the city [London], and with them a mathematician, an engineer for the fortifications, and one skilful in iron works, 500*l.*; storehouses at Knockvergus, 150*l.*; Newry, 150*l.*; Calbegs [Killybegs], 200*l.*; Messareene, 100*l.*; fort and storehouse at Ban Brazell, 200*l.*; 12 team of horses, 6 at the Newry and 6 at Knockvergus, 280*l.*; three bridges, with castles on certain rivers, 400*l.*; 16 horses to be continually in the woods, 140*l.* = 8,620*l.*

6. Also license for free export of all goods growing on their own lands. 7. That the Admiralty jurisdiction in the coasts of Tyrconnell, now supposed to be in the Lord Deputy by the Lord High Admiral's grant, may be transferred to them for 21 years.

"The Land Commodities which the North of Ireland affords.

1. The country is well watered, and supplied with fuel either of trees or turf [peat]. 2. It supplies such abundance of provisions as may not only sustain the plantation, but may furnish provisions yearly to the city of London, especially for their fleets, as beeves, pork, fish, rye, bere, peas, beans, and in some years will help the dearth of the city (13) and country about, and the storehouses appointed for the relief of the poor. 3. It is fit for breeding of mares and for cattle, and thence may be expected store of hides, tallow, &c. 4. The soil is suited for English sheep, and if need were, wool might be had cheaply out of the west of Scotland. 5. It is fit in many parts for madder, hops, and wood. 6. It affords fells of red deer, foxes, sheep and lambs, cony, martens, squirrels, &c. 7. It grows hemp and flax better than elsewhere, and thus might furnish materials for canvass, cables, cordage, and such like requisities for shipping. Also for thread, linen cloths, and stuffs made of linen yarn, which is finer there and more plentiful than in all the rest of the kingdom (14). 8. Timber, stone, lime, and slate, and building materials are to be had; and the soil is good for making bricks and tiles. The goodliest timber in the woods of Glanconkein and Killeitragh (see p. 167) may be had, and may compare with any in his Majesty's dominions, and may be brought to the sea by Lough Eagh and the Ban (15). Fir masts of all sorts may be had out of Loughnaber [now Lochaber] in Scotland (not far from the North of Ireland) more easily than from Norway. 9. All materials for building of ships (except tar) is there to be had in great plenty, and in countries adjoining. 10. There is wood for pipe staves, hogshhead staves, barrel staves, hoop staves, clap boards, wainscot (16), and dyeing ashes, glass, and iron-work; copper

(13). *Dearth of the city.*—Sir Thomas Phillips, after having specified the outlay for plantation purposes, speaks of some of the profits arising therefrom, as follows:—"There may be bred in the woods 20,000 swine, if need be, which I value to be a matter of great moment for bacon and pork. The profit may be worth 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* per annum. Beef at reasonable rate, viz., 20*s.* a beef. Hide and tallow commonly worth between 8*s.* and 9*s.*; so as the four quarters are sold, for 12*s.* For the hide the ordinary price is from 6*s.*, so there will be reasonable gain to vend it here, and far better in other countries. Oatmeal and oatmeal-groats may be made there in great quantity, and brought hither [to London], from which will arise much profit to the undertakers, and do much good to the city of London and other parts of England. Butter and cheese may be made in great abundance and yield great profit."

(14). *Of the kingdom.*—Phillips, speaking on this point, in his 'Project,' says:—"Yarn would be very beneficial if it might stand with the King's pleasure to recall the licence,—to the end artificers may set on work to make linen cloth, and other kinds of stuffs. It would be beneficial to the commonwealth, as likewise to this new plantation."

(15). *And the Ban.*—These facilities for shipping are explained by Sir Thomas Phillips, as follows:—"The Lough [Neagh] being about 12 miles from Knockvergus, they may carry their commodities and ship them away, which will quit charge, rather than the shipping to go about in the winter, without great cause. For example, they will give 15*s.* in a thousand more to receive them at Knockvergus, than at Lough Foyle." Again "from Lough Neagh they may transport commodities by boat within twelve or thirteen miles of Newry, where they must have a castle or fort to receive such commodities as they send out of Tyrone and other parts, as also such as come out of England. It is very fit and commodious to have storehouses at Newry, for many times in the winter, a ship finding her lading there will make a voyage before she can get about the land to Loughfoyle, and the danger is not so great. To keep continually six team of good horses in each place [Knockvergus and Newry], will quit the charges. By this means they may furnish most part of the north, and make more speedy voyages in the winter, and with less danger."

(16). *Clap boards, wainscot.*—Phillips refers to this source of convenience and profit, as follows:—"Besides the great benefit and profit that the undertakers shall reap

and iron-ore (17) are there found abundantly. 11. The country is fit for honey and wax.

"The Sea and the River Commodities.

1. The harbour of Derry is very good, and the roads at Portrush and Loughswilly (not far distant from Derry), tolerable. 2. The sea fishings are plentiful of all manner of fishes, especially herrings and eels. Yearly, after Michaelmas, above seven or eight score of sail, of the King's subjects are there for loading, besides an infinite number for fishing and killing. 3. There are great fishings in the adjacent islands of Scotland, where many Hollanders do fish all the summer, and plentifully vent their fishes into Spain and within the Straits. 4. Much train and fish oil may be made upon the coast. 5. As the sea yieldeth fish, so the coast affords abundance of sea fowl; and the rivers great store of fresh fish, more than any of the rivers of England (18). 6. There be store of good pearls upon the coast, especially within the river of Loughfoyle. 7. These coasts are ready for traffic with England and Scotland, and lie open and convenient for Spain and the Straits, and fittest and nearest to Newfoundland.

"The Profits that London shall receive by this Plantation.

"If multitudes of men were employed proportionally to these commodities, many thousands would be set at work, to the great service of the King, the strength of his realm, and the advancement of several trades. It might ease the city [London] of an insupportable burthen of persons, which it might conveniently spare, all parts of the city being so surcharged that one tradesman is scarce able to live by another; and it would also be a means to free and preserve the city from infection, and consequently the whole kingdom, which of necessity must have recourse hither, and being pestered or closed up together can never otherwise, or very badly avoid infection. These colonies may be a means to utter infinite commodities from London, to furnish the whole north of Ireland,

by this plantation, it will be a general good for the commonwealth, for by this means London may be not only furnished with all kinds of provisions for the sustenance of man, but also with all sorts of timber, as joists, clapboards, wainscots, barrel-boards, hogshhead boards, oaken planks for shipping, and other uses."

(17). *Iron-ore.*—"I am in good hope," says Phillips, "there will be found such good store of iron-ore that it shall bring a great commodity into the land, for the Irish themselves will take the ore, and in short time make iron; and it proves to be very good, of which they make their skeynes and darts" [pikes].

(18). *England.*—This theme—the sea and river-fishings of Ulster—is one on which every Anglo-Irish authority becomes eloquent. "There was long since," says Sir Thomas Phillips, "at Portrusha [Portrush], a fishing used by the Burtons [Bretons] in France, who came every season thither for dogfish and rays, which, being well handled, are a very great commodity in Spain, especially in the Condado, for there they are sold by weight, and bought by them of Castellia la Vieja, Cordana, Salamanca, &c., who ordinarily every week load 300 or 400 machoes

and moyles. The rays in the river of Nantes likewise sell well, for they are carried up the river Loyer [Loire], and serve many good towns upon that river, and the country next adjoining. It is requisite that they [the Ulster settlers] have a fort and storehouses at Kalbegg, which must be always furnished with a store of salt casks for the herring and cod fishing. The main salmon fishing of Lough Foyle and the Ban, the owners esteem worth 800*l.* or 1,000*l.* per annum, which by reason of vending it themselves into foreign countries by the undertakers will rise to a far greater sum." Phillips had lived much in France, and appears to have been familiar with this interesting subject of fish and fishing, even in that country. He adds here, by way of encouragement, that "from the Derrie and Skerries-Portrush, is but a cut over into the Isles of Scotland, where there are great fishings." The Islesmen now know, to their great yearly profit, that "it is but a cut over" to this northern coast, which they visit in great numbers during the fishing season. At this writing [May 30, 1876], no fewer than 164 Scottish smacks are anchored between Horn Head and Tory Island, herring fishing.

and isles of Scotland, which may be transported by means of the river Ban and Loughfoyle into the counties of Coleraine, Donegal, Tyrone, Armagh, and Antrim (19). The city of Dublin being desolate by the slaughter of the Easterlings, who were the ancient inhabitants thereof, was given by King Henry II. to the city of Bristol to be inhabited, which, without any charge to the King, Bristol performed, whose posterity continues there to this day. That plantation thus performed, to the eternal commendation of Bristol, was not the least cause of civilising and securing that part of the country. It were to be wished this noble precedent were followed by the city of London in these times, with so much the more alacrity as they excel Bristol in ability and means. And so much the rather, since the commodities which the city of London will reap hereby far surpass the profits which could redound to Bristol by the other (20).

III.

The foregoing appeal to the Londoners, on the part of the Government, appears to have made a very favourable impression by thus giving the worthy citizens credit for patriotic sentiments, and, (what was perhaps of more immediate significance), inspiring them with the hope of improving their several business prospects in the speculation. They were gratified, too, by the idea of becoming prominently instrumental in bringing the wild Irish to order; but, after all, the chief pleasure in discussing the whole question appears to have arisen from the hope of their being able to secure for themselves certain commercial advantages. The age of hypocritical cant had then unmistakeably set in, and many people had learned to conceal their predatory designs on Ireland and the Irish by assuming the mask of patriotism or religion. But, whilst the general sentiment in London was one of congratulation, the particular citizens selected from the twelve several companies to represent the whole body politic, grave and substantial as they doubtless were, appear to have failed rather signally in the discharge of the duties at first imposed on them. This failure called forth the second 'precept' from the lord mayor, addressed to the wardens of each of the twelve companies, and dated July 8, 1609. "Whereas," says this functionary,

(19). *Antrim*.—Phillips foolishly envied the Dutchmen their success in trading on these coasts, and hoped to see their "occupation gone" when the settlers would enter into rivalry with them. "The profit," says he, "of merchandize brought from London to furnish not only the northern parts but also Dublin and Tredath [Drogheda], which are now furnished by Dutchmen, who of late are entered into the trade, and bring all kinds of commodities, as silks, velvets, holland, cambric, lawn, all kinds of grocery to the great decaying of all the merchants in Dublin, who were yearly encouraged to employ great sums of money in London, which now, by reason of the Dutchmen's trade thither, will in short time decay, who by reason of their [the Dutchmen's] small charge in shipping, are able to afford their wares cheaper than those who bring it from London." The following is a list of the commodities vendible at Derry and the northern parts of Ireland in 1608, brought hither by Dutch traders:—"All manner of wines, aquavite, strong waters, salt, kersies, broad cloth, starch, grocery, tobacco, gunpowder, hops, fowling-pieces, paper, knives, gloves, needles, tape, hard and soft wax, all man-

ner of felts for men and children, glasses, earthenware, all manner of pewter, pins, points, laces, ribbons, combs, stuffs, nails of all sorts, drugs, holland, cambric, lawn, thread, madder, indigo, brass and iron pots, brewing vessels, kettles, playing and working cards. The commodities of the country given in exchange—live cattle, beeves, hides and tallow, between Michaelmas and Christmas; salmon and herring between Midsummer and Michaelmas. These the merchants of Ireland do most commonly give in truck, for there are little monies stirring."

(20). *By the other*.—The Easterlings or Ostmen here referred to were the Danes of Dublin, who were slaughtered in the battle of Clontarf, and afterwards, in great numbers, although not altogether exterminated. The northmen, although extinguished as a political power in Ireland after this battle, remained in considerable numbers in the towns on all the coasts, and became the principal traders here. These trading northmen invariably took side with the English on the coming of the latter to this country.

"I lately directed my precept to you concerning the honourable plantations in Ireland, together with the copy of motives, and printed book, with intimation of his Majesty's gracious favour to this city, requiring you thereby privately to assemble together a competent number of the most grave and substantial men of your company to consider advisedly of the said project, and out of them to appoint four of the most judgment, to join with others, to consider further, as by the said precept may appear. Forasmuch as at a late meeting before me and my brethren, the Aldermen (21), it appeared that the four persons which you named had neither so fully considered, either with you or your assistants, nor amongst themselves, upon the said motives; nor were so sufficiently warranted from you, or furnished with reasons, as is fit in a matter of honourable and great consequence; these are therefore to will and require you eftsoons privately to call the assistants of your company together, and to enter into a more serious consideration thereof; and to require the four persons by you nominated to make their appearance at the Guildhall, upon Wednesday next, by eight of the clock in the forenoon, then and there further to consult with four of every other company; and to set down in writing such reasons and demands as are fit to be remembered, required, or considered of, in the undertaking of so great and honourable an action. And that the said four persons by you named, and the four of every other company, bring the same in writing to the Guildhall, upon Friday morning, by eight of the clock, there to confer with me and thy brethren upon the same, wherein you are not to fail."

The companies, thus urgently addressed through their wardens, did not fail each to elect the number required, whilst those thus chosen presented themselves at the appointed time and place. A third precept, dated July 14, gives the names of the persons appointed at the meeting to confer with the lords of council. "This day," it is stated, "the persons of all the several companies of this city, selected and chosen to advise and consider of the offers, motives, and reasons sent from the lords of the King's Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, touching the plantations in the north of Ireland, being here assembled, delivered their answer in writing and opinion touching the same to this Court, the effect whereof followeth in these words [here there is a blank space in copy of the precept as entered in the proceedings of the Court of Aldermen]. Whereupon it was then agreed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and such of the said selected persons as were there assembled, that Sir Thomas Bennett, Sir Thomas Lowe, Sir Henry Montague, recorder; Sir William Romney, and Sir

(21). *The Aldermen*.—The Court of Common Council and the Court of Aldermen somewhat resembled, in their several functions, the Houses of Commons and Lords respectively. Speaking of the Court of Aldermen, Coke states, —4th Institute, chap. 50,—that "it is a court of record, and consisteth of the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and twenty-three Aldermen, whereof the two Sheriffs, being Aldermen, are part. It is ordered and established that the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, which have the governance of the city, shall redress and correct the errors, defaults, and misprisions, which be used in the City of London, for default of good governance of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen." This is declaratory of their then power of governing, and for this cause principally, amongst others, the Court of Aldermen was instituted.

Coke then goes on to define or describe the Court of Common Council, as follows:—"This Court hath some resemblance of the high Court of Parliament, for it consisteth of two houses, viz., the one of the Mayor and Aldermen, and the other of such as be of the common assembly, resembling the old commonalty of London. In this Court they make constitutions and laws in advancement of trade and traffic, for the better execution of the laws and statutes of the realm, *pro bono publico*, and for the good government of the City, so as these constitutions and laws be not contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm, and these being made by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, do bind within this City and the liberties thereof; they of the Common Assembly [Common Council] do give their assent by holding up their hands."

John Jolles, Knights ; Mr. Alderman Cockaine, Anthony Soda, Grocer ; Richard Martin, Edward Wheeler, Goldsmiths ; Richard Gore, Michael Tailor, Martin Bond, Haberdashers ; Nicholas Leat, Ironmonger ; Richard Fox, Clothworker ; and Henry Peyton, Mercer ; shall give meeting to such of the King's Majesty's Council for the realm of Ireland [the commissioners for Irish causes], as are appointed to consider of the said honourable intention of plantation, then and there to deliver unto them the answer of the companies of this city, touching the said plantation, and likewise to hear anything that shall be propounded by them concerning the same, to the intent they may inform the company, or any other citizens thereof, as occasion shall be offered ; and Ambrose Whit is appointed to warn the committees before named."

The abovenamed citizens, appointed to convey the answers from the companies to the offers of the Government, appear to have failed in the first instance to give satisfaction, because their answers were given 'before any conference had with the King's council for Ireland,' [the commissioners for Irish causes]. Another 'precept' was issued on the 18th July, to make arrangements for rectifying this omission ; and the result of a second meeting with the Government officials was all that could be wished for by the citizens. This gratifying affair is mentioned in a fifth 'precept' from the mayor, dated July 24, which stated that the companies had received from the Government complete satisfaction as to 'the honour' of the business in hand, the advantages that might fall to the kingdom and the city thereby, and the profits likely to be gathered up by particular adventurers. This interview had stirred up the spirit of adventure among the good citizens suddenly, and to a very commendable extent, at least in the opinion of Salisbury and his fellow-councillors. Facilities were also held out to the citizens to convince themselves of the truth of the representations that had been made respecting the great profits and advantages which might be expected to result, and for this purpose the Government urged the propriety of their sending suitable men to view or inspect O'Cahan's country, and report on it at once to the city. Should this test not prove satisfactory, the city was then at liberty to drop the whole, anything then done notwithstanding. Under these circumstances, the court of Aldermen ordered another precept to be sent to the twelve several companies, requiring them to meet for the purpose of ascertaining whether, and how much, the members were severally willing to adventure, so that the committees might be able to satisfy the council of Ireland as to this point, at a conference to be held on the Friday next, the 28th of July.

This course, however, does not appear to have been followed, as an order of the Court of Common Council, dated August 1, takes no notice whatever of any individual members willing to adventure, but states that the Privy Council had signified the King's pleasure to divers aldermen concerning the intended plantation, and that divers aldermen and commoners elected by that court had had conference with the council for Ireland about the same. The order above mentioned states further, as follows :—"It is this day, therefore, upon the motion and commandment of the lords of his Majesty's Privy Council signified to divers aldermen and commoners of this city upon Sunday last [the 30th July] at the council-table, concluded and agreed, that four wise, grave, and discreet citizens of this city should be presently sent to view the place ; and it was

thereupon ordered, that four persons named should forthwith, at the city's charges, undertake the voyage into Ireland, and survey and view the place and grounds intended for the new plantation there, and make report to the city, at their return from thence, of their opinions and doings touching the same."

By one influence or other, it so happened that the Londoners became thoroughly enlisted in the work—a fact sufficiently proved by their promptitude in telling off four of their most trusted citizens 'to undertake the voyage into Ireland,' (then a very serious matter for 'grave and substantial' Cockneys), and in paying them 300*l.* (then a very liberal sum), as travelling expenses. The Government appears to have been well pleased, and the council wrote to Chichester on the 3rd of August, by the agents or viewers as follows:—"The City of London being willing to undertake such a part as might befit them in the project of the plantation of Ulster, and to be a means to reduce that savage and rebellious people to civility, peace, religion, and obedience; and having commissioned the bearers, John Brode [or Broad], goldsmith, John Monroes, Robert Treswell, painter, and John Rowley, draper, to view of the county, and make report on the return, he [Chichester] is to direct a supply of all necessaries in their travel in those countries, and to aid them in every way. And they [the council in London] have directed Sir Thomas Philips to accompany them, whose knowledge and residence in those parts, and good affection to the cause in general, they assure themselves will be of great use at this time, seeing there is no man that intendeth any plantation or habitation in Ulster who ought not to be most desirous of such neighbours as will bring trade and traffic into the ports. Whitehall, 3 August, 1609."

The closing sentence of this communication was a gentle hint to certain servitors (including Chichester himself), who believed they could secure very comfortable 'habitation in Ulster' even if the Londoners were never to show their faces, and who did not, by any means, relish the idea of surrendering their fishings and abbeylands (although even for compensation), that these valuable possessions might be included in grants to 'neighbours' however desirable, as such, in other respects. The agents sent by the Londoners on this occasion must have had, no doubt, some special qualifications for such a mission irrespective of their occupations; otherwise, we can hardly imagine what errand a goldsmith, or draper, or painter, as such, could undertake to accomplish by a flying visit into O'Cahan's country. At all events, the Government was determined to have them tenderly looked after whilst here, preserved from all evil or Irish influences, and, in fact, so judiciously manipulated that, on their return, the compact might be easily achieved. The council in London were not satisfied with merely making known their wishes by the letter entrusted to these bearers; they wrote another and a more urgent epistle to Chichester, on the same day, and through the usual channel of communication. "Referring to their foregoing letter," they say, "recommending certain citizens appointed by the city of London to view the Derry and Colrane, and the country between them, they anxiously entreat him to select discreet persons, to conduct and accompany them, who shall be able to control whatever discouraging reports may be made to them out of ignorance or malice. The conductors must take care to lead them by the best ways, and to lodge them in their travel where they may, if

possible, receive English entertainment in Englishmen's houses. And though they [the council in London] have the opportunity to lay the first hand on this offer [from the London corporation] and to make the project to the city; yet that it may be well followed up they send the same in that letter enclosed; and must leave it to him to perfect. The persons sent with these citizens to conduct them must be prepared beforehand to strengthen every part thereof by demonstration, so as they may conceive the commodities to be of good use and profit; on the other hand, that matters of distaste, as fear of the Irish, of the soldiers, of cess, and such like, be not so much as named, seeing that he [Chichester] knows that discipline and order will easily secure them. If there be anything in the project, whether it be the fishing, the Admiralty, or any other particular which may serve for a motive to induce them, although his lordship [Chichester] or any other have interest therein, yet he should make no doubt but his Majesty will have such consideration thereof that no man shall be a loser in that which he shall part with for the furtherance of this service. As for his lordship [Chichester], he cannot, besides his general duty, but be glad in his own particular to have such good neighbours to his plantation."

It is curious to read this letter in the light of succeeding events. The English visitors, who were thus only to be lodged in 'Englishmen's houses,' must have got an occasional peep during their peregrinations at Irishmen's houses, too; for, only a few months later, we find this same council suggesting to Chichester that the 'Irish houses' from which the owners were to be turned adrift should be preserved for the use of the English settlers throughout this very county of Londonderry! Now, this suggestion must have evidently originated with the Londoners themselves, whose agents, although not permitted to lodge in these houses, had learned to covet them, as well as all things else belonging to the Irish. Then, these worthy citizens were not, on any account, to hear stories tending to inspire them with 'fear of the Irish;' but, it so happened, that the settlers, soon afterwards sent by the London companies, found these Irish to be their best friends, and rather than part with their services, were willing to incur the displeasure, and even the threatened hostility of the Government! On the day following the date of the above instructions, or on the 4th of August, the council wrote a third letter to Chichester on this very interesting theme, informing him that they had "chosen Sir Thomas Phillips, from his experience of the country, where he had served and resides, to accompany the city agents to Ireland, and to convey them safely, and give them comfort when they are there, so as to give them heart at their return to animate the city to go on with the enterprise that they [the council] so much affect. They find that he has by his conference with some of the citizens, and by the light he has given them, given them good encouragement. They intend he shall return back with them, and in due time the King will reward them [him]. Meantime, he [Chichester] is to give them every countenance."

Phillips was well pleased to be set free from his three months' attendance on the council in London, and to enjoy again the attractions of the Ulster shore. On regaining his freedom, he appears to have been in no particular haste to resume communications with his English patrons, the latter having had tidings of the 'citizens' movements in O'Cahan's country much sooner from others than from him. The first intimation of their arrival, preserved among the State Papers,

is found in a letter from Davys to Salisbury, dated "The camp near Limevaddy, 28 August, 1609." The writer winds up as follows:—"The Londoners are now come and are exceeding welcome. They [the commissioners of survey] all use their best rhetoric to persuade them to go on with their plantation, which will assure this whole island to the Crown of England forever. They [the agents] like and praise the country very much, specially the Banne and the river of Loughfoyle. One of the agents is fallen sick, and would fain return; but the lord deputy and all the rest here use means to comfort him, and to retain him, lest this accident [incident] should discourage his fellow-citizens." The arrival of these Londoners was certainly not the less welcome to Davys and other servitors, who had no surrenders to make (should the Londoners decide to plant) of rich salmon-fishings, or quiet fertile straths, in the shape of abbeylands. But to Chichester, and others so circumstanced, although they had to assume at least serenity of front, the advent of John Brode and his friends was a somewhat serious business. Would they get adequate reprises for valuable properties, to win which some, like Phillips, had ventured their 'heads'; and if so, where? 'These two problems were puzzling; but there was at least reasonable hope for such as would freely consent to part with possessions only recently acquired, 'in furtherance of this service.' Indeed, for a time it was feared that the whole affair would have been upset by one of the 'citizens' falling sick, and wishing to return home; but 'the Lord Deputy and the rest' were determined that return home he must not, lest the others should return with him, thereby risking the great end of 'assuring this whole island to the Crown of England forever.' But what with the 'best rhetoric' of Davys, and the deputy's 'use of all means to comfort and retain,' the sick man *was* retained; and was soon again 'led by the best ways' rejoicing, on his mission of 'civility, peace, religion, and obedience,' among 'that savage and rebellious people.'

We have a more ample reference to their movements, however, in a letter of Chichester to Salisbury, written from "The Camp in Fermanagh, near Enishkeelyn, 18 September, 1609." His account of the four London traders is neither so graphic nor facetious as that of Davys, but it is very much more interesting. "Sir Thomas Phillips," says Chichester, "with the four agents of London, came unto him likewise in the county of Coleraine. They landed at Knockfergus, and in their way from thence [to Limavaddy] they beheld Coleraine and the river of Banne beneath the Leape; they have now seen the Derry, the river of Loughfoyle, the Lyffer, and sundry parts adjoining; and they like so well of the scites, the lands adjoining the rivers, and the commodities they think to raise by their purse and good husbandry, that they assure him the city of London will really undertake the plantation upon the report they are to make, and that with expedition. If they should not, as he has often told them, they will be enemies to themselves; for the fishings, lands, and woods, with toleration of custom and other privileges, which his Majesty has graciously proffered to them, are worth not less than 2,000*l.* a year as they now are, and their purse and industry will, within two or three years, improve them to double that value. They came in a convenient time, when the people in each county made their appearance, declaring their obedience and submission to the law in a far better fashion than within these three years he ever expected to have seen within this province, and if his good usage, and that of the council with him, could aid

to the other encouragements they have found, it has not been and shall not to be wanting. Advised them to send an assay of the commodities which the country at this time afforded, to the lord mayor, of which they took good liking; and so he procured them raw hides, tallow, salmon, herrings, eels, pipe staves, beef, and the like, at easy prices. Also procured them some of the iron ore, and will add specimens of the lead and copper. They are now gone to take a more exact view of the river of Banne above the Leape (22), and of the woods of Glankonkeyne and Kylletra, intending to meet him [Chichester] about 14 days hence, upon his return towards Dublin. Sir Thomas Phillips, to his charge and trouble, daily accompanies them from one place to another, which is a great comfort to them. He will return [to London] with them; and, in the meantime, nothing shall be wanting to continue them in the resolution they have taken; for, albeit he [Chichester] perceives they aim at some things that yield no good profit, yet he will not hinder so good a work (the best that ever was undertaken in his time for the general good of the kingdom), for his own private [ends], as he doubts not they will declare into his lordship."

IV.

Thus, the work of preparing for the general plantation was going on prosperously when these London agents were brought over to Ulster—a fact peculiarly gratifying to the deputy, and which he does not fail to mention when writing to Salisbury. Had they arrived in Coleraine at the same date during the preceding autumn, they would have witnessed some startling scenes, of which, perhaps, the most exciting was the execution of a priest. On their arrival at the camp near Limavaddy, however, in the month of August, 1610, the Londoners saw native gentlemen, and others, quietly gathering round the commissioners, to be formed into juries of assize, and juries to assist in the survey, and to ascertain what lands belonged respectively to the King and the Church. There was a story afloat to be sure—and told rather facetiously by Davys in his letter

(22). *The Leape*.—"The river [Bann] at the Salmon Leap is between three and four hundred feet wide; and the rock, which is about 450 in length, extended in breadth entirely across the river, and rendered it so shallow and rapid as to preclude all possibility of passage while it continued in that state, wherefore the [Irish] Society, shortly after the passing of the patent in 1613, as tradition informs me, made a cut through the rock almost close to the shore on the west or Derry side of the river, for the purpose of conveying the timber down the river [from Glankonkeyne] to build their town of Coleraine; but it is certain that the passage was converted into a trap for the taking of fish, very many years ago, and has been uniformly employed in that way, if not before, at least since the year 1620; and it is material to observe, as bearing very much on the case in controversy between the parties. . . . The Society, from time to time, were in the habit of making leases of their fishery; and amongst others, one was made to a gentleman of the name of Williams, who first thought of the practicability of erecting traps upon the rock, instead of incurring the excessive expense of cutting the rock in the manner hereinbefore described with respect to the old cut, as it is called; and he caused a second trap to be erected in this way on the

surface, in the year 1744; and finding it useful, he erected another in the year 1745. In the year 1746 a third was added; and, in the year 1748, a fourth. And the last in 1759 or 1760, by the late Sir Henry Hamilton, then tenant to the Society. All these works were composed of materials similar to those of which the cut made in or before the year 1620 was constructed, and bear complete resemblance to it in form and mechanism." (See *Concise View of Origin, &c., of the Irish Society*, Appendix, clxxviii. and clxxix). After those traps or cuts in the rock were made, the place was generally named the *Cutts*. "If the Cutts were abated, it is known the fish would all go up to Lough Neagh; to prevent which the Cutts are erected at spaces of 27 feet, 15 feet, and leaving 40 open; it is only when there is a strong fresh in the river that the fish can leap up the rocks. It seems, that between the proprietors of these two fisheries [of salmon and eels] there is a common interest; for, if the salmon fishers acted perversely, they might destroy the young eels in their passage through the Cutts. The eel fishers could also greatly damage the salmon fry, when these are making their way towards the sea." Sampson's *Memoir of the Chart of Londonderry*, pp. 240, 241.

from Limavaddy to Salisbury (see pp. 169, 170), of the decapitation of a luckless surveyor by the people of Donegal, because they did not wish to have their 'country discovered'; but no such foolish stories were permitted to be told in the presence of the Londoners, who indeed, were to be scrupulously guarded against them. As they accompanied the deputy and his party, however, to the Derry, these peaceable citizens probably witnessed the violent row that took place there between their guide, Sir Thomas Phillips, and Bishop Montgomery, about a small scrap of land in that vicinity (see pp. 171, 172). If so, Sir Thomas no doubt explained the affair to them on their travels afterwards, in such a manner as at least to justify himself. The latter did not write to Salisbury until he had completed his peregrinations and returned to Coleraine, preparatory to the starting again of the four citizens for London. As Sir Thomas intended to accompany them, his letter contained few details, which, however, are of so interesting a nature as not to be overlooked. Coming from England, the citizens and himself reached Carrickfergus (which he writes Knock-verges), on the 22nd of August. "From thence, Coultrayn," says he, "where they stayed two days; from thence to Lemavadie, some twelve miles off, where they met the lord deputy, and continued in his company till he came to the Lyffar, where they remained four days; and afterwards he brought them to the Derry, and so to Coleraine, in which travel he brought them several ways, to the end they might have a full view of the country. From thence through part of Tyrone and so to Toome, within which circuit he showed them good land, very fair woods, and rivers. At Toome caused some of the ore to be sent for, of which he caused a smith to make iron before their faces, and of the iron he made steel within less than one hour. Mr. Broad, one of the agents for the city, who has skill in such things, says, that this poor smith has better satisfied him than Jarmaynes [Germans], and others that presume much of their skill. Has sent a sample of each to his lordship. The ore is rich, for they judge by what they see wrought, that very near the sixth part will be iron. From Toome brought them by boat along the river of the Bann, where he showed them a goodly river, fair woods, and good land; as likewise the eel fishing (23), which they saw experience of; so that in all things he finds them exceeding well satisfied, and can say no less but everything is answerable to what it pleased his lordship he should acquaint the citizens with; and

(23). *Eel fishing*.—The river Bann is celebrated for the quantity and superior quality of its eels, as well as for its salmon. "The eels spawn in the sea; and the fry, when not more than from an eighth to one-fourth of an inch long, nor thicker than the hair of a horse's mane, make their way into the fresh waters in the summer months, and return to the sea full grown the following year, from whence it is conceived, they never come back." Eel fisheries, as a general rule, are more valuable than salmon fisheries. Between Lough Neagh and the Cutts, near Coleraine, there are generally about 28 weirs along the river for catching eels. In one of these eel-traps called weirs, the enormous quantity of 80,000 eels has been caught in a single night, worth £5 per thousand. (See *Concise View of the Origin, &c., of the Irish Society*, Appendix, p. clxxxviii). "When the young eels come up the rivers from the sea, they are no larger than the finest packthread, but their numbers are incredible. During four months (from May till September) in which

the eels fatten in the rivers and in Lough Neagh, they grow to the size of a human arm, sometimes even to that of a leg. In September they commence their return toward the sea, and then is the season for fishing. This is performed by intercepting the eels by means of pales and watling, constructed so as to converge, in following the direction of the current. Before these converging pales approach altogether, a long net is attached at the narrower and lower opening, and in the strongest part of the stream; the eels making their way into this net, are entangled in the meshes, whence they are not able to retreat. The eel fishery may yield to the Marquis of Donegal, [on part of the Bann], as I have been informed, about £400 per annum [1814]. The quantities taken must be very great. They are sold fresh in the markets around; and are salted for winter use, in place of herrings." Sampson's *Memoir explanatory of the Chart of the county of Londonderry*, pp. 242, 243.

for their better satisfaction they have detained the ship they came over in, in which they will send some of the country commodities, as salmon, eels, yarn, hides, tallow, iron ore, and pipe staves. Protests all his care and endeavour is to further this worthy enterprise undertaken by his lordship, in which he will not let to hazard his life, and all he has in the world, to perform the faith and service ever vowed to his lordship. Has resolved, with the consent of the agents, on the felling of 10,000 trees, to be seasoned against the spring. Coulrayn, 24 September, 1609."

Two days subsequently to the date of this epistle, one of the 'agents,' Treswell, also wrote to Salisbury from Coleraine, expressing himself so much pleased with what they had seen of the country that they did not intend to 'survey any other part.' They had evidently seen the bright side of the picture, and were so delighted with the trophies of eels and iron ore (24), hides, and herrings, which they bore back to London, that they had no inclination to be critical on any subject. It may be supposed that they had not been taken along the direct road from Coleraine to Lymavaddie over the heathery hills, nor permitted to catch glimpses of certain bleak districts surrounding Slievegallon. On the contrary, they were no doubt 'led' along the noble valleys of the Foyle and Fahan; permitted to linger amid the rural charms everywhere presenting themselves on the banks of the Roe; and to follow leisurely the windings of the Mayola among the vast woods, on to the shores of Loughneagh, whose surface these London citizens would gaze at as a great inland sea. At all events, they were wide awake to everything presented to their view, and had very soon 'marked as their own' certain tempting sources of wealth which Chichester, and some other servitors, had hoped their visitors might overlook, or, perhaps, would not exactly know how to appreciate. But the servitors were mistaken; for, although the citizens had kept their thoughts to themselves whilst on the Irish shore, they told them very emphatically to their associates in London, who afterwards demanded, among other possessions in O'Cahan's country, the very tit-bits these servitors so dearly wished to retain. This disturbing truth was soon noised abroad, and it only remained therefore, for Chichester and Phillips to yield with a good grace, but standing stoutly together, and endeavouring quietly to drive as good bargains with the King and his council as possible. On the 13th of October, we find Chichester referring to the matter in a very statesman-like spirit and style, when writing to Salisbury, as follows:—"The agents of London have seen and observed whatsoever may make for pleasure, profit, and advantage within the limits assigned unto them, and return (if they mean as they speak) full freighted with desire and reasons to draw on a

(24). *Iron ore*.—See p. 362. The districts adjoining Toome, through which Phillips and his party journeyed on the occasion referred to, literally teemed with iron ore. Sampson informs us that "it is [1814] in great abundance throughout this county [Londonderry], either in an ochreous state, or mixed with manganese. It is nearly in a metallic state in the lands belonging to the Clothworkers, over Ballyhacket, where it caused the needle to dip in a manner which at first surprised me, till I recollected the cause. Iron is found nearly in a metallic state, also, in many of our basalt quarries. I have seen it in the softer stones employed for making roads, involverated [involved?] with folds of trapp, the interior nucleus being almost pure

metal. In a mixed state with manganese, called bog-ore or woad, it is abundant in the mountains near Glenrandall, and about Listress; and in the neighbourhood of our mountain streams, which issue from bogs, mounds of iron may be observed, in the character of yellow ochre. To the abundance of this metal, in the peat moss, is owing the red colour and weight of the ashes. Iron was formerly smelted in this county, at a place to this day called *The Forge*, near Castle-Dawson. The mine was in Sliabhgallan, and the person who conducted the works at that time was agent to the Drapers' Company." Sampson's *Memoir of a Chart of Londonderry*, p. 97.

speedy plantation. Is sure they have found all things here far better than they expected—Sir Thomas Phillips has been a host, a guide, and a watchman for them in all their travels, which has been as well a charge as a trouble to him; and which, added to his former services, deserves such recompense as their lordships are accustomed to procure for those that bring so good testimonies with them. If the Londoners go through with the two cities, they must needs have the lands in which he [Phillips] is interested in and near the Derry, and other things about Coleraine, which are now beneficial to him; and what to demand in lieu thereof, without diving into his Majesty's coffers, which he [Chichester] has advised Sir Thomas to forbear, he knows not; inasmuch as these agents aim at all the places of profit and pleasure which lie upon the rivers of the Bann and Loughfoyle [there was the rub]; but he [Chichester] prays God they prove not like their London women, who sometimes long to-day and loathe to-morrow. When they went last from him, they presented certain demands to which he gave them present answer, the copy of which he has delivered to Sir Thomas Phillips; and if they had anything else to propound, he willed them to do it, but they answered nothing here. Whereby he thinks they depart fully satisfied; and seeing they now so well affect the matter, he hopes his lordship will take hold of it, and make a speedy conclusion with them; for the least trouble or storm that shall blow will alter them, as it has done others, of whom he has had experience here. They affect something of his besides Culmore, and the fishing there, which they shall have, as his lordship [Salisbury] shall think fit."

Chichester and Phillips were an innocent pair of patriots, who, according to their own accounts, were unable to take care of themselves, or to assist one another! They were ready to surrender their possessions at the command of the King, and for the sake of their country, but knew not what might be their reward for such self-sacrifice! Phillips, when writing to Salisbury on the 12th of July, 1609, "reminds his lordship that in this his forwardness to further this worthy work he goes against his own profit in divers ways. But his zeal for his Majesty's service, and his bounden duty to his lordship in particular, in whom rests his fortunes, is the cause. Represents the great losses he must sustain by this plantation, in which, at his great charge and infinite toil and danger, he has made the bogs and woods passable to transport timber, of which he has a lease for six years to come, of some seven miles. Suggests further the great charge he has been at to bring that plantation to that pass of himself, where he has a fair market [at Coleraine], and where there is a good congregation every day at church to hear divine service, to the discomfort of the ill-disposed people. After these great charges and losses he was now in hope to reap some profit. His being here [in London] eleven weeks, and his losses at home, have hindered him very much; so that through the many crosses it has pleased God to send him, his estate is not much better than when his lordship caused him to come out of France."

In the letter from which the foregoing is an extract, was enclosed a "Brief of such things as Sir Thomas Phillips, knight, is to convey unto his Majesty, for the advancement of this intended plantation in Ireland." In this 'brief' the patriotic knight enumerates the particulars of the property proposed to be surrendered to the Crown, of the expenditure already incurred by the proprietor, and of the pecuniary loss which he will suffer by the transfer, the total of which is

2,500*l*. "Notwithstanding all things thus undervalued, it is alleged by some (not being thoroughly acquainted with the dangerous hazards he had in getting and holding the place), that it cost him a small matter; to whom it may be well answered, the price of a head, which he often ventured for it, is not to be undervalued; besides, it is well known that his plantation there, and making good that place, and others in those parts, was a great means of relief to such of his Majesty's subjects as fled at the overthrow of the Derry, and gave a scope to O'Dogherty and others that they (thanks be to God) did his Majesty no further damage; to this may be remembered that he was a good means to civilize that part, that it gave no small encouragement to the Londoners to proceed and esteem things of good value in this their plantation. In bringing of this from a vast wilderness, he spent much money and long time, and yet for all this his hazard, care, and industry hath not made his estate much better (his debts being paid) than it was in France, where he first tasted the bounty of his honourable good lordship [Salisbury] that drew him thence into that kingdom, by whose only favour he has ever since been upholden, and has raised to himself this small fortune, which he now prays may not be undervalued."

V.

In the mean time, the Londoners were not asleep. They had listened with deep interest to an account of all their agents had seen and heard whilst in Ulster; they had examined and admired again and again, the several 'commodities' brought from the coasts, hills, fields, and rivers of O'Cahan's country, of which, indeed, they believed the wild Irish to be utterly unworthy. The agents had been required to report on the places best fitted to plant; to make a platt or map thereof, and furnish a true account of its natural resources—whether it might be expected to yield great numbers of red deer, foxes, sheep, lambs, rabbits, martens, and squirrels, which would be valuable mainly for their fells or skins (25). They were also to report on the facilities for growing

(25). *Fells or skins*.—Of the wild animals thus so eagerly asked for by the London aldermen, the red deer and the squirrel have long since entirely disappeared from the woods and hills of O'Cahan's country. A few foxes and martens may yet be found there, but these races also are marked for swift extinction. The others hold their ground, the rabbits literally swarming, time immemorial, on the bent and breckany hills above Magilligan Strand. These little creatures appear to have been special favourites with the English of the seventeenth century as an article of food, and almost every Englishman who dwelt on his own lands here, aimed at having a rabbit-warren when practicable. One of this class, named Robert Payne, who settled in Munster, and who has left a little Tract which he ambitiously names *A Briefe Description of Ireland made in this yeere 1589*, drew up instructions for making a rabbit-warren, as follows:—"First, you must choose two acres of verie drie ground, and compass it with a ditch as round as a circle, five footes deepe, and seven footes wide; let the slope side of your ditche be towards your warraine, and that wayes throw up all your earth; let the outside be plum upright, which you must presentlie payle, otherwise the earth will fall in; then plante your trees not above eight inches deepe, and at the least 24 footes asunder; lay at everie roote close about the tree as

much pease strawe as a man will carry under his arme, the which will keepe the roote moyst in somer and warme from frostes in winter. The best time to set your trees is shortlie after Michaelmas: which verifieth an old proverbe in Kent,—*if thou wilt a good tree have, let him carry a green leafe to his grave*. In the verie midst of your ground you must make a little lodge, in the which you must have eight several hutches, so placed that they may be always open into the warraine; in everie hutch you must tie with a little chaine a tame bucke connie of the best kinde; then store your warraine with 64 of the better sorte of tame female connies, which is for everie bucke eight doas; everie weeke the first quarter, and then moonthly, you must washe your trees with water, so high as a connie can reache, wherein [in the water] you must burst the garbage of a connie. Also, everie weeke you must drawe a peece of carraine at the foote of your payle, in the bottome of your ditch round aboute your warraine, by which meanes your connies will never offer to touch your trees, nor com neere the payle to scrape themselves out. You must feed your connies with the shortest and sweetest hay you can get; you may give them grass and any hearbes or weedes; they will eat four dayes in a weeke in somer, and two daies in winter, but not above, for fear of the rotte. . . . I doe account your charges in

large quantities of hemp and flax, and for procuring materials wherewith to build houses and ships. It was a special part of their instructions to report on the extent of the woods growing in Glankonkeyne and Killetragh—their length and breadth; what trees they yielded for making soap ashes and dyeing ashes; and what for pipe staves, hogshead staves, hoop staves, clapboard staves, wainscot, and such like. Another principal point they had been commissioned to report upon was the extent of the several fisheries in the sea and the rivers; together with an account of what sea fowl could be had on the coast; and whether, as reported, pearls were found in the river Foyle. The concluding point the agents were to ascertain was, perhaps, the first in importance, namely, whether the coast was adapted to purposes of traffic with England and Scotland; lying conveniently for Spain and the Straits, or most fitted, by being comparatively the nearest point, for the voyage to Newfoundland.

The agents' report corroborated the original details that had been submitted by Salisbury, at his first interview with members of the corporation (see pp. 360-363). "For situation," say they, "whereon to inhabit and plant, they conceive none more fitting than the Derry (see pp. 360, 362), being the likeliest place for safety of the inhabitants; a very commodious harbour for all sorts of shipping, lying also convenient for transportation of all land commodities (26). For the other [place to inhabit and plant], the abbey of Colrayne is the fittest, as well in respect of the natural condition of the place for defensive fortifications, as also for the goodness of the air and the fruitfulness of the land adjacent. The places are sufficiently furnished with springs, brooks, and

keeping your connies to be xx. markes a yeere: that is, your warrainers' board and wages, 8*l.*, and the connies' meat, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The increase, at an indifferent reckoning, will be seven litters a yeere: every connie of the best kinde will bring 6 Rabbits at a litter. Where one of that sorte bringeth fewer, two will bring more; some will bring 9 litters in a yeere. The value of this increase, after the aforesaid rates, and at 8*d.* the couple (which with good husbandrie most of them will be worth), amounteth to the summe of 44*l.* 16*s.* a yeere. But for feare you should sayle in your reckoning, as the woman did that supposed all the egges in her basket were capons: I would have you allow for casualties 11*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*, so resteth [remaineth] above all charges of the warrainer, and their [the connies'] meat, 20*l.* by yeere *de claro*, which, I think (being wel uset) can yeelde no lesse: although this kind being bred in houses doe not eate sweet, yet being bred after this manner, they are both the biggest, fattest, and sweetest connies that are." See A. Smith's edition, pp. 9-11.

(26). *Commodities*.—"The natural advantages of Derry as a port were among the motives which led to its selection as the focus of King James's plantation of Ulster. When, in pursuance of the 11th of Elizabeth, chap. 9, the North was first converted into shire-ground, by Sir John Perrot, the country was called the county of Coleraine, and Derry had apparently no existence as a port; but the bar at the mouth of the river Bann soon led to a preference of the deeper and more extended waters of the Foyle. Placed between the sea and the city, the lough constitutes an

essential element of the port. It is situated between the county of Londonderry on the east and south, and the peninsula of Inishowen, in the county of Donegal, on the west, having nearly the form of a right-angled triangle, and communicating with the sea at the northern extremity by a narrow strait, about a mile wide, between Magilligan Point and Greencastle. The length of the lough from Greencastle to its opposite extremity at Culmore Point, is about eighteen miles, and its greatest breadth about ten and a half miles. Generally shallow, its navigation is confined to a narrow channel, which, following the windings of the Donegal coast, is bounded on the opposite side by sand-banks, of which the most formidable is *Shell Island*, so called as being formed almost entirely of shells. The rocky coast of Donegal, on the west, abounds with deep and often land-locked inlets, but the prevailing westerly winds render them difficult of access; on the east, the bold basaltic cliffs of Antrim are equally unfavourable: the port of Derry, situated between Donegal and Antrim, affords ample water at the quays, with safe anchorage in all weathers. Such are the advantages of the position of the port in reference to its external relations. It has also another of even greater value,—as without it the possession of a harbour would be of little comparative use,—that of standing at the outlet of the great pass, or valley of the Foyle, the natural channel through which the produce of an extensive and fertile district should be brought to the sea: and it can scarcely be doubted that this feature of its position must have influenced the choice of its original founders." *Memoir of Templemore Parish*, p. 242.

rivers, and sundry shrubby wood grounds, but much wasted, and plenty of good and wholesome turf to supply the want of other fuel (27).

"The said country is most fit for breeding of all kinds of cattle, as horses, mares, kine, goats, sheep, hogs, &c., the kine as fair and likely as the ordinary cattle of England. Swine are there both plentifully bred and fed. The land is apt for all kinds of husbandry, and where it is well manured, yields increase answerable to the ordinary sort of lands in England, will produce store of butter, cheese, tallow, and hides; all sorts of grain, as wheat, barley, beare, oats, &c., and also of madder, hops, wood, coal, rape, hemp, flax, &c. (28). There is store also of red deer, foxes, sheep, lambs, conies, martens, otters, squirrels, &c., the prices of each being, viz., red deer at 2s., foxes 20d., sheep fells at 4d., martens and otters at 4s. per piece, lamb, coney, and squirrels of small or no value (29).

"In the woods of Glankonkayn and Killatrough are great store of goodly oaks, fit for all manner of building, ash also, with elm of great bigness. The country in every place is plentiful of stone, apt for any uses; clay and sand in divers places thereof for making brick and tile; limestone is there also in great abundance, and in the river of Loughfoyle great and plentiful shoals or sheaves, whereof the inhabitants for the more easy charge, make a sort of good lime. There is also a sort of slate, but not very good nor plentiful, and therefore the inhabitants easily supply themselves with an excellent sort of that material out of the islands of Scotland, the coasts of Wales, and the Isle of Man. Of timber for shipping, or any other building, the woods of Glankonkayn and Killatrough afford great plenty; as also good store of pipe, hogshhead, and barrel staves, clapboard, and hoops (30). For soap ashes, &c., it is likely there may be store made, but they conceive the

(27). *Other fuel.*—Coleraine amply possessed all the advantages thus ascribed to it by the Londoners. During the administration of Sir John Perrot, this town was selected as the site for the contemplated chief city of the county, and hence it gave name to the whole county, from 1584 until the barony of Loughinsholin was added in 1609, when the whole was re-baptized *Londonderry*. It did not want for good positions of defence outside, for the three old castles at Mount-Sandal, the Cranagh, and in the demesne of Jackson-Hall, had all been evidently fortresses of great strength. The springs and brooks, and even 'the wholesome turf,' which attracted the attention of the four 'viewers,' are unfailing, although the latter,—the bogs in the vicinity,—are not now certainly so ample as in their day.

(28). *Hemp, flax, &c.*—This enumeration of the natural products in Londonderry includes those of Ireland generally, as stated by Robert Payne, in 1589. "Although some of small judgment," says he, "which thinke every soile good that beareth long gras, have failed of their expected wood crops, by means of their unskillfull choice of ground, yet assuredly the commodities of the countrie are many more than eyther the people can well use, or I can recite. Their soile for the most part is verie fertil, and apte for Wheate, Rye, Barly, Peason, Beanes, Oates, Woade, Mather, Rape, Hoppes, Hempe, Flaxe, and all other graines and fruites that England any wise doth yeeld." *Briefe Description of Ireland*, 1590; p. 6.

(29). *No value.*—"Among the quadrupeds which formerly existed but are now extinct is the native stag or red deer. The otter is yet discoverable, not common; the marten still more rare, the weasel is frequent, but here, as elsewhere, leaves it doubtful whether he is to be ranked with the workers of good or evil." (Sampson's *Memoir*, &c., p. 178, 184). The squirrel must have long since disappeared, as the above-named trustworthy observer had evidently never heard of its existence in the district.

(30). *And hoops.*—Sir Thos. Phillips had a clear eye for appreciating all such natural sources of profit. Indeed the woods again mentioned here must have contained and yielded wondrous stores of wealth. Phillips referring to this point in his 'Project,' says:—"I have a lease from Tyrone [the earl of], for certain woods, which, if he had thought I would have enterprized as I have, he would never have granted unto me. This business being well employed, great profit and commodity will arise. The like profit is to be made by joists and other sorts of timber, which the Scots buy for building and other uses. So that with fly-boats of good burden, requiring small charge, we may furnish Scotland and other parts upon the sea-coasts in England, and as I remember, good ware in Spain. The like are slap-boards, wainscott and long boards for other uses. Oaken planks are very saleable in all places, which, with devices of mills as Dutchmen have them, will not be chargeable. Fair ash and oaken hoops will yield great profit in Eng-

woods may be converted to better use. Soap ashes have been and are daily made. Of minerals there is no certainty, except iron ore, and of that in sundry places some four miles from the main woods, and in the mountains of Slewgallen further distant, yet not far from the river Mayola (31), which divides the woods of Glankonkayn and Killatrough.

"The harbour of Derry is a most commodious harbour, safe and convenient for all sorts of shipping. Portrush is distant from thence 12 miles, and Loughswilly, 30 miles. Portrush is a sufficient road for the summer time and not so safe in winter, lying open to the north-east wind. Loughswilly is a tolerable harbour, being subject to the north winds only, which overblowing there is safety notwithstanding, running further into the land (32).

"It is likely upon the said coast, store of cod, ling, skate, and other fish might easily be taken, if they were as diligently sought for as elsewhere; but as they find none through the whole country pliant for fishing, they cannot certainly make report thereof; but it is certain that infinite store of cods, herrings, &c., are there, and upon the near adjacent islands of Scotland, yearly taken by Scots, Flemings, and French, whereof they learn there are 200 sail many times together. Find great store of seals, whereof the inhabitants complain exceedingly, supposing that they are much hindrance to herring fishing, which, if they could be taken, would yield plenty of train oil. Sea fowl are found in great abundance, swan, goose, barnacle, godwite, plovers, duck, mallard, &c., being thereof so great plenty as it is almost incredible to be reported. In the rivers of Loughfoyle and Bann, besides salmon and eels, there is great plenty of trout, flounders, and other small fish, and the said rivers by computation yield 120 tons of salmon yearly, and sometimes more. Learn also that in the river of Loughfoyle pearls have been and are taken, but cannot report of the

land. . . By this means London may be furnished with all sorts of timber, as joists, clapboards, wainscots, barrel boards, hoghead boards, oaken planks for shipping, and other uses. These kinds of commodities, I hope, in time, may be afforded here [in London] cheaper than the boards and timber which the Dutchmen bring hither. By this means the undertakers shall reap that profit which the Dutchmen now do, and be a means to set our shipping and mariners on work, for I have seen at one time, within these eight weeks, twelve great Flemish hoys and fly-boats all laden with timber."

(31). *The Mayola*.—This river, although having such a softly-sounding name, is often one of the most turgid and troublesome in Ulster. Its character, in this respect, however, is easily accounted for. The earlier part of its course is among lofty uplands, and it often brings down floods from the mountains to Lough Neagh, carrying with them bridges, obliterating roads, and devastating the valley through which it flows. It rises among the lofty mountains on the south-western extremity of Loughisholin barony, and falls into Lough Neagh at a point about two miles above Toome Bridge. It has witnessed changes along its banks,—which were once clothed by the woods of Glenconkeyne on one side, and by those of Killetragh on the other. The towns of Tubbermore, Castle-Dawson, and Draperstown, now look on its waters as they pass.

(32). *Into the land*.—In a "Rutter for Ireland, made

by Grandger, an expert master," are the following references to the winds and tides of these coasts:—"Horne Head and the entry of Loughsillie lie east-north-east and west-south-west 6 leagues. The entry of Lough Sillie [Lough Swilly] and the Isles of Enesterhall [Inistrahull] and Skerries Portrishe lie east-south-east and west-south-west ten leagues. You must understand that the river of Loughfoyle lies from Skerries Portrishe west-south-west; between them is the river of the Ban. Between Portrishe and Loughfoyle 5 leagues. In the entry of Loughfoyle is a sand called the Tonnes; go in on the north-west side of the Tonnes. Also a channel on the east side of the Tonnes, hard aboard the shore, but bring tide with you; it flows there east, and by south-west, and by north. Skerries Portriche and the Isle [Isle] lie south and north. Between them 12 leagues. Skerries Portriche and the island of Raghline north-east, and by east-south-west, and by west 7 leagues. It flows at Skerries Portriche east and west. Next the flood comes from the eastward, $\frac{1}{2}$ tide and more. Off the Raghline there is a Cape called Fairy Foreland [Fair Head] one league. The Fairy Foreland and the Knee, an island of Olderfleete, lie south-south-east and north-north-west 9 leagues. Off in the out course lie the Maydens, which have long trains of rocks under at half tide. Fairy Foreland, and Loch Reane [Ryan], in Scotland, lie east-south-east and west-north-west 15 leagues." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, 1603-24, pp. 437, 438.

quality and quantity thereof. The coast is apt and safe, taking a first wind to go to all parts, and such as are convenient for trade, both to the north and south."

It appears by an order of the Court of Aldermen, dated November 28, that the 'viewers' had then returned and made their report, and that an additional sum of 100*l.* was ordered to be paid to them, thus giving the four gentlemen one hundred pounds, each, as travelling expenses. On the 2nd of December, the Court of Common Council announced to the companies that the lords of his Majesty's council expected to hear, forthwith, the opinion and decision of the City on the subject of the plantation. It was ordered also, by the same court, that Sir Stephen Soame, and others, "calling unto them the four commissoners or viewers, should meet together to advise and consider of all matters and circumstances fit to be remembered about the plantation, and they were to be ready to make report to the next common council, in writing, of their opinions touching the same, whereby the City's resolute answer, concerning the said intended plantation, might be made and delivered to the lords of the council, in the time thereby limited." The report thus required was made on the 15th of the same month, and it recommended, in substance, to the common council that the sum of money to be expended on their plantation should not exceed 15,000*l.*, and that the same should be raised by way of companies, and in companies by the poll, according to the rate of corn (33) set upon every company. But some of the minor companies were thought fit to be spared, yet such men as were known to be able or wealthy, to be taxed proportionably with men of like ability in other companies, and for this levy it was proposed that an Act should be passed in the Court of Common Council.

After this statement as to the sum to be disbursed and the mode of collecting it, the committee gave it as their decided opinion that the Derry and the town of Coleraine should be adopted as the sites of the two cities to be erected; that 4,000 acres should be laid to Derry, and 3,000 to Coleraine; and that the rest of the territory and county of Coleraine, estimated at 16,000 acres (34) of temporal lands, more or less, should be undertaken. Various privileges, varying from those mentioned in the first project, were proposed to be claimed; and it was suggested that seven years' time should be asked for to make such other reasonable demands as time might show to be needful, but could not presently be foreseen. This important report concluded as follows:—"It is thought best that a company be constituted here in London, and persons to be selected for that purpose; and corporations to be settled in the two cities of Derry and Coleraine; and all things concerning this plantation and undertaking to be managed and performed in Ireland, by advice

(33). *Rate of corn.*—The corn-rate was levied by the city of London on occasions when it was found necessary to provide for the maintenance of the people in and about London, particularly the poorer classes. Whenever there appeared to be any scarcity of corn, the city of London, instead of making provision out of any funds of its own, taxed the companies, compelling each company to provide a certain number of bushels of corn, according to a certain tariff, by which the proportion of each company was ascertained. This exercise of power by the city of London over the companies arose from an Act passed to raise a certain quantity of corn by the poll, the city fixing the quota to be supplied by each, and having

the right to commit the wardens or masters of companies who refused to supply their quotas. It was arranged that the quota which each company had last paid under the corn-rate, was to be taken as the measure of the ability of the particular companies, and also as the measure of their abilities to comply with the act of common council, in raising the fund for the plantation. See *Skinner v. Irish Society*, pp. 472, 890.

(34). *At 16,000 acres.*—This quantity was probably not more than one seventh part of the arable temporal lands then to be undertaken by the Londoners in the county of Coleraine alone.

and direction of the company here in London." From the concluding paragraph of this report the *Irish Society* may be said to have drawn its troubled and unenviable existence. It is known by various names, but in its nature or character it is always the same. In England, this association is called the *Irish Society*; in Ireland, it is known as the *London Company*; but, by its own special baptism it is styled the *Honourable Society of the Governor and Assistants, London, of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland*.

The above report was approved by the common council, and the city recorder, with others, was appointed to present the same, as the City's answer to the lords of his Majesty's council. When this was done, the lords demurred at the sum of 15,000*l.* as being too small, and, in fact, declined to accept the offer thus made. The Court of Common Council was then obliged to order that a sum of 5,000*l.* should be added for the special purpose of buying up private interests, or rather tenant right in houses and lands in, and in the vicinity of Derry. The committees formerly appointed (four from each of the twelve companies) then presented their report with the addition of the sum last named, as their answer to the lords of council, and with it the latter appear to have been satisfied. Then, anticipating a final agreement with the Government, certain measures were promptly adopted by the Londoners. For the purpose of looking after the interests of the whole subject, especially in its relations with the policy of the Government, Sir Thomas Bennett, and 26 others, were constituted into committees. The committees, in the meantime, were to take "advised care and consideration of all matters whatsoever, that to them in their discretion should be thought fit to be propounded, moved, or done, on the behalf of the city, as the matter itself, being of that consequence and importance, did merit. Sir Thomas Bennett was appointed to be the president of these committees; and, besides the four viewers already named, the following were among those constituting the committees:—"Nicholas Leate; John Barton, ironmonger; John Gardener, mercer; William Dale, grocer; John Combe, draper; Martin Freeman, fishmonger; George Smithers, goldsmith; William Towerson, skinner; Richard Wright; William Greenwell, merchant tailor; William Harrison, haberdasher; William Turner, salter, &c. In order to expedite the work, the common council ordered a taxation of 20,000*l.*, with an immediate levy of the fourth part of it, which levy was to be made in companies, and by the poll, according to the corn rate, as already explained. The first levy was to be raised and paid on or before the Feast of the Purification next ensuing, to Mr. Cornelius Fishe, chamberlain of the city, who was appointed treasurer as well for the receipt and payment of the said 5,000*l.* as of the rest, being 15,000*l.*, when it should be required. See Lord Langdale's *Judgment, in the case of the Skinners' Company v. the Irish Society*.

The four 'viewers' confirmed so many former representations of a favourable character relative to the contemplated plantation, that from the moment of their departure from Ireland the affair was understood to be settled, although several conferences had still to be held. In view of its certainty, however, Chichester began to reflect that a few of the Londoners' probable demands could not well or wisely be granted, however desirable as fellow-workers they might be in the settlement of Ulster. Among these probable demands one would be an attempt to dispossess

Captain John Vaughan of his lands at Dunnalong. To prevent this, Chichester, from politic motives—and probably being anxious to oblige Vaughan—wrote to Salisbury, on the 1st of December, reminding him that a letter from London, on the 8th of April preceding, “signified that Captain Vaughan should be continued in possession of the fort of Dunalonge; and that he should be allotted two ballybetaghs of land, with conditions. In confidence whereof he has since made provision of all materials necessary for building or repairing of the place. Now, the Londoners are without doubt to plant a colony at the Derry; he is doubtful lest they should affect to have that from him, as they do other things on the opposite side in the county of Dunagall, and has besought his [Chichester's] interference. It is a place of no importance to their public designment, and since it shall behove them very much to have neighbours of his quality, experience, and ability, to undertake for so much; adding also thereunto that he is a freeman of their corporation at Derry, and that he hopes hereafter to be allowed of and continued among them, he [Chichester] makes no doubt but he will be held capable of their honour and benefits in the plantation.”

Chichester failed in securing the two ballybetaghs, 2,000 acres, for Vaughan, although the Londoners did not get this land, nor do they appear even to have asked for it. Among the grants to the Earl of Abercorn in that district was the large proportion of Dunnalong, containing 2,000 acres, whilst John, afterwards Sir John Vaughan, had an allotment of 1,000 acres in the barony of Kilmacrenan. No reference to Dunnalong appears in the reports of certain conferences held at that time between the Londoners and the commissioners for Irish causes. These conferences commenced on the 9th of January, 1609-10, and the following report of the proceedings has been preserved among the Irish State Papers:—

“The First Conference about the [new] Plantation of Ulster.”

“This day Sir Roger Wilbraham, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir James Ley, Sir James Fullerton, Knights, commissioners for Irish Causes, assisted by Mr. Corbett and Mr. Edwards, clerks of the council, met with the London Deputies in Mr. Recorder's Chambers in the Temple, and there commenced the business of the [new] Plantation of Ulster. The course held in the consultation was to consider the City's demands, and accommodate the same in such a manner as might be least chargeable to the King, and of most advantage to the plantation; wherein the demand of 4,000 acres to be laid to the Derry, and 3,000 to Colraine, came first in question.

“Demand of 4,000 acres of land to be laid to the Derry. The deputies for London demanded 4,000 acres to be laid out for the use of the inhabitants of the Derry, on the same side of the river as the town stands, excluding all and every part of Adhorties [O'Dogherty's] land, and also the castle of Culmore upon the mouth of the river; and as these 4,000 acres will comprise Lady Pawlett's land, and what else may haply belong to the Bishop of Derry, which is not yet known, they desire that all those titles may be cleared at the King's charge. However, they intend to build churches, and make endowments of competent livings for the maintenance of the ministry.

Answer. It was thought meet, albeit the quantities of acres demanded would fall out to be a very large extent, being taken all on the same side of the river, and clearing the Lady Pawlett's title chargeable to the King, yet that, for the furthering of the plantation, their demand should be made good; excepting the Bishop of Derry's title, especially that which he had for a seat within the town of Derry, either for a house for himself, or for a dean and chapter, which they leave to the consideration of the Lords" [of council].

"Demand of 3,000 acres in Colraine. The City deputies who were sent into Ireland observed, that the castle of Colraine stood on the west side of the Ban, in the county of Colraine, and that the river bank rose up so steep on that side that a town could not be seated there, either for water or for fishing. Finding the other side of the Ban, where the town of Colraine formerly stood, in the county of Antrim, more fit to build a city, they desire to build the town there, and to have 3,000 acres adjacent to it on the same side, in the county of Antrim. *Answer.* The demand of 3,000 acres to 100 houses has no proportion to the other of 4,000 acres to 200 houses; and the King has no ground on that side of the river to lay to the town, the whole country thereabouts belonging to Sir Randall MacDonnel. Move [*i.e.*, the commissioners for Irish causes move] that they [the Londoners] would take 1,000 acres on that [the Antrim] side, and 2,000 on the other. This they refused, insisting on the first demand, which was left to their Lordships [*i.e.*, the King's council].

"Demand of the woods of Glankonkeyne and Killeitragh. The third demand, in regard to these woods, was respited because it grew late, until the next meeting on Friday; but by the conference that passed, it was observed that that point would take up some time, as it was conceived that the woods were theirs to cut down and sell, wherein it were meet some directions were given."

"The Second Conference about the [new] Plantation of Ulster.

"Jan. 12. The conference beginning with a repetition of that which passed at the former meeting, those of London required that 7,000 acres might be laid adjacent to the towns, without bogs, mountains, or woods. *Answer.* That the bogs and mountains being good feeding grounds, are not to be excepted in laying out commons, unless they would suffer all such bogs and hills to be taken by other men, which would be inconvenient to the towns, or keep them as part of the adjacent ground, and so they would have a greater quantity of acres than they demanded. After much altercation, left undecided. *Demand.* To have the whole county of Colraine, whatsoever quantity more or less, undertaken at the rates set down, without exception of any part; and, to express themselves better, they name the abbey of Dungevin, with the demesnes more or less, the castle of Limavady, and every other part of the said county. *Answer.* That it might be, the said abbey, with the demesnes, was already granted to the college of Dublin, and would be hard to get back again. Moreover, it had been told them, that divers of the Irish, as Manus O'Kane and Manus Mekanally (35), freeholders in that county, were men of merit, and, having done

(35). *Makanally.*—This word is written *ut Quivally* Ballagh (O'Cahan). in another State Paper. It was intended for *Mac Coey*

good service to the State, could not be removed without inconvenience, besides the discouragement to men of desert. The Londoners replied that they named the abbey of Dungiven, because they understood there were some who went about to turn it to their own private ends. For those freeholders formerly named, they wished them well, but would by no means have any promiscuous habitation with the Irish, unless they were contented to be their tenants. Consideration left to the Lords.

"Demand. They demanded the woods of Clancumken [Glanconkeyn] and Killeightragh, with the soil of the same woods, to be wholly to their use and possession. *Answer.* That the woods were of as long extent as the whole county of Colrane, and more than would serve for that plantation. It was intended they [the Londoners] should have as much of these woods as would serve to build towns and plant the country, the remainder to be left to the use of posterity, or disposed of by the King. The Londoners replied that the woods in the county of Tyrone were of no use, but either to be spent on the ground, or to be brought down the Ban to those places they had undertaken; and that they were so spoiled by the people of the country in late years, that the best part was cut down and purloined away; whereby they feared there would be want of wood within a short time, unless some order was taken for their preservation. Their purpose was not to make any foreign sale of the wood, or turn it into merchandise, but having settled a trade in those parts, their care was to have timber for shipping. To that end they desired the conservation of those woods and the soil as lords of the same. *Difference.* Sir James Ley and the rest thought fit that the controversy should be continued in the King, and left it as a difference not agreed upon to the consideration of the Lords.

"Demand. They demand the patronage of all the churches to be built in any part of their plantation, or already built and having no incumbents, which the commissioners think fit to grant them, excepting such as are already passed to the college of Dublin (36).

"The demand of holding the county of Colrairie at the rent of 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for every thousand acres, excepting woods, mountains, and bogs; of holding the two cities and the lands laid unto them in free burgage (37), and the rest of the county lands in common socage, was in every point agreed unto.

"Being moved by Sir James Ley to fall in hand with such other courses as were fit to be thought on for the furtherance of the plantation in regard to the spring coming on, which should not be lost, the Londoners liked his motion, but excused themselves as not knowing how to proceed to levy the money before these things were cleared.

(36). *College of Dublin.*—It turned out that the college of Dublin got no footing in Londonderry, its patronage in the diocese including only the three parishes of Ardstraw, Cappagh, and Drumragh,—all in the county of Tyrone.

(37). *Free burgage.*—Tenure in *burgage* is defined by Glanvil, Littleton, and other high authorities to be simply tenure in socage; and it exists in cases where the King or other person is lord of an ancient borough, in which the tenements are held by a rent certain. Burgage is indeed, only a kind of town socage, as common socage, by which other lands are holden, is usually of a rural nature.

Many of these tenements, so held in ancient burgage, are subject to a great variety of customs; perhaps, the principal and most remarkable of which is that called *Borough-English* (so named in contradistinction to the Norman customs), viz., that the youngest son, and not the eldest, succeeds to the burgage tenement on the death of his father,—an arrangement which is supposed to be derived from the pastoral state of our British and German ancestors, in which all the sons but one migrated from the father, which one, always the youngest, became his heir. See Stephen's *Commentaries*, vol. i., pp. 211, 212.

"Third Conference concerning the [new] Plantation."

"Privileges demanded. Custom of all goods exported or imported, poundage, tonnage, the great and small customs (38); the salmon fishing of the river Ban and Loughfoile; transport of all prohibited wares growing on their own lands. The admiralty (39) of the coast of Tyrconnell and Colrairie; liberty of fishing at sea upon the coast, and peculiar fishing in all the rivers within their country. *Answer.* All these are thought fit to be granted, being formerly offered to the city in the project. *Demand.* That no flax, hemp, or yarn unwoven, be transported out of their ports, without license of the officers of the Derry and Colrairie. *Answer.* It may be yielded to as concerns flax and hemp, but there are two patents already granted for transporting yarn, one to the late Lady Rich, and a reversion to John West, which, if they could be called in, or otherwise fitted, were not amiss (40). *Demand.* That no hides be transported raw. *Answer.* This restraint may be yielded unto in their own ports, but no farther, for the greatest trade of Ireland is transporting raw hides (41). *Demand.* That as well the cities and towns, as the county of Colrairie, be freed

(38). *Customs.*—The customs are the duties of *poundage* and *tonnage* on goods imported, and of *poundage* on goods exported. Poundage is an ancient duty payable to the Crown on all merchandize and wares imported into, or exported from this realm, to be sold, except wines and oils, which pay custom by way of tonnage. And this duty, which has been granted to the Crown by various Acts of Parliament, in England, from the time of Edward III., and most after the rate of twelve pence in the pound, according to the several and respective values and rates of the merchandize, is said by Sir John Davys to have been first granted to King Henry VII. in this kingdom [Ireland], in the tenth year of his reign, for five years; and at the end of that term, to him and his heirs forever, after the rate aforesaid. And this is called the old poundage. *Tonnage* is a duty payable by the said statute on wines and certain oils imported into this kingdom, viz.:—Every tun of French wine imported by subjects, 3*l.* 10*s.*, imported by strangers, 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; every butt of Levant, Spanish, or Portugal wine, by subjects, 2*l.* 10*s.*, by strangers, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; every awme of Rhenish, by subjects, 15*s.*, by strangers, 20*s.*; every tun of rape or linseed oil, by subjects, 15*s.*, by strangers, 20*s.*; every tun of Spanish oil, by subjects, 2*l.* 10*s.*, by strangers, 3*l.* 5*s.*; every tun of sallet oil, by subjects, 3*l.* 3*s.*, by strangers, 3*l.* 18*s.*; every tun of Greenland oil, subjects, 8*s.*, strangers, 10*s.*; every tun of Newfoundland oil, subjects, 6*s.*, strangers, 7*s.* 6*d.* See Howard's *Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, i., 61, 62.

(39). *The admiralty.*—The admiralty of the coasts of Donegal and Londonderry, together with the appointment to the office of vice-admiral, was eventually conferred on the Londoners by the Crown. These privileges were given as the means of maritime defence, as well as for the protection of their trade. By this means they were enabled to banish the Hollanders, who then fished off the coasts of Ulster all the summer, selling vast quantities of the fish thus caught to the Spanish merchants, and within the straits. When any of the Londoners' own vessels happened to be wrecked on the coast, they had thus also the means of protecting their cargoes.

(40). *Not amiss.*—The Lady Rich, above-mentioned, was wife of Robert, the second Baron Rich, one of the noblemen who served on the trial of the Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of George Baldry, Esq., son and heir of Sir Thomas Baldry of London. How or why this lady came to get the license to export yarn from Ireland we cannot discover. At her death, the same privilege was granted to John West. "We have granted," says the King's letter, April 29, 1607, "unto John West, one of the groomes of our privie chamber, a lisenice to transport the number of 1,200 packes of yarne of that contrie, yearlie, and to continue for 21 yeares following." See Erck's *Repertory*, p. 352.

(41). *Raw hides.*—Among the earliest and most abundant of the exports of Ireland were raw hides, which the country could supply almost to any amount from its vast herds of cattle in every province, but especially in Ulster. "At the year 1430, Mr. Anderson quotes from Hakluyt, a curious poem descriptive of the commerce of Christendom at that period, 'Ireland's commodities' being enumerated as 'Hides and Fish, Salmon, Herrings, and Hake [a kind of fish], wool, linen cloth, and skins of wild beasts,' adding his own remark of the antiquity thereby demonstrated of a linen manufacture in Ireland. Fynes Moryson states the exports to have been hides, timber, fish, cattle, horses, and corn (when permitted), woollen and linen cloths in great quantities, hawks, aqua-vitae, and usquebagh, which was esteemed the best in the world." (See *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, p. 255). The objection put forward by the Londoners against the export of raw hides was general, among all classes, but the merchants or traders in this commodity themselves. It was objected that raw hides were bought by the merchants before being brought to market, and so exported and swept from the country at once, thus starving the tanners, raising the price of leather to the inhabitants, and defrauding his Majesty's customs. In a paper preserved among the *Carew MSS.*, it is stated that "in most of the market towns of the kingdom there is not a tanner within twenty miles of the market, and in Ulster

from all patents of privileges heretofore granted to any person, either of linseed oil, soap, ashes, or making glasses, or any other whatsoever, and that hereafter no patent of privileges be granted to any one within the said towns. *Answer.* If by course of law these patents can be revoked, it is wished that they were freed as demanded, and that in future no privilege should be given but by grant from hence, and the city called into it before it pass (42). *Demand.* To have command of the castle of Culmore, for search of all such as pass outward with commodities. *Answer.* Yielded unto, for they [the Londoners] pay the officers and soldiers. *Demand.* That the Liberties of the cities of Colrane and the Derry may be extended three miles every way, and that they may have such further liberties as, upon view of the charters of London, the Cinque Ports, or the City of Dublin, shall be found fit. *Answer.* Yielded unto. *Demand.* That all particular men's interest, either in land or otherwise, be freed to the City. *Answer.* Excepting church and college land. *Demand.* To have forces maintained at the King's charge, during the plantation, for the defence of those employed. *Answer.* Forces are fit to be maintained for some reasonable time. *Demand.* To have an Act of Parliament for settling and confirming these things, and also to have seven years' respite to consider such demands as shall further be thought fit."

VI.

The Londoners thus put forward their demands boldly and without stint, as if they had really, in their individual and collective capacity, determined upon a *bona fide* fulfilment of their own part in the bargain now to be made. But they can hardly get credit for much honesty of purpose, either towards the native Irish or the Government. They would have no "promiscuous habitation with the Irish, unless they were contented to be their [the Londoners'] tenants;" in other words, they would not tolerate the enormity of some three or four Irish gentlemen having small fragments of the lands that had belonged to their respective families for ages, unless these fragments were held from them [the Londoners]. They had no objection, however, to have "promiscuous habitation," so long as their own interests and convenience required, with the Irish grantees who could not become their tenants because compelled to remove to patches in other counties,—not, however, until by their labours the twelve precious companies occupying their lands had been actually floated, or set fairly to work. These Londoners also persistently refused or neglected to carry out honestly

there is but one that tans hides as they ought to be wrought. In this city [Dublin], which is the principal of the kingdom, few butchers are of ability to buy beeves, without loan of money from the merchants, who will not part with it but upon condition to have the hides at a price, and so they [the hides] never come to the market; if this be restrained, the city and we shall be ill-served with provision of this kind. Besides all which there is not 40,000 hides transported out of the kingdom in one year, nor in two, as may be collected by certificates of the customs, which I send herewith." *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, 1603-1624, p. 204.

(42). *Before it pass.*—Among the patents for monopolies thus standing in the way, and demanding by the Londoners to be removed, were such, principally, as consisted of

licenses for tanning, for the manufacture of oil, soap, and glass, for the export of yarns, and for the making of aquavita. Thus, on the 20th April, 1608, Sir Thomas Phillips had got a licence to make aquavita in Colraine county, and in the Route, in Antrim county. On the 2nd of June, 1607, a licence was given to John de la Grange, otherwise Verhoven, and Gabriel de Hase, Dutch merchants, to make oil and soap. In May, 1618, a licence was granted, no doubt with the consent of the Londoners, to Richard Fitz-Simon and Michael Taaffe, to erect tanning-houses, and to tan leather at the towns of Gortneyhanemagh, and Newtowne of Limevaddy, in the barony of Kenaught, in Londonderry county, which are herein appointed to be places for tanning. *Patent Rolls*, pp. 105, 131, 368.

their engagements with the Government, so that there soon commenced a chronic or continued quarrel with the authorities. For so far, however, everything went forward swimmingly in the arrangements between the council and the corporation. A manuscript preserved in the library of the British Museum contains the following prefatory statement to the articles signed by both sides :— "Upon the Reasons that were offered to ground this project and the further inducement of the business, it was for the first consideration referred to four of each company selected out of the twelve for the first conference of the business, and then their reasons did yield the same to be referred unto a common counsellor, and who should be there named committees for the business. Whereupon an acte passed to that effect, and these [were] appointed [representatives of] Committees for the business : Sir Thomas Bennett, Sir Thomas Lowe, Sir Leonard Hollyday, Sir James Pemberton, Mr. Cockaine, Mr. Bond, Mr. Nicholas Leat, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Meggs, Mr. Greenc, Mr. Soda, Mr. Robert Middleton, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheering, Mr. Barton, Mr. Crayford—who conferred on many points, and concluded, that by plantation it will secure and strengthen the rest of that kingdom, his Ma^{tie} and his dominions, and ease themselves as subjects of former burthens. These matters, reasons, and conferences so seriously debated, it was at length agreed by the said committees to undertake the said plantation, and thereupon the articles of agreement were conceived." These 'Articles,' which were formally signed on the 28th of January, 1609-10, were as follow :—

"Articles between the King and City of London for the plantation of the City of Derry and the County of Coleraine.

"Articles agreed upon the 28th January between the Lords of the Privy Council on the King's behalf on the one part, and the committees appointed by Act of Common Council on behalf of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London on the other part, concerning a plantation in part of the province of Ulster ; which articles were signed by the Lord Chancellor [Ellesmere], Lord Treasurer [Salisbury], Lord Privy Seal [Northampton], Lord Chamberlain [Suffolk], Earl of Worcester, Earl of Dunbar, Lord Zouch, Lord Knollis, Lord Stanhope, Sir John Herbert, and Sir Julius Cæsar ; and on behalf of the City, by Henry Montague, Sir Thomas Lowe, Sir John Jowels, William Cockaine, William Towerson, Nicholas Leate, William Doyers, Richard Wright, Martin Freeman, John Brand, George Smithes, William Dies, William Greenwell, John Barrer, William Harrison, William Turner, and James Hodson. 1. *Imprimis.* It is agreed by the City that 20,000*l.* shall be levied, whereof 15,000*l.* shall be expended on the intended plantation, and the other 5,000*l.* for clearing other men's interest in the things demanded. 2. That 200 houses shall be built at the Derry and room left for 300 more, and that 4,000 acres lying on the Derry side next adjacent to the City shall be laid thereunto, bog and barren mountain to be part thereof, but to go as waste to the city, the same to be done by indifferent [impartially chosen] commissioners. 3. That the Bishop and Dean of Derry shall have convenient plots for the site of three houses at the Derry. 4. That Coleraine shall be situated on the abbey side [*i.e.*, the Antrim, or northern bank of the river], and 100 houses built, and room left for 200 more ; and that 3,000 acres of land shall be laid thereto, *viz.*, 1,000 acres to be taken on the abbey side next adjacent to the town, and, if the King be pleased to erect and maintain a

bridge in perpetuity at his own charge, for a common passage over the river, between the town and county of Coleraine, then the other 2,000 acres shall be taken on the other [or western] side of the river; otherwise, the whole 3,000 acres are agreed to be taken on the abbey side, adjacent to the town. 5. That the measure and account of lands shall be after the balliboes, according to the King's last survey. 6. That the rest of the territory and entire county of Colrairie, esteemed at 10,000 acres, more or less, undertaken by the city, be cleared from all particular interests, except the inheritance of the Bishop and Dean of Derry, and certain portions of land to be assigned to three or four Irish gentlemen (see p. 355), at the most, now dwelling and settled in the county of Colrane, who are to be freeholders to the city [of London], and to pay them small rent, the same portions and rent to be limited by commissioners indifferently chosen between the King and the city. 7. That the woods, grounds, and soil of Glankonkeyne and Killeitragh, extending from the county of Colrairie to Ballenderry, be wholly to the city in perpetuity, the timber trees of those woods to be converted to the use of the plantation, and all necessary uses in Ireland, and not to be made merchandise. 8. That the soil in and among those said woods, which stands charged as conserved lands, be undertaken in the like form as the county of Coleraine. 9. That the city shall have the patronage of all the churches as well within the city of Derry and town of Colrairie, as in all lands undertaken by them. 10. That the 7,000 acres laid to the city of Derry and town of Coleraine shall be in fee-farm at the yearly rent of 5*s.* 4*d.* 11. That the city of Derry and town of Colrairie and 7,000 acres of land laid to them shall be held in free burgage. 12. That the residue of all the county lands and woods, and all such lands to be undertaken shall be held of the King in common socage. 13. That the customs of all goods imported or exported, poundage, tonnage, and the great and small customs, shall be enjoyed by the City [of London] for the term of 99 years within the city of Derry and town of Colrairie and county, and all ports and creeks thereof, paying yearly 66*s.* 8*d.* to the King as an acknowledgement, and to have the like for the port of Portrush. 14. That the salmon and eel fishing of the rivers Ban and Loughfoile as far as the river flows, and in the Ban as far as Loughneagh, shall be in perpetuity to the City. 15. That the City shall have liberty to transport all prohibited wares growing upon their own lands.

16. That the City shall have the office of the admiralty of the county of Tyrconnel and Coleraine, and all the royalties and profits thereto belonging, and shall have their own ships and goods which shall happen to be wrecked at sea, in Ballishannon and Olderfleet, and in all the coasts, ports, and creeks between them, saved to themselves.

17. That the City shall have the liberty of fishing and fowling upon all the coasts, as all other subjects have [*i.e.*, so far as the grant includes of the coast], and that it shall be lawful for them to draw their nets, and pack their fish upon any part of the coast they fish upon, and carry the same away, and that they have the several fishings and fowlings in the city of Derry and town and county of Colrairie, and all the lands to be undertaken by them, and the river of Loughfoile, as far as it flows, and the Ban as far as Loughneagh.

18. That no flax, hemp, or yarn unwoven, be carried out of the Derry and Colrairie without license of the City's officers, and that no hides be transferred without like license.

19. That as well the cities and towns, and the county of Colrairie be freed from all patents of privileges heretofore granted to any person, and that hereafter none be granted within the said cities, and that they shall be freed from all compositions and taxes, no way to be taxed or imposed by the government of those parts.

20. That the City shall have the castle of Culmore and the lands thereto belonging in fee-farm, they maintaining a sufficient ward and officer therein.

21. That the Liberties of Colerairie and the Derry shall extend three miles every way.

22. That the City shall have such further Liberties to the Derry and Colrairie, as upon the view of the charters of London, the Cinque Ports, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, or Dublin, shall be found fit.

23. That all particular men's interest in the places about the Derry and Colrairie, and other the undertakers' lands be cleared and free to the City (except as is excepted in the 6th article).

24. That sufficient forces shall be maintained at the King's charge, for the undertakers' safety for a certain time.

25. That for settling and securing all things touching the plantation aforesaid, the King will give his assent to Acts of Parliament here, and the like to pass in Ireland.

26. That the City will have time during seven years to make such other reasonable demands as time shall show to be needful.

27. That the City shall with all speed set forward the plantation in such sort that there may be 60 houses built in Derry and 40 in Colrairie by the 1st of November following, with convenient fortifications, the rest of the houses to be built and perfected by 1st November, 1611."

At the foot of a copy of the foregoing 'Articles,' dated 28 Jan., and found in the collection of State Papers discovered at Philadelphia, Chichester's endorsement records that he had received them on "the 4th of June, by Mr. Rowley." His secretary appropriately adds:—"Sir Donell O'Cahane, &c., were sent over about the last of October [1609] before the date hereof." To a third copy, a note signed by Salisbury, is appended, requiring Davys to "draw a book fit for his Majesty's signature, containing the King's grant to the committees to be named by the City of London, of all the lands, &c., mentioned in the aforesaid particular."

VII.

The foregoing 'Articles' were approved and formally accepted by the Court of Common Council on the 30th January, or two days after their being signed by the contracting parties. Although the Londoners did not receive the formal grant from the Crown until 1613, these 'Articles' took effect as soon as they had been mutually adopted, so that there was no hesitation on the part of the planters in commencing their operations. The possessions of various kinds thus handed over to them were literally immense—very much greater, indeed, than was supposed at the time even perhaps by themselves, and not less than 400,000 acres, exclusive of Church lands. Besides the fishings and the lands at Derry and Colerairie specified in the Articles, the Londoners were now put into possession of all the temporal lands in the baronies of Colerairie, Kenaght,

Tirkeerin, and Loughinsholin, for in being granted the vast woods of Glanconkine and Killetragh, they necessarily got the territory also on which the woods were standing. The lands of these four baronies had been divided into the regular number of 'proportions,' when surveyed in 1609, the name and extent of each being afterwards recited in the grant to the Londoners. It is to be regretted that the baronial maps made in 1609 of the county of Coleraine have not yet been found, but we have the map of Loughinsholin, which barony belonged to the county of Tyrone in 1609, when the survey was made. The following is the order in which the several baronies and proportions appear in the grant of 1613 to the Londoners:—

BARONY OF COLERAINE.

1. The large or great proportion called *Boughtbegg*, containing Hacketbegg and Aghlakightagh, two balliboes; Artbryan, Bratbooly, Hackmoore, Tirecurrin, Edermoole, Lennagorran, Knockmult, Boughtmore, and Finghmolan, one balliboe each; Farmoyle, three balliboes; Ballin-Skie, two balliboes; Gorticanan, one balliboe; Balsinoverick, two balliboes; Carneti, one balliboe; Ardsernam, two balliboes; Abegg, one balliboe; Ardcleave, one balliboe; Derdrimore, one balliboe; Berdabegg, one balliboe; Bownally, two balliboes; Balnesrona, two balliboes; Kittiny, one balliboe; Kenaghan, one balliboe; and one third part of Crooghan; in all, 2,000 acres, besides the glebe lands. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

2. The middle proportion called *Forntinule*, containing the lands of Lenamore, Ballinickallin, Askemdarouff, Lisnestreaghage, Coolecosscreagh, Cuisenegavasah, Boonavasy, Laughtavertie, Boontolasty, Tirekerrin, Ferrentinule, Gauvaghy, Carrowriny, Ballyhagan, Inistkleen, Cah, Moyettian, Tawnemore, Listahill, Talduff, Balliroman, Currahandalike, Ballyirin, and Bealerah, one balliboe each; and half the balliboe of Coolebane; in all, 1,500 acres, besides the glebe land. Rent, 8*l.*

3. The small proportion called *Lisestrim*, containing the lands of Gorcloghan, Ballintubber, Ballylenish, Bunaghy, Creggagole, Crossecloite, Laraagh, Tawnastrangoge, Ballineanaugh, Lisestrim, Lismoile, Moiletragh, Billagh, Boffide, Aghar, Dromsary, Trienaltenagh, Teadanbane, and Ballynory, one balliboe each; and the half of the balliboe of Coolebane aforesaid; in all, 1,120 acres, besides the glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.*

4. The small proportion of *Claggin*, containing the lands of Moyeny, Coolerawer, Maydaghy, Cooleneman, Corneroe, Dromdrivah, Cokenah, Moyun Kilmore, Moyhill, Bovegh, Claggin, Mully-Inch, Lissedeerymoile, Gortsada, Rousky, Dromstale, and Curali, one balliboe each; and $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a balliboe into three parts divided, in Knockduffe; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*

5. The small proportion called *Magheriboy*, containing the lands of Ballimory, Killarnye, Ballycharne, Dromencoyle, Tullamanaghan, Creaghan, Tonduffe, Tawnamaynen, Clonliry, Dromore, Quillan, Coolenonny, Ballytagart, Coolepregh, and Logan, one balliboe each; Magheriboy, two balliboes; and $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Knockduffe; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

6. The small proportion called *Cam*, containing the lands of Cooleegan, Kiltasse, Tirecreaghugh, Tabarren, Coolnesillagh, Moymaconogher, Cregileon, Ballineclough, Ballibrack, Ballinennoontagh, Dromidineagh, Kinconogher, Bally-Illiam, Coolenglasse, Balmechane, Cam, and Leckassastren, one balliboe each; and $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Crooghan in three equal parts divided; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

7. The scite, circuit, compass, and precinct of the monastery, or religious house of *Moycosquin*, and the several parcels of land belonging thereto, viz., Rinenas, two balliboes; Ballenege, two balliboes; Mardvarne, one balliboe; Kinadaghy, one balliboe; Solenemanagh, one balliboe; Lisimemoragh, one balliboe; and Ballyntire, two balliboes; in all, 600 acres. Rent, 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

THE BARONY OF LYMAVADY [NOW KENAGHT].

1. The great proportion of *Dowlina*, containing the lands of Bally-Ingollslony, Bally-Ichutan, Bally-Vickvachy, Bally-Ivery, Ballychastan, Shanlego, Listonan, Crott, Tircharran, Carrowe-Illan, Dowlin, Dram-Iderry, Ballymore, Ballyvrassell, Grannagh, Gortnamony, Maghermaskeagh, Ballyvonan, Maninanin, Clone, Tollyhernbegg, Tollyhernmore, Lissovalgarill, Tetnaduckah, Tradreagh, Derry, Tagallowe, Ardchell, Dromline, Kilruddy, Largartain, Bolliagh, Derryouragh, Garrydaw, Derryeightragh, Gartrarbry, and Ballyeskmore, each one balliboe; in all, 2,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 11*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

2. The middle proportion called *Culemore*, containing the lands of Glasseneky, Magherycargy, Nadd, Tonbrooke, Oghill, Tomor, Sessiaghheile, Glorke, Tollmakelly, Bally-Icheane, Cloggan, Culemore, Dromheighlin, Drommore, Carlarhagh, Soscarragan, Magherimore, Morage, Moybegg, Moymore, Tollegrome, Nanaroge, Largie, Ballykellye, Ananane, and Coolasson, being one balliboe each; and $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the balliboe of Dromen; in all, 1,500 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 8*l.*

3. The middle proportion called the *Cammes* (43), containing the lands of Finachar, Tollyoney, Gallavaghy, Moygrine, Reliagh, Knockean, Ballywony, Meldony, Charagan, Droma, Derryard, Bunkenley, Derretahy, Strugmy, Cammes, Inishgonohor, Dromnesse, Ballynassa, Gortaclorre, Ballyvickatt, Gortgarn, Leanemore, Derry-Iorke, Gortnagrosse, Tiregoulán, and Brissine, being one

(43). *Cammes*.—The name of the religious house which stood here was also written Cammys and Camus. "Of the ancient abbey of Cambos or Camus," says Dr. Reeves, "nothing now remains but the cemetery and the shaft of a sculptured cross, which, having been removed from its socket, lay neglected till it was turned to barbarous purpose by being converted into a gate-post, in which position it is now [1850] to be seen on the right hand, as you enter the churchyard. The patron saint was Comghail." (See *Colton's Visitation*, p. 83). The Inquisition of 1609 has the following reference to one of the divisions in this proportion:—"Out of the half balliboe of herenagh land of *Ballynasse*, and the late [eel] weare, near *Ballynasse*, in the parish of Camos, 6*s.* 8*d.* per ann.; and alsoe out of the herenagh land of Camos, contayninge one quarter neere the parisshe church of Camos. The Patent recites 'the

quarter of Camus with the castle of Castleroe, and the Ballyboe of Ballynas.' *Baile-an-Easa*, 'the town of the waterfall,' was so called from the famous cataract of *Eas Craoibhe*, 'Eascreeve.'" (*Ibid.* p. 77; see also p. 18 *supra*). When the Rev. G. V. Sampson referred to this place in the year 1814, he says:—"About three miles south of Coleraine, on the Bann, St. Congal founded a celebrated monastery in 580. I suggest to the author of *Monasticon Hibernicum* [Archdall], that this is now a ruin; the very foundation stones have been displaced. The font only remains, with a curious pillar sculptured, but somewhat effaced." Sampson's *Memoir of Chart*, p. 322). The font had disappeared in 1850, when Dr. Reeves visited the place; and what Sampson calls "a curious pillar" was, no doubt, the shaft of the ancient cross.

balliboe each ; and the half of the balliboe of Ballyvickiltuff ; in all, 1,500 acres, besides glebe lands. Rent, 8*l.* *os.* *od.*

4. The small proportion called *Barcagh*, containing the lands of Carrowvanagh, Crinell, Carhowreagh, Carhowclare, Ballyvickrona, Barcagh, Culmore, Lomon, Breg-Ichter, Broghlasscarth, Faharleigh, Barnally, Tollyholly, Corveel, Bragirstin, Ballyspellan, Nacarnan, and Dromany, being one balliboe each ; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

5. The small proportion called *Rousky*, containing the lands of Ballyrestbegg, Largareagh, Gortnagaren, Nahibine, Clonkine, Rusky, Torverquin, Lacke, Dromerawer, Ballyneheedy, Ballyawla, Ballichrone, Feadanmore, Tiradowe, Carnan, and Derry, one balliboe each ; and $\frac{1}{6}$ parts of the balliboe of Aghasellagh ; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

6. The small proportion called *Mackan*, containing the lands of Templemoyle, Carrigdoanry, Carrigballyshein, Bally-Ileghy, Dromnogosker, Tirodremon, Cloghan, Lislán, Dromardrein, Mackan, Lisgallan, Dromsoren, Gortinarny, Bolnille, Dromgana, Damgovehor, Sanlegadan, Lieg, and Glanconowy, each being one balliboe ; the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the ballyboe of Ballyveilguff ; and the $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the balliboe of Aghasallagh ; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

7. The monastery or religious house of Dungivin, its site, circuit, and precinct ; the castle, town, and lands of Dungivin, otherwise Magheriboy, Machericknockagune, Ballyvelly, Amountege, Ovill, Tirvill, Lisidahellogé, and Inishmore, being each one balliboe ; in all, 380 acres. Rent, 2*l.* *os.* 6*d.*

THE BARONY OF ANAGH (NOW TIRKEERIN).

1. The great proportion called *Lisglasse*, containing the lands of Lehessagmore, Brehime, Doonehugh, Kedibaine, Dromagtagh, Ballyoyre, Magheriekenan, Gortenure, Tawnamore, Ballintemple, Cromchill, Ballivaddigan, Urbleshawry, Gortnegrowsha, Tullealenowtra, Family, Kallamriseoch, Tullyalleneightragh, Maghierenesteagh, Lisglasse, Carrowneferney, Coolerefrey, Dromgortfeighna, Liscadeolan, Shian, Tardmore, Killamrisneglogh, Lism^ekiriellbegg, Clonkem, Dromnegoy, Disor-Cowan, Gortin, Dromcoran, Tully-yeightra, and Tully-yowtra, one balliboe each ; and $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the balliboe of Gobnieskrald ; in all, 2,000 acres, besides the glebe land. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

2. The middle proportion called *Loyer*, containing the lands of Dromcongoose, being $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe ; Loonge, Dromkarkan, Killesorra, Moyledirge, Boylisallagh, Kemkoyle, Tireglasse, Ballaghe-Cudan, Sallaboby, Downedie, Tinagh, Gorsecreghan, Doongrenny, Laghteelab, Turedrien, Loyer, Mony-Ihan, Tunercon, Dromcomead, Tueneighter, Coolemonyn, Drien, Ballidonegan, Tullygoan, and Maghlsike, being each one balliboe ; in all, 1,500 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 8*l.*

3. The small proportion called *Monaghbegg*, containing the lands of Gleaghshagmore, Altcongalluan, Shraghtoristin, Leagh, Dromnehewnagh, Fincharne, Lismekerillmore, Gortcha, Monaghbegg, Monaghin, Corowneshragh, Gortrie, Gortanegrosse, Dragbracken, Gortenasse, and Treadonreough, one balliboe each ; and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the balliboe of Gobeneskale ; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

4. The small proportion called *Moyegboy*, containing the lands of Tawnalloghe, Moyegboy, Bealad, Daghum, Aghecarney, Moydowny, Lisriemagall, Edingillyhoppy, Leick, Lisnebrear, Caveniedony, Laghmagillegan, and Mullaroo, Carrick-Igroogie, Carrowkilly, and Carricketenentin, being each one balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

5. The small proportion called *Carnemoyagh*, containing the lands of Cloghtell, Doovenarran, Tully, Camsan, Doonkrooner, Lawchill, Killy-Illan, Croggan, Doongolyn, Glassedeely, Correygarry, Doonelahad, Dirrin, Carrickhagh, Caraymoyegh, Ballinekilly, Lisneale, and Tirennekoghy, being each one balliboe; and $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the balliboe of Moyegh; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

6. The small proportion called *Brackmoy*, containing the lands of Ardkilly, Kilnehumrhy, Shragduffburrin, Laskah, Cooledoogie, Ballykillaan, Tulla, Tawnamore, Clonelagh, Taiduff, Brackmoy, Killkattyn, Liskillaleigh, Laghtmanus, Balliartan, Lettermuicke, and Gortebegge, being each one ballyboe; and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the balliboe of Dromcongoose; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

7. The small proportion called *Kildonan*, containing the lands of Nefawncy, Ballenemoyre, Kildonan, Irremech, Lisserass, Mullaboy, Oghill, Doongillen, Brackagh, Gortendrohide, Templemoile, Gortyertie, Dirryarkan, Gortmury, Carrownekilly, Cashill, and Tullinrie, one balliboe each; and $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Moyegh; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe lands. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

8. The castle and town of *Gortanuania* otherwise *Lemnavaddi*, Rawrodibegg, Rawrodimore, Kill-Jan, Dromballydonaghy, Lissachellin, and Arneregilt, being one balliboe each; in all, 420 acres. Also, the lands of Tarnaman, Clontager, Carne, Borsill, and Crenbarigh, being each one balliboe; in all, 300 acres. Rent, 1*l.* 12*s.*

THE BARONY OF LOUGHINSHOLIN (44).

1. The middle proportion called *Ballinemanagh*, in the territory of Killetragh, containing the lands of Loughry, Aghiwillie, Moyagadon, Ballyogroby, Ballyogourke, Tallaghdowan, Ballmenavagh, Gortgelly, Anaghfutty, Moyruck-Igillnory, Douneconan, Ballyomigan, Ballyomillagan, Ballinealebegg, Ballyfire, Killnamuck, Ballydonnell, Bally-Innilty, Ballyaghorke, Ballyorey, and Ballealmore, one balliboe each; Ballivickgilligirke and Ballcoronan, two balliboes each; and $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the balliboe of the Liscomnare; in all, 1,500 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 8*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

2. The small proportion called *Drumroth*, in the territory of Killetragh, containing the lands of Tullowghy, Ballmeverleigh, Monyotorkon, Caghedy, Dromdrem, Balliolaghan, Dromroff, Monyhagh, Monymore, Carneny, Dolosky, Tanaghvore, and Anaghaula, one balliboe each; Dromellan and Garavagh, one balliboe; the two Ballioghonais, one balliboe; Crossveig, one

(44). *Loughinsholin*.—The baronial map of 1609 presents this barony in two sections, the first containing the ancient territories of Killetragh, Tomlagh [Tamlaght], Tarragher, and Melannagh; the second section containing Glanconkeyne and Clandonel. The first section is bounded on the east by Lough Beg and the river Bann; on the south-east, by Lough Neagh; on the south-west, west, and north-west, by the barony of Dungannon, and

on the north, by the barony of Strabane. This whole section is represented as generally covered with woods, but free from bogs. The castle of "Toime," between Lough Neagh and Lough Begg, is represented as in a ruinous or decayed state. The second section is shown on the map as also very much wooded, with several patches of bog in the Clandonel territory.

balliboe; and $\frac{1}{2}$ parts of a balliboe in Ballydally; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

3. The small proportion called *Tirnafessy*, in the territory of Killetragh, containing the lands of Tollmogarne, Tollimire, Caines, Rosinnaula, Keile-Ibasky, Donnoraughy, Tirehanny, Tirenefessy, Knockadue, Nadentagh, Moyreskenan, Carrowganah, Tollitasan, Cultrane, Tirenrackan, Nunne, Crossvarrey, and Tullavine, each one balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe lands. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

4. The great proportion called *Gortconra*, in the territory of Clandonnell, and containing the lands of Knocknell, Corlacky, Dirla, Slackmele, Gronchan, Ballitotry, Cowlagnow, Liskatvill, Balmencaw, Balmebeghy, Moniservan, Gortmarey, Mahanegrellah, Balememackry, Gortconra, Ballynekedine, Taghvickanvey, Killogolib, Kilnamuck, Aghfortlany, Tirgaraly, Ballinekillicarrow, Culenady, Timagerah, Dungladdy, Dromunick, Derman, Teadaw, Lissegrott, Monysellan, Moyegney, Moyekneck, Lislea, Monisteaghna, and Ballivickeekeitrigh, each one balliboe; and $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the balliboe of Moygallo; in all, 2,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

5. The small proportion called *Ballymacrossy*, in the territory of the Clandonnell, and containing the lands of Dromlagha, Tiscarta, Ballmahoun, Laughtanogolan, Galladowe, Coulsie, Ballmecrassie, Ballmadoregin, Caragnagouse, Monaghtolea, Currin, Taberhidy, Ballmecabry, Ballmaghorihi, Tiracarnam, Dromard, Leimmeighry, and Moyagalle, each one balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

6. The small proportion called *Moysaden*, in the territory of Glankonkein, and containing the lands of Tonnaghvore, Donnagraven, Ballmeclom, Tobarmore, Dromore, Lawny, Dromaraghy, Conlaire, Gortitawry, Dromsanna, Moysaden, Culemoire, Killitomny, Cowlanamone, and Kilnacring, one balliboe each; Cloghom, one balliboe and a half: the half of the balliboe of Drombally; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

7. The small proportion called *Cynah*, in Glanconkein, and containing the lands of Gortihorky, Consaran, Ballmegallan, Cynagh, Momisholm, Lysanny, Ballyngam, Rosiare, Ballytannylour, Gortmeren, Torrigan, Crannagh, Lickmahary, Vrackah, and Derryneskellan, each one balliboe; Langhell, one balliboe and a half; $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the balliboe of Lislea; and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the balliboe of Drombally; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

8. The small proportion called *Cohoire*, in the territory of Glankonkein, and containing the lands of Moylehaghie, Ballmehounhighy, Banchran, Donagilleduff, Laghtmesky, Ballmelappagh, Tonnagh, Cohoire, Dromohderigg, Ballymadaulaght, Dromegane, Moychellan, Rahmeigh, Monygroyan, Ballydomedam, Ballymebracky, each one balliboe; $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the balliboe of Lislea; Ballyroghan, $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a balliboe; Moycherrin, $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a balliboe; Dromealegan, $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a balliboe; and Tristernan, $\frac{1}{3}$ part of a balliboe; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

9. The small proportion called *Corramony*, in the territories of Glanconkeine and Clandonnell, and containing the lands of Ballyknock-Icleny, Fillaley, Culnesellah, Falaglona, Namroah, Ballma-brcky, Carely, Dromballyagan, Domituibrian, Moybegg, Corramony, Clony, Derrynard, and Balmen-

oure, being one balliboe each ; Mollyshanare, two balliboes ; Dromard, $\frac{1}{3}$, part of a balliboe ; in all, 1,000 acres, besides glebe land. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

10. The small proportion called *Tyrassan*, containing the lands of Moyonnihim, Tyrassan, Keibarna, Lismony, Tonnaghmore, Derrichrome, and Donnemane, being one balliboe each ; in all, 420 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

11. Also lands in the territory of Killetragh, called Cowbuffman, Tollinoghiy, Cully, Moysada, Laraghcaraminick, Tannagough, and Tallaghgaraff, one balliboe each ; in all, 420 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

12. Also lands in Killetragh called Ballyvolly, Ballydroma, Moynollin, Ballyonough, Dromanare, and Ballioregle, each one balliboe ; Ballyoyellans, two balliboes ; Ballicomile, and Ballyrousky, one balliboe each ; and $\frac{1}{3}$, part of Ballydally ; in all, 560 acres. Rent, 2*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.*

13. The great proportion called *Balleletrim*, in the territory of Tollagh [Tamlaght], and containing the lands of Cloneroine and Monistean, being one balliboe each ; Ballemenoe, two balliboes ; Ballyvickpeeke, two balliboes ; Ballgillthony, Bally-Inallewey, Ballyaghy, Ballydromenew, Ballyhowlaght-Igane, Keil-Ibary, Ballydermody, Balleletrim, Nedanreagh, Shanrallogh, Tannagharan, Ballygonohar, Tagmoraghy, Anaghmore, Ballykelis, Aghageskan, Ballyheneire, Magherifesty, Donnemony, Tirmchisse, and Aghrine, one balliboe each ; in all, 2,500 acres, besides glebe lands. Rent, ———

14. The small proportion called *Lackah*, in the territories of Killetragh and Tomlagh, and containing the lands of Ballycamekin, Ballinckgillchony, Killyfeddy, Ballymogarig, Ballycussiny, Lurgagullanamen, and Bally-Itany-Isart-Donan, one balliboe each ; Mollagbay, two balliboes ; Lockagh, Ballytereion, Drommagh, Ballymagachew, Ballyvickgingin, and Derrygarraff, being one balliboe each ; Moyelagh, two balliboes ; and $\frac{1}{3}$, part of Liscomare ; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

VIII.

In the interval between the date of the articles and the granting of the charter in 1613, many arrangements were to be made by the Government—the most important and difficult, perhaps, being to clear such lands in the vicinities of Derry and Coleraine as were required to accommodate the new towns to be built at these places. In 1605, Phillips bought from Sir James Hamilton, who had got nearly all the abbey lands in Down and Antrim (45), the site, surroundings, and landed

(45). *Down and Antrim*.—Among the State Papers is the following, which shows at a glance how these lands had been disposed of throughout the two counties above-named :—"Priory of Moylusk [now Malusk in Carnmoney], James Hamilton. Priory of Muckmaye [Muikamore], Hercules Langford. Desert, *alias* Keils, Arthur Chichester. Priory of Holliwood, James Hamilton. Abbey of Bangor, James Hamilton. Abbey of Blackabbey, James Hamilton. Abbey of Moyville [now Movilla], James Hamilton and Hugh Mungumery [Montgomery]. Priory of Newtowne [in the Ards], James Hamilton. Abbey of Jugo Dei [or Manister Leigh, translated *Greyabbey*], James Hamilton. Priory of Coleraine, Thomas Phillips. Abbey of Cumber, James

Hamilton. Monastery of St. Patrick of Down, James Hamilton. Priory of Inche in Lecall [Lecale], James Hamilton. Rectory of Graunge, *alias* Colegraunge, and the town and water of Strangforde, James Hamilton. Rectories of Ballirickarde and Kilcole, belonging to the abbey of St. Thomas and John, in Down, James Hamilton. House of the Monks of Downe, James Hamilton. House of the Order of St. Francis, James Hamilton. Monasteries of St. Patrick, Inche, Sawle, and Down, James Hamilton. Church of Ballimonestragh, James Hamilton. 14 May, 1610." For an account of this Sir James Hamilton, who was created Lord Clannaboy, see the *Hamilton MSS.*, edited by T. K. Lowry.

property that had belonged to the old monastery of Coleraine. This, however, appeared but a contemptible holding in the purchaser's estimation, although he had got it supplemented by certain other little pickings there, and at Derry. He aimed at having a large estate as a reward for his services to the Crown, and on the flight of the earls, he expected that the day of his good fortune had assuredly come, modestly requesting that he might be rewarded from O'Neill's lands. In writing to Salisbury, from Coleraine, on the 10th of May, 1608, Phillips "protests that his estate is worse now than when he was called out of France. This place [Coleraine] wherein he now dwells, he bought with his own money; and all the land belonging to it [the monastery] is but four townlands, whereof he makes no more than 15*l.* by the year, having endeavoured for his own strength, and for his Majesty's service, to encourage honest men to dwell near unto him. There is on the other side this river, directly opposite to him, the ruined walls of an old castle within caliver shot, which the Lord Deputy has purposed, for the better strength of this place, to write to his Majesty to bestow upon him [Phillips], with 2,000 acres of land now in his Majesty's gift. Begs his Lordship [Salisbury] that 3,000 or 4,000 acres may be bestowed on him, together with the continuance of the 100 men whom he now has."

Sir Thomas was destined, however, for a time, to experience the pain of hope deferred, although his services were greatly enhanced soon afterwards during the revolt of O'Dogherty, and especially by his removal of Sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan to a dungeon in Dublin. Sir Thomas might now reasonably expect his reward; but lo! just as he had thus cleared O'Cahan's country, on which he had set his heart, the Londoners came forward to blight his cherished hopes. But all is not lost that may be in danger. He was, as we have already seen, selected by the council in London, as the most competent person to guide and instruct them in their negotiations with that astute and avaricious body known as the 'City.' Phillips was specially required to *view* O'Cahan's country in the interests of the King; and probably permitted, at the same time, to look about in it for some such portion as he would think might suit himself. He must soon surrender his four townlands east of the Bann, his market in Coleraine, his ferries on the river, his quarter of land called Termonbacco [128 acres] adjoining the Derry, and even his patent to make *aquavitae* in the county of Coleraine and in the Route (46). The Government was impressed with a

(46). *The Route*.—The reader may see several grants to Sir Thomas Phillips recorded in Erck's *Repertory*, pp. 191, 231, 257, 375, 415, 477. His license to make *aquavitae* was granted "on the 20th of Apriell, 1608, for the next seaven yeres, within the countie of Colrane, otherwise called O'Cahane's countrey, and within the territorie called the Rowte, in Co. Antrim." The following is the alleged excuse, in each case, for granting these licenses to nobility and gentry to manufacture and sell what we call *whiskey* in their several districts:—"To avoide the waste of corne and other thinges spent and consumed in the inordinate makeinge of aquavita, the Act of 3rd and 4th Philip and Marie, chap. 7, was passed; which enacts, that noe person should, without the license of the lord deputy, make any aquavite within Ireland, upon paine of imprisonment and forfeiture of 4*l.* Irish, for every such offence; one moiety whereof to go to the Crowne,

and the other to such person as should sue for same; provided said acte shall not extend to any peers or gentlemen, dispendinge to his owne use, in landes or tenements, for terme of life or inheritance, 10*l.* sterlinge by the yeere, or to any freeman dwellinge in any cittie or borough towne, that is charged with burgesses to parliamente, who shall make aquavitae for their owne expenses onlie. But, as said acte hath not taken soe good effect as was intended, for want of sufficient care and diligence to see the same well and truelie executed, the mischiefe was not yet remedied; but aquavitae was daylie made in abundance by all manner of persons, contrarie to the profitable intention of such lawe, to the greate wastinge and consuminge of corne, graine, and other necessities spent in makeinge thereof, and to the hurt and prejudice of the common-wealth. Forasmuch, therefore, as the restrayninge of the makeinge aquavitae into the handes of a fewe persons will

due sense of the value of his services on many occasions, and was prepared to acknowledge them when a suitable opportunity could be found. Phillips very soon found it; for having carefully viewed O'Cahan's 'fruitful country,' he lighted on two spots of the best land in its whole extent, and situated on its opposite boundaries. These spots are now known as the lands surrounding Limavaddy and Castledawson—Sir Thomas modestly representing the latter as a comparative marsh or swamp, and the other as fitted to answer the purposes only of a horse park! Besides, he represented these lands, upon which he had placed his affections, as much smaller in quantity or extent than they really were, else they had expanded very considerably soon after he obtained legal possession of the same. The lands had been promised to him, or nominally granted by the King, prior to the bargain with the Londoners, so that the latter were required to acknowledge this compact, and afterwards to confirm it by a grant from the governor of their Company, in 1612. Phillips's property, therefore, was excepted from the grant made to the Londoners in March, 1613, and did not appear at all in the survey which required to be made when they were about to divide their lands into twelve proportions for the twelve leading companies. The grant to Sir Thomas is described as being from the King, although the lands are conveyed by the Society. It specifies first, that portion of the grantee's estate which lay in the barony of Loughinshollin, then belonging to Tyrone, and which portion included the towns and lands of "Mayola, Taunarran, Leytriem, Derrey, Garran, Ballin^cquiggin, Shanmullagh, and Arnaghmore otherwise Dromroscome." By much the larger portion, however, lay in the county of Coleraine, and its several denominations therein are recited in the grant, as follows:—"The castle of Lymovade, the town of Lymovade, and the ballibetaghs, balliboes, quarters, and townlands of Gortney, Hanemagh, Coulasson, Killeyane, Rathbridebegg, Rathbridemore, Derreymore, Derreymoyle, and Ballyne-Cluose, a half balliboe, all being within the ballibetagh of Rathbride; the quarter of Mallegene-Crosse, containing the balliboes or townlands of Ballymore, Ballem^aenagh, Boshea, with Mullagh otherwise Cavenmore, and the chapel built thereon; the quarter of Ballyquin, in the ballibetagh of Ballefoercula, containing the townlands of Ballyquin, Claggin otherwise Ballinekillie, Carrick, Tereo, and Dremon; the ballibetagh of Ballym^eorough otherwise Moyrowe, containing the townlands of Loman, Drom, Balledonaghy, Ardnerigall, Cornedeale, Barnealleigh, Backavickin otherwise Ballem^erannah, Carne-Clara, Carnereagh, Carnevainought otherwise Menagh-Carne, Nemodoule, Crinnell, Ballehynerye, and Ballanaghcrosse or Culmore; the ballibetagh of Ballefallaghan, containing the townlands of Ballemaghermore, Ballemynaroy otherwise Menarag, Larginroe, Tawlegrone, Drommore, Corbarragh, Sustraghan, Dromgighlane, Coalemor, Claggin, Tatnessellagh, Moyghmore, and Moyghbegg. All which premises were conveyed to him by deed, 26 September, 1612, by William Cockayne (47), alderman of London,

he a cause of lesse use thereof, than if otherwise it were free for all men to make the same at their will and pleasure, the above licence was granted." See Erck's *Reper-tory*, p. 409.

(47). *Cockayne*.—This William Cockayne, or Cockaine, was a well-known London merchant, sheriff in 1609, and soon afterwards elected an alderman. He was much dis-

tinguished among his own class as the head or chief of an association then established, called the New Company of Merchant Adventurers. This company, by way of initiating its operations, and starting under the mightiest auspices, entertained the King at a great banquet, in Cockaine's house, on the 29th of June, in the year above named. He died in 1626, and Dr. Donne preached his funeral oration. By Mary

governor, and the other commissioners of plantation for the said city, in the province of Ulster. The lands in Colrairie county are created the manor of Lymovade, with 500 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, to hold court barons and leet. Rent, six shillings per annum. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in common socage, 30 December, 10th" [1612]. Such then, were the terms which Phillips obtained, but they do not appear to have reconciled him to the plantation of the Londoners on lands which he had previously regarded as all but his own.

The next important case of clearing, as preparatory to the Londoners' plantation, was that in which Sir Randal Macdonnell was the obstacle requiring to be removed from a very important portion of his estate. The Government was able at first to offer only 1,000 acres on the eastern or Antrim side of the Bann, for the use or accommodation of the new town about to be built at Colerairie; two thousand more could have been supplied on the western side of the river, and thus the amount required, it was supposed, might have been made up without the necessity of any further clearance than had been decided on in the case of the four townlands surrendered by Phillips. But the Londoners having been permitted to build their new town on the eastern bank, where the old town stood, would only consent to take the whole 3,000 acres on the Antrim side, and hence, the Government was obliged to enter into negotiations with Sir Randal, for 2,000 acres of his estate. The latter was thus suddenly called on to surrender one of the best portions of his property, and had to incur very serious inconvenience and trouble in removing some of his tenants to other districts. His readiness to yield, however, was very graciously and substantially acknowledged by the King and council, as it enabled them to have the matter expeditiously arranged. Early in May, 1610, Sir Randal received a summons from London to go there without delay, as his presence was essential in the settlement of this affair. By the same post, Chichester received a letter of licence for Sir Randal to leave Ireland for a time; and on giving him this licence, the deputy accompanied it with the following friendly communication—friendly, considering the relations that had previously existed between himself and the Lord of Dunluce (48):—"Has received his [Salisbury's] letter for licence to the bearer, Sir Randal McDonnell, to make his repair thither, to answer the expectations of some of his friends who wished to have him there at this time, to make

Morris his wife, he left two sons, Charles and William, the last of whom was elevated to the peerage of Ireland in 1642, by the title of Viscount Cullen. Alderman Sir William Cockaine's daughters made distinguished marriage alliances. *Mary*, married Charles Howard, the second Earl of Nottingham; *Anne* married Sir Hatton Fernor of East Neston, Northamptonshire; *Martha* married, first, John Ramsay, Earl of Holderness, and secondly, Montagu Bertie, Earl of Lindsey; *Elizabeth* married, first, Thomas Viscount Fanshawe, and secondly, Sir Thomas Rich, Bart, of Sunning, in Berkshire; and *Abigail* married John Carey, Earl of Dover. By the death of Borlase Cockaine, 6th Viscount Cullen, in July, 1813, the title became extinct. (See Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, p. 126). In the 'Funeral Certificate' of Sir Wm. Cockayne, it is stated, that he "departed this mortall life at his house at Combe Nevill, Surrey, the 20th Oct., 1626, and was from thence conveyed to his house in Broadstreete, in the parish of St. Peter the Poore, London, where his funerall was most

worshipfullie solemnised. proceeding from thence on Tuesday, the 12th day of December, 1626, to the cathedrall Church of St. Paul, in London, and there after his funerall rites and obsequies were performed, he was interred in Isle on the south side of the Quier. There were borne in the proceeding of his funerall a standard and eight penons, viz., a penon of his owne coate impaled with his wife's, a penon of the armes of the Company of Skynners, a penon of the armes of the cittie of London, a penon of the armes of the Merchants Adventurers, a penon of the armes of the East India Merchants, a penon of the Eastland Merchants' armes, and a penon of the armes of the Muscovia Merchants; and he was buried with a standing hearse." See Nichol's *History of the Ironmongers' Company*, p. 528.

(48). *Dunluce*.—The previously very unpleasant relations existing between these two knights—Chichester and Macdonnell—are pretty fully stated in chapter v. of Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*.

his own agreement the better with the Londoners for a great scope of his land which they require to be laid on that side of the river, to the town of Coleraine. Their demand is very great, and it is for the best and most useful land he has, considering the site thereof and nearness to the new town; whereof it concerns him very much to have his [Salisbury's] favour therein, both for the reasonable quantity of land to be assigned, and for the consideration which is to be given him for it. It may much import the furtherance of this summer's intended plantation in that part, to have him returned back again with expedition, and with all lawful favour. Dublin, 15 May, 1610."

How much the Londoners were required to pay on this occasion we are unable to determine, but there is evidence of a very important boon conferred by the Government on Sir Randal, which appears, however, to have been granted not so much as an actual compensation for the land surrendered by him, as an acknowledgment of the loyalty with which he relieved the King and council in a difficulty, and, at the same time, thus greatly facilitated the work of plantation. However this may be, there is an indenture (the counterpart is still preserved among the family papers at Glenarm castle) between the lords of council on behalf of the King of the one part, and Sir Randal, of the other part, relating to this special subject, bearing date July 11, 1610, and containing the autographs of Salisbury, Northampton, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and the other members of the council. This document recites that Sir Randal had consented to surrender nine townlands, each containing about 200 acres, or thereabouts, "in furtherance of his Majesty's service in the plantation of Ulster," and promises, in return, a re-grant of his estates for *half* the original rent, a smaller number of foot soldiers at every rising out than that specified in Sir Randal's first patent of 1603, and only *one cast of falcons*, instead of *all* the hawks bred on his estate, which he had been previously bound to supply (49). The indenture binds Sir Randal to

(49). *Bound to supply.*—The terms of the original patent to Sir Randal were, in this particular, rather unreasonable. Hawks built their nests at several points along the Antrim cliffs from Cairncastle to Dunluce, and very plentifully on the coasts of Rathlin; but greedy as the King and many of the court nobles were for peregrine falcons from these ceries, they could hardly expect that *all* the birds would be collected and sent to London, as the first Antrim patent demanded. The following letter from the King to one of his Scottish subjects, Fraser of Philorth, and dated at Perth, in March, 1597, is a curious illustration of the writer's beggarly nature even in small things:—"Hearing that ye have ane gyre-falcon, whilk is esteemed the best hawk in all that country, and meetest for us that have sae guid liking of that pastime [hawking]; we have, therefore, taken occasion effectuously to requeest and desire you, *seeing hawks are but gifting gear*, and nae otherwise to be accounted betwix us and you, being sae weel acquainted, that of courtesy ye will bestow on us that goshawk, and send her here to us with this bearer, our servant, whom we have on this errand directed to bring and carry her tenderly. Wherein, as he sall report our hearty and speciall thanks, sae sall ye find us ready to requite your courtesy and goodwill with nae less pleasure in any the like gates [ways] as occasion sall present." On the 21st of Jan., 1606, the Earl of Errol wrote from Perth to the King,

promising, in compliance with a command just received, to be "careful to provide ane tercel [male hawk] for the hawk of Foulshuch [a cliff near Stonehaven], and to be answerable to your Majesty for the same, in case the auld tercel be deid. Your majesty's mongrel falcon, whilk I have, sould have been at your hieness lang or now, but that as my falconer was ready to tak his journey, she contracted ane disease, wherewith he durst not adventure to travel her, in respect of the great frosts and storms. I will be answerable to your Majesty that she has been in nae ways stressed, but as well treated as any hawk could be. Naither sall your majesty suspect that I have reteinit her for my owne pleasure, whilk, I sall never compare in the greatest thing whatsoever with your Majesty's meanest contentment, nor am I able, as yet, even at this present, to travel upon the fields for my game. Albeit, how soon it sall be possible that the hawk may in any sort be travellit, she sall be at your majesty with all diligence. She had the same sickness the last year, in this same season, and was not free of it till near March." So anxious, indeed, was the King to know the fate of the 'auld tercel of Foulshuch,' that he wrote to the Earl of Mar also on the matter, and this nobleman replied on the same date with Lord Errol, assuring the monarch that he would give all due attention to his inquiries. "I cannot, as yet," says Mar, "certify your Majesty whether he be alive or not, but within few days, I think, I sall go

have the nine townlands cleared of all the tenants, whether freeholders or leaseholders, with their families, goods, and chattels, on or before the 1st of All Saints (November) following, Sir Randal further pledging himself before this date to have such freeholders and leaseholders provided with other lands of equal value, at the same rents, and in places equally convenient. These displaced tenants were also to have the liberty of selecting their own localities throughout Sir Randal's "countries" or territories, on such lands as were not yet occupied. The nine townlands, thus surrendered, yielded Sir Randal a rent of just £12 per annum, which was a very small amount indeed, even making allowance for the then much greater value of money than at the present time.

Six days after the date of this indenture, or on the 17th July, the King wrote to Chichester, ordering a reduction of Sir Randal's rent in consequence of his surrender of nine townlands between the Boyes [Bush] and the Bann, next adjoining Coleraine, on each side in Antrim county; also a re-grant to him of his estates, embodying this and other smaller advantages to the grantee. On the 29th of Nov., and when the nine townlands were cleared, he formally surrendered them, receiving, on the 11th of Dec., a re-grant of his entire estates, the grounds of which, together with the terms contained therein, are explained in the Patent Rolls, as follows:—"By a deed made between the lords of the privy council in England, on the King's behalf, and Sir Randall McDonell, dated 11 July, 1610, he agreed to surrender to the Crown nine townlands in the tuogh between Boyeis and the Bann, next adjoining to Colrane, on each side [of the town] in Antrim county, each townland to contain 240 acres, or thereabouts; in consideration of which, the King by a letter, dated 17 July, 1610, directed that the one half or moiety of the 160 beeves, or 160*l.* reserved to the Crown on his former patents for his estate, should be abated forever, with the remittal also of 4 horsemen; so that the whole future rent should be 80*l.* English, and no beeves; two falcons; and the rising out of 20 horsemen and 116 footmen. Accordingly, 29 November, 1610, he surrendered the nine townlands of Tollanekillie, Croteightragh, Crotoughtragh, Balligerton, Dromnechally, Ballebochell, Dondowanabegg, Dondowanemore, and Ballemolaghan; also the moiety of the townland of Ballisalie next Colraine, and a parcel called the Spittal, containing the 4th part of a townland; and a new grant of the estate was thereupon passed to him, pursuant to the aforesaid King's letter. 11 December, 8th" [1610]. It thus appears that the nine townlands above-named did not contain the required amount of 2,000 acres, and that, therefore, the half of Ballysally and the 50 acres called Spittal were added to make up the full quantity.

The next important case of clearance to be made, as preparatory to the advent of the Londoners, was one which affected Chichester himself, and in which he was required to surrender certain very valuable fishings, together with 300 acres of land. The fishings were those of the Bann, Culmore, and the Derrie; the land was that set apart for the castle of Culmore, the constablenesship of which had been granted to Chichester for life. By far the most important of these possessions, however, were his fisheries of salmon and eels in the Bann, which after the flight of

near to get the certainty that may be had on so uncertain a matter." May not "the auld tercel of Foulshuech" have been proud—provided he still lived—to know that

crowned and coronetted heads were thus so puzzled and anxious on his account! See Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 331, 392.

the earls, he was able, with much manœuvring and a small outlay, to get almost exclusively to himself. Chichester and Sir James Hamilton appear to have played into each other's hands in this business, very quietly but quickly clearing the river from Loughneagh to the sea of all other minor plotters against its salmon and eels. Hamilton opened the campaign on the Bann modestly enough, by accepting a patent, on the 20th July, 1605, of one free fishing, every Monday next after St. John the Baptist's Day—on which day all the fish taken in the river had belonged to the priory of Coleraine before the time of its dissolution, together with one salmon each day during the fishing season, from every fisherman fishing in these waters. This little initiative step no doubt opened the grantee's eyes to the importance of taking another and a longer one, for in the same year, and indeed in the same month, Hamilton obtained a second grant, which conveyed to him the entire fishings of Lough Neagh and of the Bann as far as the Salmon Leap near Coleraine. A few months subsequently to the dates of these grants, on the 2nd of March, 1605-6, John Wakeman of Beckford, in the county of Gloucester, esquire, got possession, also by grant from the Crown (and as a trustee of Mountjoy Earl of Devonshire) of the fishings in the river, from the Salmon Leap to the sea; and on the next day, March 3 (as that earl was not then expected to survive many weeks) Wakeman sold this grant to Hamilton; so that the latter had then the entire fishings of the lough, and of river, along its whole course to the sea. This lucky "discoverer," by that time was beginning to confine his operations more exclusively to the county of Down; and, therefore, he sold to Chichester, on the 10th of April, 1606, the whole fishings of eel and salmon in the Bann, from the lough to the Leap at Coleraine. On the 14th of May, in the same year, he also sold to Chichester the one half of the fishings in Lough Neagh.

Before Chichester had got these fishings to himself he adopted some course respecting them which proved displeasing to the Government, the nature of which, however, we are unable to state. Whilst the following letter from himself to Salisbury clearly attests the existence of a 'difficulty' on this point, it is specially interesting as throwing some new light on the movements of several persons concerned in these fishings:—"His [Salisbury's] letters, mentioning his dislike of the grant passed of the fishing of the Ban, came to him [Chichester] on the 20th of this instant, as they have not had a passage thence these nine weeks. Soon after he came here, he received instructions from the Earl of Devonshire to pass the fishing to one John Wakeman, upon a book of fee-simple given him by the King. But, as he understood that the grant would discontent the Earl of Tyrone [then restored to his estates], who pretended title to a moiety thereof, and Sir Randall McDonnell, who demanded a quarter, had so provided that the earl should have the moiety for 40 years' purchase by assignment from Wakeman; he afterwards gave no opposition to the grant, which was then in lease for 21 years, though not a penny of the rent had been paid into the exchequer for many years preceding. But, as he takes it, the lord lieutenant [Devonshire] died before the sealing of the patent, and Mr. James Hamilton [not then knighted] had bought the remainder of the book, together with that particular, to the passing whereof he [Chichester] would not condescend until he promised to pass the moiety to the said earl [Tyrone] for 200*l.* English; whereupon it passed the seal. Knows not whether Mr. Hamilton passed a conveyance thereof to

the earl before his departure [Tyrone's flight] hence, but is sure the earl had it in his possession at the time of his departure ; which will appear by the case which was drawn up before the receipt of his [Salisbury] letters, and will be sent by Mr. Treasurer [Sir Thomas Ridgeway], whose dispatch will be finished in seven days ; and if any direction shall come to him concerning the said fishings, he will forbear to put the contents thereof in execution as he requires. He [Chichester] is ill thought of here by some who have books, for refusing to subscribe to such particulars as they bring, if he finds them prejudicial to the King and the Church. It seems he is thought by some too open-handed, for he conceives by his [Salisbury's] letters that some ill tale has been told concerning this particular (50). Castle of Dublin, 23 January, 1609." See p. 100.

Although the deputy seems to have had much trouble with these fishings, both before and after he got them into his own possession, he was not permitted to hold them longer than about four years. The Londoners looked greedily upon them as belonging to their own estates, and to encourage the Londoners was then considered a specially patriotic duty. Chichester, therefore, sold and surrendered his fishings in the Bann, and on the shores of Loughfoyle, during the summer of 1610, but the agreement between him and the King was not formally signed until the 3rd of April, 1611. In the interval, the King made arrangements with Sir James Hamilton for his title and interest in the fishings of Loughneagh and Loughfoyle, ordering the exchequer to pay him 1,000*l.* 'in addition to other monies paid to him.' These transactions are recorded in the Patent Rolls, as follows :—"Deed, dated 3 April, 1611, between Sir Arthur Chichester, knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the King, stating, that whereas Sir James Hamilton, knight, by deed, dated 10 April, 1606, sold to Sir Arthur and his heirs, among other things, the fishing of the river of the Bann, between Lough-Sidney [Lough Neagh], and the salmon-leap, the ground and soil of the said river, and the old eel-weirs, near Castletoome, at a crown rent of 12*s.* 6*d.* Irish, which, with other things, had been granted to the said Hamilton by patent, dated 20 July, 1605 ; and whereas the said Hamilton, by deed, dated 14 May, 1606, likewise sold to Sir Arthur and his heirs, the moiety of that part which he had of the fishing of the Banne, from the rock called the salmon-leap to the main sea, with the soil and ground, weirs and fishing places within the said limits ; and whereas the King had granted to Sir Arthur for life the castle of Culmore in Donegal county, with 300 acres of land adjoining, and by another patent had granted to him and his heirs, among other things, the salmon-fishing of Culmore and of the Derrie, or one of them, Sir Arthur, by this indenture, for the sum of 550*l.* English, paid to him by Sir James Hamilton, in behalf of the King, who had given satisfaction to the said Sir James Hamilton for the whole fishing of the Bann, surrendered to the King the aforementioned castle of Culmore, the fishings and premises, with a covenant to levy a fine or fines thereof within two years."

But the process of clearing, or making smooth the Londoners' path, was not yet completed ;

(50). *This particular.*—The misunderstanding above referred to must have arisen somehow in connection with Wakeman's grant. The Chief Justice, Sir Humphre Winche, when writing to Salisbury on the 18th of Feb., 1609-10, states that he "sent a copy of the declaration drawn out concerning the King's tules to the escheated

lands in Ulster. Has set down some exceptions to Wakeman's patent of the fishing of the Ban, which was not down at first, but has since been added. Mr. Attorney brings the true copy of Wakeman's grant, and the letter which should warrant the patent."

for other cases—of minor importance, indeed—yet not less troublesome on that account, called for the prompt and unremitting attention of the authorities. These minor cases all clustered themselves in and around the Derry, their very proximity to each other often causing additional trouble and delay in their arrangement. There had existed several religious houses (51) in the locality known as the island of Derry, each with its quota of landed property in fee; but after the Dissolution, these lands were scattered about among many tenants, who now required to be compounded with by the Government before the Londoners could obtain legal possession. Among these tenants stood prominently forward, of course, the protestant bishop and dean of Derry, who held valuable portions of land in virtue of their position in the Church. The bishop, according to an inquisition of the 1st of September, 1609, possessed a house with a large garden plot, situated on the south side of the cathedral church near the long tower, in the island of Derry; an orchard or park, lying on the east side of the great fort in the said island of Derry, for which he paid ten white groats yearly to a herenagh named Laghlin; the quarter land called Craggen and Druminwong, with the half quarter of Carnegloch, all lying on the north side of the bog adjoining

(51). *Religious houses.*—The island of the Derry was occupied in early times by buildings exclusively of an ecclesiastical character, but of these structures not a vestige now remains. The most venerated among them was the church of St. Columba, the original position and form of which are described by O'Donnell, a prince of Tirconnell, who, in his days of seclusion, wrote a life of the saint, about the year 1520, when his church, although then in ruins, was still to be seen at Derry. Referring to the locality of this ancient building, O'Donnell says:—"Many other signs and miracles were wrought by this servant of Christ [St. Columba] in the same place, in which he himself dwelt for a long time, and which he loved above every other; and particularly that beautiful grove [*Doire*, 'the dense oak wood'] very near the monastery of Derry, which [the grove] he wished should be always left standing." Next to St. Columba's church in importance was that other adjoining it, and known as *Temple More*, or the Cathedral Church, erected in 1164. The Annals of Ulster inform us that Temple More was 90 feet in length, and that the principal front and corner stones employed in its erection were prepared in forty days. "These two churches, with the accompanying buildings, were situated adjacent to each other outside the present city wall, on the ground occupied by the Roman Catholic chapel and cemetery; but with the exception of the round-tower belfry, were partly destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder in 1568, and finally by Docwra in 1600, for the purpose of employing their materials in the new works he was erecting. This tower survived till after the siege [1690], being marked on the maps or plans of that time as the 'Long Tower or Temple More;' its site is still indicated by a lane called the Long Tower. In the charter of Derry it is called Colum-kille's Tower." Next came the *Nunnery*, which must have been built much earlier than the sixteenth century,—the date generally supposed,—as the building is mentioned at the year 1134 by the Four Masters, who record the death of Bebin, the daughter of MacConchaille, female erenagh

of Derry, in that year. This building was situated on the southern side of Derry. Then there were the *Dominican Abbey and Church*, founded in the year 1274. "Nicholas 'the Loughlinagh,' or MacLoughlin, was prior in 1397. The number of friars in this Dominican house, previously to the suppression, was generally 150. It had the honour of supplying two bishops to the see of Derry; and, according to O'Daly and De Burgh, of sending forth five martyrs, namely, Donagh O'Luiny, prior of the order, and his brother William O'Luiny, in 1608; John O'Mannin, about 1637; John O'Laighin, prior, about 1657; and Clement O'Colgan, in 1704. A convent of the order was maintained in Derry till a late period, which in 1750 contained nine brothers." The Dominican abbey and church were situated on the northern side of Derry, but their particular site is not now known. It is certain, however, that it was outside the present walls of the city. The *Augustinian Church* in Derry was situated within the walls, on the spot now occupied by the bishop's garden; and it appears originally to have been a large as well as a comparatively elegant structure of its kind. "The erection of this church is not noticed in the Annals, from which it may be concluded that its date was not earlier than the close of the thirteenth century, for some time previously to which the records of Derry are minute and accurate." The Augustinian church was the only religious house preserved for a time after the advent of the settlers at Derry. They made it a convenience until they got the present cathedral built, and from that time until its demolition, they used to call it the 'little church.' A *Franciscan Friary* stood on the north side of the bog, near the island of Derry, and had three acres of land as a church-yard, which, in earlier times, probably constituted some ecclesiastical *gort* or garden. The site is now occupied by three streets, viz., Abbey-street, Rosville-street, and William-street. The foundations of the friary were discovered some years since. See the *Memoir of Templemore Parish*, pp. 25, 26.

the island; together with four balliboes of land called Clonie, and the fishings belonging thereto. On the same authority it is stated that the *dean* of Derry was possessed of four acres, lying between the bishop's lands and those that belonged to Lady Pawlett, wife of Sir George; also two quarters of land called Ballyowan, situate on the Faughan side of the bog aforesaid; and two other quarters adjoining, the one called Templequartar and Clonkey, and the other Cooleronnogh. The lands that had belonged to the monastery of Columkille are enumerated, and the names of their then tenants or occupants mentioned by the inquisition, as follows:—"One quarter of land [or 128 acres] called Corneshalgah, one other quarter of land called Gransholgilagh, now in the occupation of Walter Tallon; and one quarter of land called Lerusk, now in the occupation of John Vaughan; and one quarter of land called Ballynegardie, now in the possession of Captain Henry Hart; and the half quarters of Clonemore, now in the possession of Gilchrist O'Hegarty; and also one half quarter of land called the Grange of Dirgebroe, in the Faughan side, now in the possession of Patrick Read; and also one quarter of land called Termonbacco, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips (see pp. 171, 172); also one half quarter of land called Ballygam, in the occupation of George Norman; and also half a quarter of land called Ardnanshill, in the occupation of Sir Ralf Bingley, being parcel of the quarterland of Cargan; and also one quarter of land called Attoderry, parcel of the said Cargan; and also one quarter of land called Creevah, in the occupation of Dennis O'Derry; and also one quarter of land called Mullenan, in the occupation of John Woods; and also half a quarter called Killeagh, in the occupation of Francis White."

In clearing all these corners for the Londoners, it was decided with respect to the bishop and dean that, whilst they were to have sites for houses in Derry, they must give up their lands to the new plantation, according to the 'Articles' signed on behalf of the King. The other occupants, as tenants at will, were to be settled elsewhere, made citizens, and compensated for disturbance; whilst the better class among them had the good fortune "to be preferred to the country plantation as servitors." These persons who had notice to quit were only "dwelling as commoners" or tenants-at-will, on the lands they occupied, but they were not, therefore, driven away. They were *settled* elsewhere, and were made citizens—a privilege at that time not to be despised. The "better sort" of them were admitted to plant as servitors, not, as it would appear, because they were really such, but being removed from their places where they had but a very slight hold indeed, they were thus liberally compensated for giving up their right, and because of the disturbance to which they were exposed. There were certain poor inhabitants of Derry who had remained there after the burning in 1608, and had made some little scrambling attempts to provide themselves with shelter, notwithstanding their extreme poverty. The Londoners, however, must be lords even over them; but for their right to the little houses of mud and wattles, and more especially "*having respect to their continued and present abode*" there, they received compensation. The commissioners required that a sum of 200*l.* must be divided amongst these the very humblest dwellers by the Foyle, before they could be asked to remove.

A somewhat better class had taken little patches for building, from Sir Henry Docwra, before

the burning of the town, and their small fines were supposed to be lost in consequence of that untoward event, but they still retained possession, although most of them fled from the place. Their right, however, was not to be obliterated, slender as it must have been. "Touching such of the inhabitants," say the commissioners, "as have paid fine for any estate not expired in any of the houses or lands within the city, satisfaction is to be made unto them for their fines, according to Sir Henry Docwra's certificate, and upon proof made by such as are not mentioned in said certificate, satisfaction is to be made by one general concordatum, they surrendering their several interests." Sir Henry's certificate was forthcoming in due time, and it is here submitted *in extenso*, as an interesting scrap in the history of the Maiden City:—

"*A note of such money as I [Sir Henry Docwra] have received for fines of houses at the Derry:—*

"Of Mr. Ross, 20s.; of Mr. Webb, 20s.; of Captain Henry Vauchan, 20s.; of Captain Eeling [Ellis?], 20s.; of Mr. Horne, 20s.; of Coytmore, for the ferry, 20*l.*; of Coytmore, for two houses, 40s.; of Coytmore, for two other houses, 40s.; of Laurence Quartermass, 20s.; of Christopher Elcock, 20s.; of Thomas Thornton, 20s.; of Rob. Jones, 20s.; of Katherine Old, 20s.; of Thomas Plunket, 20s.; of Taddy Bird, 20s.; of Captain Orrell, 20s.; of Philip Cottingham, 20s.; of Anthony Maheme, 20s.; of Dennis O'Mullen, 20s.; of Mr. Doughton, 20s.; of Nicholas Wilson, 20s.; of Samuel Randall, 20s.; of Walter Fullard, 20s.; of John Barrell, 40s.; of William Mountford, 20s.; of James Connell, 20s.; of George Corwin, 30s.; of Hugh Birchley, 20s.; of Sandy Lowry, 15s.; of John King, 21*s.*; of Hanniball Harrison, 20s.; of John Cowper, 25*s.*; of John Fludd, 25*s.*; of George Keinaldes, 20s.; of Mr. Hubbersley, 40s.; of Matthew Keres, 30s.; of Cornet Cartwright, 20s.; of Michael Cotton, 20s.; of Humphrey Sharpe, 23*s.*; of Donnell Magmy, 22*s.*; of Mr. Reinalds []; of Wm. Patterson, 18*s.*; of Philip Cottingham, 25*s.*; of Robert Walker, 30*s.*; of Captain Eeling, 30*s.*; of Richard O'Doghertie []; of Mrs. Corbett, 20*s.*; of Wm. Martin, 18*s.*; of William Newton, for the inheritance of a house in the High Street, 30*s.*; of Joss Everard, for the inheritance of a house and garden by the water side []; of Edwin Babington, for the fee-simple of four houses, 4*l.*; John Wray is to pay me within one week for the same, 20*s.*; of Richard O'Dogherty for the fee-simple of his house, 40*s.*; of Tho. Pendry, for the lease of a house in the High Street, 15*s.*; of John Wray, for the inheritance of a house by the waterside that was Martin Foster's, 40*s.*; of John Ross, for the inheritance of a house in the High Street, a hogshead of beans, and in money, 20*s.*; of Rice Coytmore, for the inheritance of a house by the waterside, 20*s.*; of Capt. John Vauchan and Capt. Henry Vauchan, for the inheritance of a piece of ground being near the waterside, 25 hogsheads of lime; of Capt. John Baxter, for the inheritance of a house in the upper fort []; of James Walshe, for the lease of a house in the High Street []; of Humphrey Vale, for a house lease, 20*s.*; sum total, 86*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.*, besides 25 hogsheads of lime, and one hogshead of beans. This I received, partly for fines and leases, and partly for making away of estates of inheritance; but I made also divers other estates, the counterframes whereof I delivered as part of the evidence to Sir George Pawlett [], but [not] any greater sum than

20s., 30s., or 40s., except for the ferry, for which I had 40*l.* Being the same day demanded, by the commissioners, what I thought the ferry was worth by the year, I think the same is worth about 20*l.*" The English council, writing to Chichester, on the 1st of the following August, say:—"As the old inhabitants of the Derry deserve special consideration, his lordship is to send the names and trades of such among them as desire to continue to reside there, in order that the Londoners may be dealt with to admit them to the corporation; and to set aside 240*l.* the residue of the 5,000*l.* to be paid by the Londoners to the King, together with a further 100*l.* English, for the use of those who may so desire to dwell in Derry."

Besides the many cases of clearing already mentioned, the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Connor had claims against the Government for the surrender of certain small things to the Londoners. The council in London, writing to Chichester on the 6th August, 1610, urge him to "deal with the Archbishop for the surrender, in order that the King may provide for the endowment of churches in that diocese [of Derry], signifying his estimate of the amount of recompense to be given for the surrender!" They urge him also "to compound with the 'Treasury of the see of Conorth [Connor], for the rectory of Coleraine, which belongs thereto, that the rectory may be given to the Londoners." Chichester, when writing to Salisbury, on the 15th August, 1611, informs him that he had "compounded with the parson of Colrayne, as he was directed, and with others who expect their money on his return to Dublin." Among the "others" here compounded with, was one 'Hyll,' for his interest in certain titles and rights in the parsonage of Colrayne, tithes of fish, and free loops; and 'one Kinsman' for his interest in the customs of 'the Dyrrie.' Among the many petitions presented to the lords of council in England about the time of the coming of the Londoners, was one from "William Hill, gent," dated Sept. 28, 1610, and praying for compensation "for the tythe fyshing of the Ban unjustly taken from him by the Londoners." On the petition is written the following 'note' in Salisbury's hand:—"Because it seemeth by this petition that Mr. Recorder is acquainted with the state of this matter, and that I hear it is also well known to Sir James Fullerton, I desire that they will join in certifying their knowledge and opinion unto me."

If the Government had thus its difficulties in clearing the way before the Londoners, the latter found obstacles on their side which they had not, in their haste, taken time fully to consider. There was nothing for it now, however, but to go forward; and two days after the signing of the 'Articles,' or on the 30th of January, 1609-10, the Londoners held their first meeting to arrange several important preliminaries before the actual commencement of the work. The following extract from the manuscript in the British Museum already quoted, warrants us in supposing that the worthy undertakers required much light on the subject of their contemplated enterprise generally. "After these articles," it is said, "agreed and ensealed, the said Cittie called a common Councill for the settling the business, levying of money, appointing of Agencies, &c. 1. They agreed that the assessment of each Company should be according to their proportion assessed towards corn [according to the corn rate]. 2. That both the cittie and countie lands be surveyed, and some person be sent over for that purpose, and a map made. 3. To view the ruined cittie of

Derrie, and what buildings it contains. 4. To view Colraine, and ascertain what materials the countie contains of timber, stone, &c. 5. To take knowledge how the countie lands are divided into Ballebetaghes, Ballebetoës, Quarters, Balleboes, Tathes, Polles, or what other names Irish they are called; what they may contain; how we may divide them, which we intend in 12 parts and the sub-companies to be underjoyned. 6. To set the lands in the meantime to the Irish that are tennants, and when we divide, to see each proportion fitlie bounded. These things thus set in order, they draw their workmen out of each company that be artificers and send them over, some to survey and give directions as to work, and watch. All such necessities of shovels, spades, &c., iron ware, and other provision belonging unto building the said two citties of Derrie and Colraine: and coming to some perfection, they fall to consider the countie lands, and to divide the said lands into twelve parts, to go by lot amongst the 12 companies, the other sub-companies to be sorted, according to their disbursements, with some of the twelve."

But this scribe, who is supposed to have been Richard Hunter, citizen and ironmonger, condenses the history of the Londoners rather too rapidly in his concluding paragraph, the division of lands and sorting of sub-companies to which he refers not having taken place for three years after the signing of the 'Articles.' (Nicholl's *Account of the Company of Ironmongers*, pp. 383, 384). It is curious that the city council should think is necessary, after the signing of the articles, to send over an agent to view, survey, and map the lands, which had been viewed, surveyed, and mapped during the month of October preceding. The report then made to the 'City' took up the leading points mentioned in this paper as requiring explanation, so that if the citizens believed that report, and had not afterwards found reason to doubt some statements therein, it is not easy to imagine why a 'viewer' should be sent now for any other purpose than that of commencing the work. At all events, two very efficient agents were appointed, namely Tristram Beresford (52) and John Rowley (53), who came to get possession of the whole immense

(52). *Beresford*.—This gentleman was one of seven brothers,—the sons of Michael Beresford and Rose Knevitt his wife, of Otford and Squirres, in the parish of Westram, county of Kent. Tristram, the third son, was born about the year 1574, and on coming to Ulster, he took up his abode at Coleraine. By his wife, Susannah Brooke of London, he left two sons and three daughters. His eldest daughter, Anne, married Sir Edward Doddington of Dungiven, and secondly Sir Francis Cooke. She was buried at Coleraine. Jane, the second daughter, married George Carey of Redcastle in Inishowen (one of the Carey family of Clonelly in Devonshire), and by him left a family of five sons and four daughters; their eldest son Francis marrying a sister of Captain Henry Vaughan. Tristram Beresford's third daughter, Susannah, married Captain Ellis, provost-marshal of Derry. His younger son, named Michael, was sheriff of the counties of Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone; and also a commissioner of the Civil Survey and Revenue. He married Mary, a daughter of Sir John Leake, and by her left four daughters, one of whom married Arthur Upton, of Templepatrick. This Michael Beresford died in 1660, and by his own request was buried in his father's tomb at Cole-

raine. His wife, who went to reside with her daughter, Mrs. Upton, at Templepatrick, died and was buried at that village. Tristram Beresford's eldest son was named Tristram, and became an influential man in Ulster. He was created a baronet in 1665, and represented the county of Londonderry in Parliament for several years. His first wife was Anne, daughter of John Rowley of Castleroe; and his second was Sarah, daughter of ——— Sackville; both of whom left children. He died in 1673, and was buried at Coleraine. His grandson was created Earl of Tyrone. (See *Lodge*, edited by Archdall, ii., pp. 295-97). The Marquis of Waterford is the present representative of the family.

(53). *Rowley*.—This gentleman belonged to that branch of the old family of Rowley, which was seated at Lawton, in Cheshire. Hugh Rowley married a kinswoman, Mary Rowley, of Shelton, in Staffordshire, and by her left three sons, viz., John, William, and Nathaniel, all of whom settled at the same time in Ulster, the two younger brothers coming with John when he got this appointment from the Londoners. Nathaniel dwelt in the city of Derry, but left no family. William settled at Tubermore, and married Mary, daughter of John Dillon of Castle-

grants on behalf of the Londoners, and to superintend their affairs generally at Derry and Coleraine. They were soon able to explain, no doubt, for the information and relief of their employers, that a *ballibetagh* of land was the same as a *ballibetoe*, and that the latter corrupt English form of the word had introduced some confusion as to its meaning. These agents would soon also discover that the *balliboe* was the only Irish land measure with the meaning of which they were immediately concerned, and that *tathes* and *polls* were not known either in O'Cahan's country, or in the woods of Glankonkeyne and Killetragh. Beresford and Rowley were followed by bands of workmen, drawn "out of each Company that be artificers," and carrying with them the necessary supply of "shovels, spades, ironware, and other provision belonging unto building the said two citties of Derrie and Colraine." The first movement at Derry, however, turned out a decided failure, owing in part to the injudicious selection of workmen, but more directly to the niggardliness with which the work was conducted. Their doings were closely watched by northern servitors, who had, as a class, become somewhat jealous of the Londoners, and were curious to observe how the latter would start in their plantation work.

On the 21st of April, Sir Oliver St. John wrote his impressions to Salisbury, in substance, as follows:—"Considering the King's disposition for the plantation of Ulster, and the many worthy persons engaged in that business, thinks it right to inform his Lordship what he hears of the proceedings of the Londoners in their plantation. After the arrival of Gaye [Gage] (54), who came over first, there arrived six or seven score at Derry, with some overseers; more have followed since. Men, for the most part, ill-chosen for workmen, and such as were engaged at low rates before leaving London, upon presumption of extraordinary plenty of all things in that place. Many of them refuse to work, and the rest demand greater wages. Besides, the overseers are without money to pay them, which causes their works to stay, and the reputation of their action is much impaired in opinion, especially among the natives, who give out that the Londoners are not men that will make continual habitation among them. The territories that the King has bestowed upon them are so large, and his gift of beneficial privileges so bountiful, that it ought to encourage them to go on with their undertakings by furnishing their works and workmen liberally, and in time with money, tools, materials, and chiefly victuals. For the new plantation will cause a general scarcity of victuals and other necessities in these places far beyond that which was heretofore, when those countries were rarely inhabited, and had not such great use for them.

dillon, county of Armagh, and by her left three sons and two daughters. Two of his sons, John and William, were slain in an encounter with the Irish in 1641, at or near the town of Ballymoney. Hugh, the third brother resided at Culmore, near Derry, and was member of Parliament for Limavaddy during several years. John Rowley is stated by Lodge to have come to Ulster as the sole agent of the Londoners for the building of the city of Derry and town of Coleraine. If so, Beresford's agency had reference principally to the country districts. John Rowley dwelt in Castleroe, on the western bank of the Bann, and southward a little distance from Coleraine (see p. 18). He married Mary Gage, daughter of Robert Gage of Rands, in Northamptonshire, and by her

left one son Edward, who succeeded him at Castleroe, and two daughters, one of whom married Tristram Beresford, and the other, James Clotworthy, brother to John Clotworthy, Lord Massereene. John Rowley's wife, Mary Gage, next married Sir George Trevelyan of Nettlecombe, in the county of Devon; and her third and last husband was Robert McLellan, Lord Kirkcudbright. She died in 1639, at Castleroe. See *Lodge*, edited by Archdall, vol. v. p. 296; see also the *Trevelyan Papers*, part iii., p. 145.

(54). *Gage*.—This gentleman's christian name was probably William, and he no doubt belonged to the family of Gage, seated at Rands, in Northamptonshire. See preceding note; see also the *Trevelyan Papers*, part iii., p. 161.

This consideration ought to incite that rich and able corporation to prosecute their design with such plenty and magnificence that they may be imitable examples, and not discouragements to those who are to begin after them."

The Londoners may have profited by this reproof coming from such a respectable source, and no doubt communicated to their governor through Salisbury. At all events, when their works were commenced somewhat later in the season at Coleraine, they were carried forward with much greater vigour. Whilst the commissioners were engaged, during the autumn, in assigning to the undertakers their several proportions throughout the other five counties, they were inspired with hope as to the future of the plantation from the progress they had witnessed at the Bann. Davys, writing to Salisbury, on the 24th of September, refers to this agreeable topic as follows:—"Lastly, the agents of London have made far better preparation for the erection of their new town at Colrane than they [the commissioners] expected; for they found there such store of timber and other materials brought in place, so many workmen, so busy in their several places about their several tasks, as methought I saw Didoe's colony building of Carthage in Virgil—

'Instant ardentem Tyrii; pars ducere muros,
Molirique arcem, et manibus subsolvere saxa;
Pars aptare locum tecta et concludere sulco,
Fervet opus,' &c.

So as we returned with an assured hope that the plantation will go on roundly and prosperably, and that God will bless it." This comparatively advanced and prosperous state of affairs at Coleraine was owing probably not to any better management there than at Derry, but to the fact, that Sir Thomas Phillips had got 10,000 trees felled in ample time to have the timber well-seasoned, and just at hand, when the imported workmen were ready to commence.

IX.

From this period, the State Papers deal occasionally with the Londoners' plantation and that of their neighbours, the British undertakers, as only different parts of the same great movement. Immediately after the actual planting had been made, several such Papers were issued from London, and intended to apply more or less to the affairs of both. Thus, the document which we now subjoin, contains certain questions and replies which affect the two sections almost alike, and at the same time reveals some of the difficulties that had developed themselves throughout the new settlements generally, even at so early a date as the close of the year 1610.

The following prefatory note from the council, when returning their replies, will explain the arrangement adopted to simplify the contents of their communication:—"They send to him by Sir Oliver Lambert, who is on his return after four months' continuous stay there (55), answers by way

(55). *Stay there*.—By Sir Oliver Lambert, Chichester also sent his letter to the King already quoted, which was to be shown first to the Earl of Salisbury, for his approval, before being delivered to his Majesty. In the deputy's letter, dated late in Nov. 1610, he states to Salisbury that he had chosen Lambert as his deputy to

London "albeit he knows he is not the best orator, but he is well acquainted with the country and condition of the people, having long travelled and bled in the business here when it was at the worst, and has seen many alterations since he came first into the land."

of postill [marginal notes] to his propositions, committed by him [Chichester] to Sir Oliver's charge. The several propositions were moved by him [Lambert] to this board at sundry times, which being prepared, according to their manner, by his Majesty's commissioners for Irish Causes, until they [the propositions] were ready for their [the council's] debate, were, after divers solemn hearings, resolved in the manner as he shall perceive 'coted' to each proposition by way of postill. Though it is not usual to give him [Chichester] warrants in this style, yet the propositions being so many and diverse, they conceived it would be more acceptable to him, being a plain orderly course, and freest from all obscurity.

"Propositions delivered by Sir Oliver Lambert, unto the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, by direction and authority, from the Lord Deputy of Ireland :—

1. Whether the British Undertakers in Ulster shall plant and manure their whole portion of lands with British freeholders and tenants, or whether it be meant that the 10 families set down in the printed book as being only settled on each 1,000 acres, they then may take undertenants, servants, labourers, and cottagers of the Irish, as the undertakers allege they may ? (56).

2. Whether the Londoners are to plant the county of Colraine and the barony of Loughinsolin with Britons ; and whether they shall retain the natives there, as their agents presume they shall ; and therewith they persuade the people, and have received their rents now at Allhallowtide, out of the county of Colraine ; and that of Enishollin [Loughinsholin] was taken up for the King's use at Easter last ; and that they have demanded back ? (58)

(56). *Allege they may.*—Here was the grand dilemma which Chichester was unable to meet ; for the undertakers, on their arrival, naturally held out their hands for help to those who could most readily and efficiently render it. In fact they actually clung to the Irish, and had no other alternative at first, although to do so was risking more or less the overthrow of the whole movement !

(57). *Dispense with.*—The authorities had already set aside or dispensed with the original plan to some extent, in issuing a proclamation that the natives might

"The Answers of the Lords to the said Propositions :—

1. Touching the cottagers and undertenants, it is provided in the last printed book 'what the British undertakers shall perform,' Art. 2^o, that they shall not be meer Irish, nor any other that will not take the oath of supremacy. And for the servants of the family, it is likewise provided that they also shall be conformable in religion without difference of nation; in the latter printed book the same title, Art. 8^o ; and this we cannot alter or dispense with (57).

2. The Londoners are to plant their lands as other undertakers do, excepting the special privileges expressed in the Articles [*i.e.*, in the Articles between the Government commissioners and the city deputies].

remain until May, 1610 ; and circumstances forced them to relax their regulations respecting the removal of the natives as the plantation proceeded. Although the dominant party committed unheard of cruelties and oppressions in these removals, they were never able to get on with their scheme without the Irish, and in the next reign they were fain to permit each undertaker to let a fourth part of his proportion to native tenants !

(58). *Demanded back.*—The Londoners had thus evidently determined to commence operations with becoming spirit, and a due attention to their own interests. The

3. As long as the British undertakers may receive their rents from the natives, they will never remove them. The King should take up these rents so long as the Irish continue upon the undertakers' lands, from which they should remove at May next to their portion assigned (if any be), or under the bishops or servitors.

4. Whether the patents passed in England shall not be sent into Ireland, exemplified under the great seal, to be enrolled in the office of the rolls?

great barony of Loughinsholin, containing the lands on which stood the woods of Glenconkeyne and Killetragh, had not as yet been joined to the county of Coleraine to form the present county of Londonderry. It turned out that the Londoners were not bound by the 'Articles' to remove the natives. They put on record one of their 'precepts,' indeed, to the effect that they would have no Irish,—nothing to do with them,—but they soon found that the latter might be turned to better advantage than any labourers they could send from England.

(59). *That purpose.*—So early as December, 1608, the council in London had made known to Chichester, when referring to this matter, that "new rules for the Exchequer have been drawn by the chief baron and allowed by the treasurer and chancellor of that court. The Chancellor has been requested to certify to the chancery of England the terms of such letters patent as have been granted here of lands and offices in Ireland for the better answering of fines, rents, covenants, and provisoes; which letters patent he [Chichester] is requested to cause to be enrolled in chancery." Among the *State Papers* is one, without date, containing the following list of *Patents already enrolled in Ireland*:—

[Armagh].

Precinct of Fues. Claude Hamilton, Edinagh, 1,000 acres; William Laundry [Lawder], Kilruddan, 1,000; Sir James Creig, Magherientrim, 1,000 acres.

Precinct of O'Nealan. William Stanhowe, Kannagolan, 1,500 acres.

[Tyrone].

Precinct of Clogher. Sir Thomas Ridgewaye, Portelare and Ballykergie, 2,000 acres; Sir Francis Willoughby, Fentonagh, 2,000 acres; Sir Anthony Cope, Dirribarde and Killarie, 2,000 acres.

Precinct of Omey. Sir John Davys, Graviethaghand Clonaghmore, 2,000 acres. He has his patent here, and will instantly enrol it.

Precinct of Mountjoy. Lord Uchiltrie, Revelynowtra, 2,000 acres; Revelyneightra, 1,000 acres; in the name of James Stewart, of Grange 500 acres; Barnard Lindsey, Creig, 1,000 acres; Robert Lindsey of Leith, Tullahoge, 1,000 acres; Robert Stewart of Rotten, Gantavilly, 1,000 acres.

Precinct of Strabane. Earl of Abercorne, Donalong, 2,000 acres, and Strabane, 1,000 acres; Sir George Hamil-

3. Seeing the Lord Deputy has licensed them to stay upon the land till May next, the undertakers are to have the rent till then; the rather that the undertakers may not demand freedom from rent a year longer than is granted unto them.

4. This is provided for, and order already given to that purpose (59).

ton of Greenlawe, Cloghogwell, 1,500 acres; Sir Thomas Boyd of Bonshawe, Shean, 1,500; Sir Claude Hamilton of Lerleprevicke, Tirenemurietagh, 1,500 acres; Sir John Dromond of Bordland, Ballymagnagh, 1,000 acres; George Hamilton of Bynning, Derycrone, 1,000 acres.

[Fermanagh].

Precinct of Knockniny. Laird Pittaro [Wishart], Latrym, 1,000 acres; Lord Mountwhany the younger, Kilspinan, 1,500 acres; Laird Kinkell, Aghalagha, 1,000 acres; James Traill, Dristernan, 1,000 acres.

Precinct of Clancally and Lurge. Sir Edward Blenerhassett and Thomas Blenerhassett, Tolmachin, 1,000 acres; Edward Ward of Harrington-Sutton, Nakerney, 1,000 acres; Thomas Barton, Dronimishen, 1,000 acres.

Precinct of Magheryboy. Sir John Home of North Berwick, Ardgart, 2,000; William Fowler, Moyglasse, 1,500 acres; Alexander Home of Crofts, Dromcoast, 1,500 acres.

[Cavan].

Precinct of Loughtee. Richard Walrone, Dromehill and Dromellan, 2,000 acres; John Fish, Domany, 2,000 acres; William Snow, Tonnagh, 1,500 acres; Sir Stephen Butler, Clowose, 2,000 acres; Reynold Horne, Lisreagh, 2,000 acres.

Precinct of Glanchic. Lord Aubigny, Kineagh, 2,000 acres, and Cashell, 1,000 acres; William Dunbar, of Enterkin, Dromucke, 1,000 acres; William Bayly of Frivilton, Tonreege, 1,000 acres; John Ralston, son of Laird Ralston, Kilcloghan, 1,000 acres.

Precinct of Tullyhunco. Sir Alex. Hamilton; Carrowtubber and Clonekine, 2,000 acres; Sir Claude Hamilton of Cocknoch, Clonine, 1,000 acres; John Browne of Gorgiemyline, Corrodourian, 1,000 acres.

[Donegall].

Precinct of Liffer. Sir Maurice Barkley, Dromore and Larga, 2,000 acres; Sir Robert Remyngton, Tawnafors, 2,000 acres; Sir Thomas Coach, Lysmonaghan, 1,500 acres.

Precinct of Portlogh. Duke of Lennox, Cashell, Magevelin, and Lettergall, 3,000 acres; John Stewart, Lismolmoghan, 1,000 acres; James Cunningham, of Fowmilne, Moyegh, 1,000 acres."

5. Whether the bonds of the undertakers taken in England shall not be sent to Ireland to be kept altogether in one chest in the castle, or elsewhere in that Kingdom; for being scattered, they may be lost and come to nothing, whereas the King's sworn officers should preserve them, and call upon the forfeiture, if any be?

6. Whether the college, free schools, and corporations shall plant with British only—the two first not being able to attend the same, and unapt to perform the plantation in that kind?

7. Whether the British undertakers, or their sufficient deputies, be required to repair into Ireland about the beginning of March next, furnished with money and other means to effect the plantation they have undertaken?

8. To understand what course their Lordships would have taken for erecting of the corporate towns and corporations, the natives being indisposed and unapt thereto. Only some merchants, and they commonly strangers to them, wander up and down among their creaghts, bargaining for some few commodities of yarn which they have to sell (60). On the

5. It was promised to the undertakers before they entered into bonds, that their bonds should not be turned into the exchequer. And by the last article of the last printed book, it is provided that, upon certificate from the Lord Deputy and Council that the condition [of the bond] has been performed, the bond should be re-delivered; and upon certificate of the forfeiture, that the same should be executed upon their lands and bodies here [in England], and in default thereof, upon their lands and bodies there [Ireland], and they [the bonds] should remain in the hands of a sworn officer there, which order we think not fit to alter.

6. The college and free schools may plant with British if they may conveniently be had; otherwise, they are left to their liberty to make choice of their tenants best for their profit; but the corporations are to plant with British.

7. We hold it fit that the undertakers be commanded to be in Ireland about the beginning of May next, furnished for the performing of the articles according to the conditions of their patents and bonds. And for that purpose proclamation shall presently be made in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

8. The Lord Deputy may appoint some principal undertaker seated near the place appointed for the corporation to build houses for tradesmen to inhabit, to hold of him in free burgage, at easy rents. The like to a principal servitor, when the land shall lie in the servitors' precincts. When a sufficient number shall be drawn together, they are

(60). *They have to sell.*—Great quantities of yarn were produced in Ulster by the native women; but we had not been aware, previously to meeting this statement in the text, that the Ulster creaght constituted, at least to some extent, the native market-place. Yet so it was;

because, no doubt, although movable, the creaght's position was the most public and well-known place in any district for the time being. This little source of rural industry was frequently checked, and sometimes destroyed by the selfish and contradictory laws which were enacted

other side it is doubted if any Englishmen or Scottishmen of trades or occupations can be brought to any of those places where the corporations are to be seated in any due time. Some principal gentlemen in Ireland should be made chiefs and superintendents of each corporation, to draw people thither by choice, and to maintain order until the same shall increase to a sufficient number, and then they should be incorporated, and command be left with the mayor.

9. That the 2,000 acres allotted to Art McBaron during his life may be passed to him and his now wife, and the longest liver of them, who are both exceeding old; by which means the Lord Deputy thinks he shall bring him to

to be incorporated, and their chief magistrate to be named. The land for the site of the town to be granted in fee-farm to the undertaker or servitor, who is to be bound to performance within a competent time.

9. Letters are already sent to this effect. See p. 218.

from time to time on the subject of Irish linen yarn, these laws being always framed so as to bring the largest possible revenue to the Crown. Among the *Carew MSS.* is a "Note of Rates for the Wages of Artificers, Labourers, and Household Servants, set down within the county of Tyrone," which has reference, no doubt, to the state of affairs preceding the plantation, and which, therefore, is now of special interest. We subjoin it *in extenso*, as follows:—"1. All manner of persons being under the age of 50 years, not having to the value of 6*l.* sterling, of their own proper goods, shall be compelled to labour for their living. 2. No labourers or servants shall depart out of one barony into another without leave of a justice of peace. 3. No person not having the eighth part of a plough shall keep any servant in his house, but shall labour and do his work himself. 4. No person shall hire any servant for less than a year. 5. No servant shall depart from his master without giving a quarter's warning before witness, and at the end of his term the master shall give him a certificate of good behaviour, upon pain of 40*s.* 6. All masters shall pay their servants quarterly, 7. No person shall harbour or relieve any servant, being departed from his master without certificate, upon pain of 10*s.* 8. Every plough holder shall have for wages by the quarter 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling, with meat and drink. 9. Every leader of the plough shall have by the quarter 5*s.*, as before. 10. Every beam holder shall have by the quarter 3*s.* 4*d.* sterling. 11. A good servant maid by the year, 10*s.* 12. Every young girl serving, rateably [or in proportion]. 13. A cowboy, for every cow, for the half year, 1½*d.* 14. A cowboy for two heifers, 1*d.* 15. Every labourer shall be hired by the day with meat, 2*d.* 16. From Michaelmas to our Lady Day in Lent, with a dinner, 2*d.* 17. Every labourer without meat, per day, 4*d.* 18. A master carpenter or mason shall have, per day, with meat and drink, 6*d.* 19. Without meat

and drink, 12*d.* 20. All under-carpenters and masons being next to the master, per day, with meat and drink, 4*d.* 21. Without meat and drink, 8*d.* 22. Every apprentice, being able to work well, 2*d.* 23. For making every plough beam, with meat, 8*d.* 24. For the best cowhide, 5*s.* 25. For the largest pair of broags, 9*d.* 26. For the second sort, 8*d.* 27. For women's broags, 6*d.* 28. The best plough iron shall be sold for 4*s.* 29. For making a plough iron, the owner finding iron, 18*d.* 30. For the best mending of a plough iron, as before, 8*d.* 31. Every smith shall bring axes, spades, shovels, and such necessities to the common markets. 32. A weaver shall have for every weaver's slatt containing three market slatts, 4*d.*, and eight quarts of meal, of 1,000 or 1,600 a medder of meal, and 1*d.* 33. For every such slatt of eight or nine hundred, 4*d.*, and eight quarts of meal. 34. For every like slatt of six or seven hundred, 2*d.* and four quarts of meal. 35. For the best brackan weaving, after the rate of the best linen cloth, —. 36. All other coarse plodding [plaiding] after the rate of eight or nine hundred, —. 37. For weaving a mantle, a medder or two gallons of meal, and 3*d.* 38. For weaving the best caddowe, a medder of meal and 4*d.* 39. For weaving a jerkin cloth, 2*d.* 40. For weaving of a trous cloth, 1*d.* 41. A cottener, for the best mantle cottened in the best fashion, his dinner and 6*d.* 42. For cottening of a second, being coarser, his dinner and 4*d.* 43. For cottening the best mantle, with cards, his dinner and 6*d.* 44. For cottening the best caddowe, with cards, his dinner and 6*d.* 45. For cottening the best caddowe, with shears, being the best fashion, 8*d.* 46. For cottening a jerkin cloth, 2*d.* 47. For a trous cloth, 1*d.* 48. Every one leaving or refusing to work, because of these rates is to be fined 40*s.*, or imprisoned, until he be content. 49. Every tradesman working at these rates is to have servants to follow his other business."

remove out of O'Neiland [Oneilan] with a good will, which will be a great furtherance towards the removing of the rest of the natives; for his example will prevail much with them everywhere. See p. 219.

10. That the grant made to Sir Ogby O'Hanlon of four score pounds sterling during his life, in lieu of his estate and interest in the barony of Orier be confirmed, which he is paid out of the rents of Orier until Michaelmas next.

11. That Connor Roe McGuire may have a pension of 200*l.* a year for life, which has been offered him, and 50*l.* to one of his sons after his decease, for like term, to which he would not then listen, but prepares to come over and be a further suitor to his Majesty for recompense for the three baronies, and all the islands which were taken from him. See pp. 110, 229.

12. That the concealed lands in either precinct, if any there be, may be bestowed on servitors or natives.

10. This also they hold reasonable; and his Majesty has given warrant for that purpose. See p. 64.

11. They think this reasonable, if it will be accepted by Connor Roe. If not, then the Lord Deputy and Council are to establish and maintain the Lord Burleigh in the possession, leaving Connor Roe to take his remedy (61). For this there is likewise a letter procured from his Majesty.

12. Concealments in the British undertakers' precincts should be passed to them for these reasons, viz., First, the survey falls out to be imperfect, and to do as proposed would breed

(61). *His remedy*.—This was the result of all the fine kingly promises held out to Connor Roe Maguire from time to time (see pp. 110, 229). Lord Burleigh, who was now to get possession of Maguire's castle of Lisanaskeagh and its adjoining lands, was Sir Michael Balfour, created Lord Burleigh in 1607. This Scottish undertaker, although twice married, had only one child, a daughter, who became the wife of Robert Arnot of Fife, the latter assuming the surname of Balfour, and also the title of Lord Balfour of Burleigh; but the lady had only an old name and a title to confer on her husband. Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, refers to this alliance in the following terms:—"Sir Michael Balfour [Viscount Burleigh], having but one daughter, behoved, for the great burden of debt he was in, to contract her with Robert Arnot's eldest son, who was 'depute-comptroller, who undertook to pay the whole burdens of the house, and quitted the name of Arnot, and took on him the name of Balfour; and yet the first year of their marriage there was evil agreement. Her son of that marriage, at his return from France, without the father's consent, took to wife at London the daughter of Sir William Balfour of Pitcullo, sometime captain of the Tower of London; whereat the father was so incensed that he did what in him lay to get the marriage dissolved by the General Assembly, in respect there was no copulation, because the young man had a wound open on him, which he had got

in France some time before the marriage. Yet, within a year thereafter, the young folks agreed and came together." (See *The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, pp. 97, 98). The injustice of thus treating Connor Roe Maguire, who had always fought on the side of the English, will appear the more flagrant from the fact that even Chichester himself, so late as 1608, did not see how they were to violate the promises made to that native chief. In the deputy's "notes of remembrances" drawn up in the autumn of that year, he says:—"Fermanagh cannot be divided as the Cavan, by reason of Connor Roe Maguire, who has a patent of the whole country passed unto him in the late Queen's time, but upon conference and advice had with him by the Deputy and Council for the settlement of his kinsman Cow Connought [Cuconnacht] Maguire, and of that country, he was content to submit himself to their order for a new division, upon which, three baronies of the seven were allotted to him, the said Connor Roe, with promise of letters patent for the same, which, in his [Chichester's] opinion, were meet to be passed to him, with a clause to make a competent number of freeholders of the natives of that county, and with reservation of rent to his Majesty." But Chichester's opinion soon underwent a very decided change. Every sentiment of justice in this case, to say nothing of gratitude for past services, were to be set aside in the interest of plantation.

13. That Sir Ralph Bingley may be in reversion of the 1,000 acres assigned to the Earl of Tyrconnell's mother and the widow O'Boyle. See pp. 228, 328.

14. That some forts be built in the barony of Loughinsolin, or one at the least, and means for the same. See p. 252.

15. The Castle of Cavan to be strengthened, and money assigned for this, and the fort in Loughinsolin.

(62). *Reasonable answer.*—It would appear that certain servitors had induced John Rowley to accede so far to their views, about fort-building in Glanconkeyne, as to arouse the suspicion of the Londoners about their agent's honesty of purpose, and indeed to cause his dismissal from their service altogether. Sir Frances Cooke mentions this business in a letter to Salisbury, written at 'Colrain,' but without date, as follows:—"Recommends the bearer, Mr. Rowley, to whom he is much engaged [indebted] for entertaining him in his house since he lay in garrison at Colerain, and for his furtherance of the erecting of the forts in Glanconkeyne, which were found to be upon some part of the Bishop of Derry's lands, which he [Rowley] had in lease, and which he yielded up without making any contract of allowance of other lands.

confusion amongst the undertakers, and occasion many suits between them and the servitors and natives. Secondly, the concealments might fall in such places as would make the rest of the proportion useless, if granted away. Thirdly, it would cause an intermixture of natives and servitors with the British undertakers contrary to the project of plantation. Besides, it is against their promise to the undertakers. If any concealments fall out to be within the natives' and servitors' precincts, the like benefit is to be theirs. Lastly, by this proposition the bishops and deans would be prejudiced who have some lands passed to undertakers by the defects of the map; which are to be restored.

13. Granted.

14. Answer suspended till the Londoners' agents are made acquainted with the site of the fort and the land to be laid to it, when the Londoners will return a reasonable answer (62).

15. The castle to be granted to some servitor, according to the Articles of Plantation, who, with the ruins and stores of the castle, may build in some fit place there a stone house of strength (63).

He was at the first, and till now of late, chief agent for the Londoners' plantation in Ulster, where he [Cooke] has been continual eye-witness of his daily travels in forwarding the work of the plantation and the fortifications. And now, in lieu of recompense, he has suffered undeserved disgrace, by being displaced in a strange fashion, under pretence of neglecting the city's [London's], and that only in one particular, in accepting a lease of some part of the Bishop of Derry's lands, offered to him by the late bishop [Babbington] for a sum of money and some courtesies done him [the bishop] by Mr. Rowley long since in England."

(63). *House of strength.*—For the site of the old castle of the O'Reillys at Cavan, see p. 113. The council in London, writing to Chichester in April, 1611, conclude

16. That one of the commanders may be appointed overseer of the plantation in each county, with a fee of 10s. a day.

17. That where parcels of land belonging to men by former grants are passed in the patents, he [Chichester] may be at liberty to revoke those grants, to restore to the former proprietors what belongs to them, and to re-grant the remainder (at a rateably reduced rent) to the patentees, or with money to compound with the proprietors.

18. That Sir Henry Docwra be dealt with for the surrender of his grant of the provostship of Derry.

19. It were not amiss to be thought of how the Britons will plant when the natives remove with all their goods 20 or 30 miles from them, which they must do when they are all driven into a corner, as in Tyrone and Donegal, fearing

their letter thus :—"It remains that they take notice of a suit preferred to them by Lieutenant Wallop, who is recommended to them as a person fit to undertake the old castle of Cavan and the land allotted unto it, which is to be bestowed unto some servitor, according to the articles of plantation, and whose suit they recommend to his favourable consideration."

(64). *Not allowed.*—The office thus sought to be created, but so promptly disallowed, was that of 'overseer,' a mild term for *muster-master*. In September, 1610, Chichester recommended the appointment in Ulster of Capt. Richard Bingley "that he may see and certify whether they [the undertakers] have observed, or shall observe the articles of plantation." Some months later, it would appear from the text, an 'overseer' was expected to be appointed for each of the six counties in Ulster, and Chichester was so anxious about this matter that he forwarded his reasons in detail to the London authorities. "First, that every man," says he, "above the age of 16 years, present himself to this muster, whether Irish, English, or Scottish, that it may appear how strong they are in their several septs, and how far the chief of every sept will undertake for the rest, and how many of them be swordmen, tradesmen, farmers, or labourers. The swordmen are to give an account how they live, and what means they have to support their idle life; if they cannot, they must procure sureties for their forthcoming at all times when his Majesty shall call for them, or else be reputed as vagabonds, and so subject to the punishment of the law in that kind. The tradesmen dispersed must also give an account why they draw not themselves to live in corpora-

16. Thought inconvenient for many reasons, and not allowed (64).

17. This article is too general to be answered, except for the lands of the Dean of Armagh. The patent to be cancelled and the same restored to him; and so much concealment as shall fall out in the precinct of that undertaker to be allowed to him in recompense thereof, and the rent to be abated proportionally.

18. Already granted.

19. The undertakers have license to transport victuals and all manner of necessities for their plantation, custom free, and have been forewarned to make their provisions from hence for the first year.

tions (as the form is in all civil governments), as well to enable the town incorporated, as also themselves, for the supplying of the wants of them who may have use of them, as the shoemakers, tailors, masons, carpenters, tinkers, weavers, and such like, who if there be use of them, they are so remote and dispersed without order, that they cannot be found; and when they be found, they have not wherewithal to serve the turn by reason of their idle life. This muster shall, therefore, forbid any man of trade or occupation to trade or occupy at all if he live without a town incorporated, except by special license from the Lord Deputy or president of the province where they live. The farmer or labourer shall imitate a civil kind of life, and leave that barbarous manner of wearing glybbs and other unseemly things, and frame himself to the English fashion. They all in general must be expressly commanded to have a care of their children under the age of 10 years, to set them to school, or to such courses as may teach them civility, and enable them to get their living honestly. By this muster his Majesty shall know what seminaries, Jesuits, and friars, or other disturbers of the commonwealth, be in this kingdom. And by this muster he shall know who refuseth to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance; and that none depart the land without license, nor any return from beyond seas, but shall enter his name." Such were some of the objects to be gained by the appointment of muster-masters, or (as more mildly expressed) overseers, who, in addition to all other duties, would watch the undertakers and keep them rigidly to their engagements. The council in London did not approve of Chichester's scheme, and would not introduce it at all, at least then.

they [the settlers] will have means to victual themselves without them [the natives].

20. That the Lord Deputy and commissioners may have a general warrant to dispose of Sir Henry Oge's country, which is thought to be a safer way than reciting every man's name and his quantity of land in the King's letter.

21. Moneys to be sent sufficient to enable the Lord Deputy to satisfy the old citizens of Derry for their estates made unto them by Sir Henry Docwra and Sir George Paulet. See *supra*.

22. That 20,000*l.* be laid in store in Ireland, not to be touched or opened without a foreign occasion, or some great revolt at home.

23. Some of the old and new dwellers in the Derry do much affect to be continued of that corporation, and to have like enfranchisement with the new colony.

(65). *With the new colony.*—Great efforts were being made by the Government at this time to proselytise the natives, especially in and around Derry, as it was supposed that if they could be drawn from the old faith, others throughout Ulster might be the more easily induced to follow their example. The system of threatening in this

20. Granted, with this caution, that it be distributed to the issue male of Sir Henry Oge and their heirs. His Majesty's warrant for this purpose is procured and sent herewith. See grants, pp. 318, 319.

21. The sum of 86*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* has been assigned to the citizens of Derry for so much paid by them in fines to Sir Henry Docwra, and so much more is now sent over as was not included in Sir Henry's certificate. And further 200*l.* is to be disposed among the meaner sort, having respect to their charges in building since the burning of the city, and of their continual and present abode and residence. And though most of the inhabited part of the city be found by office [inquisition] to belong to the Bishop of Derry, and has been surrendered by him to the King, and that divers of their houses were erected since the general restraint thereof by proclamation, yet there may be granted by them some further satisfaction, so as in the whole it exceed not, with the sum already paid, 2,000 marks. See *supra*.

22. His Majesty hopes that the expenses may be reduced by Chichester's timely care, and that this desire of his may thereby be effected.

23. Those of them who shall be conformable in religion, and will undertake to observe the orders of the city shall be received to be of that new Corporation, and shall have enfranchisement with the new colony (65).

instance appears to have been abandoned by the proselytisers, probably because it was found of no avail, and they sought to reach the end in view by bribing the natives. Babington, the bishop who succeeded Montgomery, was the principal agent in this work, and, on his own showing, he seems to have been tolerably successful; but, like all

24. Some of them offer to build in such conformity and order with them as the Londoners shall devise, so they be continued in the estate they have.

25. Some others to become tenants of such new houses as shall be built by the Londoners, of 5*l.*, or 20 nobles for every 100*l.* and so employed, and so of more or less after that rate.

26. The agents for London allege they are without authority, so that with them the Lord Deputy can conclude nothing.

24. None of the old or new dwellers shall claim any estate but what they shall claim from the city [of London], in regard due order is taken for their satisfaction.

25. The Londoners are first to provide habitations for such poor and necessary men as they draw thither for their business, and after to let for such rents as shall be fitting as well for the good of the plantation as for some valuable rent (the charge considered), the Londoners always performing the Articles of Plantation.

26. The Londoners agree to give their agents reasonable authority, on the agents representation of the necessity. But the Londoners must provide that the King's service be not hindered for want of authority in their agents.

proselytisers, he most probably over-estimated the number of his converts. Writing to Salisbury on the 20th Jan., 1610-11, he refers to his doings in Derry, as follows:—"Since it was at the recommendations of his friends, Sir Julius Caesar, Mr. Norton, Mr. Levinius, and others, and by his Lordship's means and favour, that he obtained the poor bishopric of Derry, he thinks it his duty, in order to justify their recommendations, to acquaint his Lordship before any other with such occurrences as have here fallen out in the ecclesiastical government wherewith he is intrusted; and albeit he cannot say, as sometime Caesar did, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, yet he blesses God he may boldly say, that in so short a time he has prevailed more for the reformation of the better part of his charge, than any of his predecessors have in many years. The course he held to bring them to conformity was in this sort: Before he durst assemble in any public manner the churchmen of his diocese for redress of things that were enormous, he held it meet (in order to prevent a tumultuous and general refusal) to have some private speech with such of the priests as were reputed most principal and chief among the residue, and upon whose resolution the unlearned multitude had their sole dependency. These at the first he found very averse and refractory, they stiffly standing upon these peremptory terms, that he ought not to begin to reform religion in these parts until it should generally be endeavoured throughout the whole kingdom. Howbeit, notwithstanding this their stubbornness, he did not violently go to work with them, nor urge them by authority, but endeavoured rather to persuade their consciences by arguments and reasons; and for that purpose called out again some three of those that were accounted chief, and dealing with

them lovingly and kindly, and often conferring in his study, where they turned books together, and forbearing to press them with such principal differences and grounded points of their religion at the first onset, as he well knew they would sooner die than yield unto on the sudden; at length he overcame them, and persuaded one of them named Owen M'Cawell, who well understood English, to accompany him (for example sake) to the church, which he publicly did in the Derry on a sabbath day; and there placing him next to himself [Babington], he heard with good attention both service and sermon, to the great rejoicing of all the people, and gave good approbation of their church meetings afterwards, as he sat at his [Babington's] table in the presence of divers of good note." After much more to this effect, the bishop concludes with the following practical application of the whole subject:—"Imploring his lordship's [Salisbury's] favourable assistance, first, that in order to meet the consequent expenses [of his proselytising exploits] he may be enabled to enjoy what his Majesty has apportioned him without being encumbered with law suits. It was through his lordship's favour he obtained the place, and if his efforts be checked for want of support, the popish adversaries who had begun to quail, will be mightily strengthened. Begg he may be furnished with the same authority as his predecessor [Montgomery] had, whereof he would make some good use in these rude and barbarous parts, where countenance and authority only, and not religion, keeps men under subjection. But he refers the consideration of all to his lordship's wisdom, and himself to his patronage, having made special choice of him [Salisbury] to be his only Meccenas." Babington's wholesale spoliation of church property soon became a subject of grave complaint.

27. That the Londoners be required to provide people for the plantation both of the county of Coleraine and the barony of Loughinsolin, that they may be here in February next in good numbers; for that of Loughinsolin is not to be inhabited with a few people, both in respect of the quantity of ground and the strength of fastness, yet is the soil as good and fruitful as any in Ulster.

28. That there are highways to be made, as well through the country as along the Ban side; and that every man by water or land may have a free passage with his goods, paying the custom at settled places appointed by the Londoners.

29. If the Londoners intend (as is expected) a perfect plantation, they must have a special

27. They are to send their undertakers in the beginning of May next [1611], furnished for the performance of the printed Articles; by which time all other undertakers are by proclamation commanded to do the like.

28. The highways are to be made by the inhabitants as the country shall be peopled (66), and every man shall enjoy free passage, subject only to such tolls as shall be set down by the Lord Deputy and commissioners of plantations, and certified into Chancery.

29. The Londoners are to furnish the place with sufficient men fitting for the present

(66). *Shall be peopled.*—This important work of road-making was thus left in the hands of the Londoners, and as the latter could see no immediate profits from such expenditure, their tenant-settlers were allowed to live without the luxury of roads. There had previously existed some lines of road lying between the principal old Irish towns in the county of Coleraine; but even these had become comparatively impracticable from neglect in the time of the war, whilst the country roads, narrow and badly made, had become literally 'grass-covered,' because 'travelled by few,' during those dreary years. This state of affairs continued for generations, and many were the complaints and remonstrances from the inhabitants of the county of Londonderry on the subject. The utter and persistent neglect of those who were called authorities continued, with but slight interruptions, until far onward in the present century. The Rev. G. V. Sampson, who published his *Memoir explanatory of the Chart and Survey of the County of Londonderry* in 1814, has the following account of the roads therein:—"The old roads of this county have the faults of all their contemporaries before the secret was discovered that it is frequently a shorter, and always an easier way to pass round the base than to climb over the summit. The foot-path was followed by the *bridle-road*; to this the *slide-car-track* succeeded; and from the slow succession of improvements, in a district which the linen trade alone has rescued from poverty, it was much easier to mend a bad road than to originate a good. In various parts of the country, great improvements are going on; some consist in opening new communications through districts hitherto savage, but which may become profitable and civilised. If the communications from one district of the country to another, by means of public roads, had been originally laid out by skilful

arrangements, it would have required no engineering proficiency to have found a near, and comparatively level track, from the mid-district of the Bann to Londonderry, through the pass of Glen Ulleren. The road by Newtown [Limavady] leads too far to the north; that by Dungivin is equally out of the way to the south; by crossing the river Roe in some intermediate part, you might pass the base of Loughermore on either side" (p. 214). These two roads, leading not merely 'from the mid-district of the Bann,' but from Dungannon to Derry, existed in old-world times, and one or other of them was traversed, as circumstances dictated, by Chichester and his military cavalcade, when engaged in his seven 'civilising' expeditions to the North. If the weather chanced to be 'foul,' the mountain road leading by Dungivin was impracticable, and the party had then to keep down through the woods of Lough-inis-O'Lynn, until they came to a grand resting place at Desert-Lynn, near the present Desertmartin. The march thence lay along the Bann, and the party could either reach Coleraine on that route or strike off to the left in the mid-district of the Bann, and so pass through Limavady to the Derry. Sampson states that "the new line opened [in 1814?] through Glenshane, between the south-eastern and north-western parts of the county, is of great utility." No doubt; but it was very late in being opened. There was an old road once through Glenshane, along which, when Chichester and his party passed from Dungannon to Coleraine, in the August of 1608, "the wild inhabitants," as Davys tells us, "wondered as much to see the King's deputy, as the ghosts in Virgil wondered to see Æneas alive in hell." The Glenshaynes, perhaps, even yet, would stare vigorously at a lord lieutenant followed by an army."

care to choose four substantial, wise, and discreet citizens, to be sent over immediately after Christmas ; such as shall have no interest to inhabit there or leave their posterity behind them, but merely for the good of the city and the plantation, to employ their best endeavours to forward the business, and to allot every man his proportion in the country ; to whose report they may confide, and on it form their plans ; provided also that they have full power to conclude on all questions with the Deputy.

30. That the Londoners be dealt with by his Majesty to have the barony of Loughinsolin to be disposed of by the Lord Deputy to the servitors and natives, being observed to be a country as strong in fastness on every side as any in Ulster, difficult and unlikely to be inhabited by the Londoners with English in many ages, of which opinion their own agents are.

31. Whether the Lord Deputy shall constrain the natives to remove at May next [1611], according to the proclamation, if they obstinately refuse the same.

32. That the forts in the north be victualled for three months.

33. The Archbishop of Cashel (see pp. 183, 184), on the surrender of the bishoprics of Waterford and Lismore to Dr. Lancaster, had the *custodiam* given him of Killaloe and Ardconry, two other poor bishoprics, which the Lord Deputy desires may be bestowed on him, because they were long since promised by the Deputy and Council.

C 2

affairs, and further to perform the Articles of Plantation.

30. The Londoners have been dealt with concerning this ; but, as that barony affords most timber necessary for their shipping and building, and lies upon the river Ban most commodious for their business, they are not willing to leave it, affirming that it would be the overthrow of their plantation. They [the council] consequently decline to press them, but urged them to a careful performance of their contract, which they have promised to do with all speed.

31. The Lord Deputy is to proceed in the constant execution of the Articles of Plantation ; but in case of sudden emergency which cannot be certified hither and directed from here, he is to use his discretion.

32. They approve of this proposition in general ; but as there are forts near the sea, and otherwise conveniently situated, which do not require this provision, they leave it to his discretion to distinguish these forts.

33. Agreed ; and a warrant dispatched for this purpose.

34. The galley that lieth before the city of Dublin, in the river, is a superfluous charge to his Majesty. The Lord Deputy desires that, if Captain Vaughan's motion is approved, some order may be taken for it.

35. That the Lord Deputy may have allowance for 235 beeves taken from him for the new plantation in Cavan, and 1,300 barrels of tithe corn, which this year goeth from him, and was passed away in the government of Sir George Carey [Carew] to Sir Richard Cooke, without which the Deputy cannot maintain the port of his estate.

36. That the parsons or rectors may have 60 acres of land for their glebe next adjoining to each church. The bishops to be moved to yield the same, taking so much land further off. See p. 91.

37. How many head of cattle the undertakers may yearly import, besides household stuff?

(66). *Yearly*.—The two items of beeves and corn, thus so essential to Chichester, in maintaining 'the port of his estate,' were, from that time, supplied to him in a simpler and better form. The beeves had been forcibly collected from the people of Cavan for many years, and the imposition would have no doubt gone on for many years longer, but that the interests of the plantation in that county required that it should cease,—at least to be inflicted in the old style. The leading families of the great O'Reilly clan were estranged from each other by English influence towards the close of the sixteenth century. John O'Reilly, the representative of the principal branch, appealed from his kinsmen to the authorities in the Pale, who willingly espoused his quarrel, and had him at once knighted and constituted the 'Queen's O'Reilly.' They next appointed commissioners to go into Cavan and settle the disputes between him and his kinsmen. But the commissioners' mode of settlement had only the effect of making "the confusion worse confounded," by assigning an unduly ex-

34. The Admiral has taken order.

35. For the beeves he shall have 235*l*. English, being 20*s*. English the beef; and for the corn of Dunboyne, estimated at 1,200 pecks, rated 5*s*. the peck, 240*l*. English yearly (66).

36. That the Bishops of Clogher and Raphoe, and Sir Oliver Lambert in person, and the Bishop of Derry by his agent have yielded their consent; and the Lord Deputy and commissioners are to deal with the Primate, the Bishop of Kilmore, and Sir Garrett Moore to the like effect; the same to be established by decree and exchange, and afterwards by Act of Parliament.

37. For 2,000 acres, and so rateably, the undertaker for the first year may carry 20 cows, 2 bulls, and 20 young store cattle; 100 ewes and 6 rams; 20 mares, horses, and colts; as many swine as he will—not exceeding ten (67).

tensive sweep of the lands in Cavan to Sir John Reilly, and leaving other leading families comparatively landless. It turned out, however, that, as compensation for doing such an amount of harm in so short a time to the people of Cavan, the government of the Pale, acting through the then deputy, Sir John Perrott, established for itself the right of collecting 220 fat cattle yearly from the farms of that county; and this imposition had been rigidly enforced. One of the two commissioners, who had taken an active part in the pretended settling of the O'Reillys, was still living in the year 1607, and then boasted to Sir John Davys that they, the commissioners, "had been well paid for their pains, for he, although having least, had a 100 fat beeves given him by the country." Davys adds, when mentioning this matter, "that the whole number of 220 beeves the deputy hath ever since taken yearly from the country."

(67). *Not exceeding ten*.—There was a prohibition against removing cattle of any description from England

38. That those of the county of Donegal and those of Tyrone, that border and are next to the Londoners, may have sufficient timber from the Londoners' lands.

38. The Londoners agree to allow those of Donegal and of Tyrone that border upon Loughinsolin, timber for their buildings, if they have not enough of their own, provided they take it by their assignment and according to the book of Plantation.

Chichester has endorsed the foregoing important paper thus :—"The Lords answers by postylls to certayne propositions of myne, concerning matter of the Plantation of Ulster." These queries on his part show how thoroughly his mind was absorbed in the subject ; and also how very well posted up the commissioners for Irish Causes must have been on every point relating to northern affairs. These commissioners appear to have carefully scanned every proposition submitted by the Irish deputy, assenting to some few of minor importance, but disallowing wholly or in part many others to which Chichester had evidently expected affirmative replies. Thus, at a time when he might have reasonably hoped for some rest from his labours, as well as the entire approval of his employers, he had neither the one nor the other. He must pocket his 'postylls' to prepare for other and equally arduous tasks.

X.

In the noisy discussions which marked the early days of the Ulster plantation the Londoners had a prominent place, and indeed their career generally, as colonists, in this northern province, has been, with only some short intervals, a stormy one. Their first troubles arose principally from jealousies between themselves and the servitors, fomented by various circumstances, but chiefly because they had utterly refused to surrender, or even share the barony of Loughinsholin with the latter, and had besides been charged with adopting a too grasping policy, considering that the servitors had consented to meet their [the Londoners'] wishes on certain territorial questions already mentioned. In truth, the Londoners seem, from the very commencement of their career, to have required sharp watching, for it soon became apparent that they had gone into this colonising transaction only with the one real object of self-aggrandisement. There were already statements afloat on all sides of their selfish mal-practices, their selling timber, setting their lands at exorbitant rents to the natives, and gleaning up even at their very arrival about 2,000*l.*, without anything like an adequate outlay in planting their towns and territories generally. Among these statements, several of which were very soon committed to paper, one in particular occupied a prominent place, and although it appears to have been forwarded anonymously to the Government, it bears decided internal evidence of being an emanation of Sir Thomas Phillips's brain. The document in question was prepared evidently about the close of 1612, and its purpose, as the contents sufficiently indicate, was to keep the authorities on the alert about the doings and non-doings of the

or Scotland without permission ; but the undertakers thus appear to have had a special exemption to some small extent from this prohibitory law. It is not likely, however, that either the English or Scottish undertakers took advantage of this indulgence, except in a very

few instances,—for the sufficient reason that they found all sorts of cattle in Ulster as profitable, and better suited to the soil than any they could import from north or south of the Tweed. See p. 375.

Londoners, especially on the banks of the Foyle and the Bann. "By the Articles of Covenant," says this formidable accuser, "dated the 28th of January, 1609, the Londoners were tied to have built at the November following, 60 houses in the Derrie, and 40 in Coleraine, with fortification; the rest, viz., 140 at the Derrie, and 60 at Coleraine, to be performed by November, 1611, which was not performed accordingly. At the Derrie almost all to do at this day. ["They should have built before this at the Derrie 200 houses, and now there are not 20."] Much defect is observed even by the Irish themselves, in their [the Londoners'] proceedings. No undertakers sent over by them to inhabit the country; nor any of wealth for the towns; and all that is done is of little worth without being peopled. The natives still remain, contrary to the proclamation and order of the state, and encouraged thereto by their agent [Tristram Beresford]. The danger of fortification to be considered without inhabitants to keep it. That order be taken for supply of inhabitants, and storehouses for munition and arms. Special regard for Culmore (see p. 104), to be well manned and victualled. That bridges be made over the two rivers to Derrie and Coleraine for the speedy conveying of supply upon any occasion. That the Londoners, seeking manifestly their own private advantage, neglect the common good, and convert much timber to merchantable uses. That there are particular ends sought after, as may appear among the chief of them in buying of parts (68). That fortifications be hastened for the safety of the people at the Derrie, always

(68). *Buying of parts.*—The chief sinner among the Londoners in the matter of buying up good things for himself was John Rowley (see p. 404), who, it would appear, made havoc of the woods, and spoiled the church of her lands to a vast extent. On the 17th of November, 1612, the council in London wrote to Chichester about the doings of this terrible 'Londoner,' as follows:—"A grievous complaint has been made by Dr. Hampton, Bishop of Derry, that whereas the King had annexed by grant to the bishopric divers lands and tenements, and many royalties, privileges, and other immunities for the better advancement of the church, after the barbarism which has long possessed those parts to the extinguishing of true religion and obedience; nevertheless his predecessor, Dr. Babington, at the instigation of his wife, and of one Wheeler, his servant, who has since married the bishop's widow, demised to one John Rowley, one of the agents of the city of London, 81 townlands, for the yearly rent of 65*l.*, contrary to the conditions of the letters patent, which direct that a rent of 4*l.* a quarter be reserved in all such demises. The bishop [Hampton] has also complained of divers other grievances; all which considered, their Lordships have cited Rowley before them to answer the complaint, and will provide in the case as may appear expedient. And as, among the grievances complained of, it is alleged that Rowley has a grant of all timber, woods, and underwoods belonging to the bishopric, and, as they are informed, has cut down 3,000 trees, and has transported into Spain many thousand pipe staves, they require him [Chichester] to take special order for the preservation of the timber of the bishopric, and to prevent all cutting thereof till further order." On the 20th of the following month [December], the council wrote again to the deputy in these terms:—"His lordship will have understood by a late letter what

course they have taken about the complaint which he has from the late Bishop of Derry. On full consideration of the case, they have come to the conclusion that the said grant to the prejudice of the church is defeasable [may be annulled] and they have subscribed that judgment, as his lordship will see by what the bearer has to shew him. They recommend the cause, therefore, to his care, as a matter concerning not merely the bishop's private interest, but the public interest of that church; and they require him to take such course as will secure the bishop's speedy restoration to his right without any further privilege to the defendant who has deserved so ill that he is entitled to nothing but what common justice can challenge in his behalf." On the 23rd of the same month, the King himself issued the following mandate to Chichester, respecting Rowley's doings, which appear to have deeply offended the authorities in London:—"Dr. Babington, late Bishop of Derry, misled by those who intended only their own gain without care of the church, has made such havoc and spoil of that bishopric, that having been worth 1,000*l.* per annum, the tenants being reasonable gainers, it is now not worth 400*l.* a year. And the King being certified by his learned counsel that the bases may be avoided [made void], he [Chichester] is to take to his assistance the Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and Chief Baron, and to call before himself and them all such persons as hold any of the said lands, such as Dr. Hampton, the now bishop, shall desire to be cited, and he and they are to do according to law and justice. And, in the meantime, he is to sequester the rents; and the bishop is to be restored, as well to the lands withheld from him, as to the rents sequestered. And John Rowley, one of the London agents, and others having, as the King is informed, committed great havoc in the woods of Glancane and Killetra, within the precinct of the Londoners'

provided people be sent there to inhabit. That advantage is given to the doubtful natives to see these slender proceedings, and, being out of the servitors' command, fawning only awhile upon their weak landlords, watching some offered occasion and advantage to cut their landlords' throats and make themselves masters. The slender attendance upon the justices of assize in their circuits, there being none of the city tenants to do the service. The rent that the King shall receive from them [the Londoners], according to the survey will be 160*l.* per annum, or thereabouts, for which they already receive [from rents and fishings] near hand 2,600*l.* per annum, which will daily increase, so that the very yearly revenue will perform what is to be done, their taking so much time in the doing thereof. That for the increase of the King's rents, there will be a new survey taken, they themselves reporting that upon two proportions, a middle and a small, which go by the survey for 2,500 acres, there are found to be 10,000 acres."

The circulation of this and other statements equally derogatory to the potent and patriotic corporation of London, did not fail to call forth counter-statements. The 'citizens,' indeed, wisely avoided any direct attempt to justify their own make-believe proceedings, but they put forward the *tu quoque* argument with good effect. Their chief men having been summoned before the council of the King, and directly charged with delay and neglect, made answer that, although delays had arisen, the fault lay with the Government itself, in not having sufficiently cleared the way for the Londoners, nor placed them in sufficiently quiet and secure possession of every item they had been led by the terms of the 'Articles' to expect. This business is explained by the following letter from the council to Chichester, but more particularly by the very controversial document with which it is accompanied. "Though blame," say the council, "may be imputed to all the British undertakers, yet they [the council] have of late received his [Chichester's] information of the negligence of the Londoners in particular, in performing their covenants. They have lately called some of the principal of them before them, and have dealt roundly with them upon that point, representing to them amongst other faults, that of which his lordship [Chichester] complained in his letters sent by Sir Thomas Phillips, which is the continuing the natives within their precinct, whose abode in that place must (as he rightly judges) be full of inconvenience and danger. He will perceive the answer of the Londoners and their [the council's] reply by the memorial sent enclosed. Last of June, 1612." The council designates the statements of the Londoners on this occasion *A remembrance of such impediments as they pretend to be the hinderance and lett of their proceeding in the Plantation of Ulster*. The following are the Londoners' complaints and expostulations, with such answers as the Government was able, in each case, to put forward by way of 'postils' or marginal notes:—

Londoners' Letts or Hinderances.

1. The corporation of Derry has not surrendered to his Majesty their liberties [lands

undertaking, converting the timber into pipe-staves, and exporting them to foreign parts, contrary to the laws of that kingdom,—he [Chichester] is to cause all who have offended in that respect to be answerable as far as the law

The Answers.

1. The money due to the inhabitants for a surrender of their estates and their charter

permits, seizing any wood so cut, and giving it to the bishop, towards the building a house to remain to the said bishoprick."

adjoining], nor their interest in the city of Derry, but wholly refuse to permit the undertakers to build there, or to do anything for the plantation to be made in that city.

2. Sir Toby Calfeild and other gentlemen pretending interests in the lands to be granted to the city of London not being compounded with, refuse to surrender, notwithstanding their [the council's] former order.

A particular of Sir Toby Calfeild's lands which he demands in the barony of Loughinsholin and Coleraine:—

The Grange of Agheighter	...	2 balliboes
Inish Rush	...	2 balliboes
Tyaner	...	2 balliboes

(69). *6th Feb. instant.*—The letter here referred to is not found among the calendared collection of State Papers, but the reader may see the arrangements above-mentioned as having been made with the claimants in and around Derry, at pp. 392-404. This complaint on the part of the Londoners could hardly have had any real foundation, for the several matters named were then actually settled, or in progress to final adjustment.

(70). *To Sir Toby.*—The first grant of these lands was made on the 4th of June, 1607, and the second at some later date which cannot be determined, for it must be considerably earlier than that mentioned in the printed Patent Rolls, viz., 22 May, 1608. The abbey or monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul of Armagh owned extensive lands in the adjoining baronies of Loughinsholin and Coleraine, those in the former being only partially recited in the first or earlier grant, whilst those in Coleraine were altogether omitted. This had occurred, no doubt, because the lands in Loughinsholin were partially known to the servitors in 1607, and the lands in Coleraine belonging to the abbey at Armagh had evidently been then unknown as such. In the later grant the following denominations are recited as lying in the baronies above-named, and as belonging to the abbey at Armagh:—"Tyrone Co. [barony of Loughinsholin], Inishrush, 2 balliboes; Agheiter, 2 balliboes; Teanewye, 2 balliboes; Moynegrane, 2 balliboes; the precinct of Killreagh containing the five balliboes of Ballyherregny, Clary, Leitrim, Ballylelanane, Ballyawlagh, and Hallacoghey.

they [the council] believe is paid to them and the surrenders are probably already made; if not, he [Chichester] is himself to see to its being done, and the moneys paid not only for the surrenders, but for the tithe fishing with the loopes on the Ban (see p. 403), and for the arrears of rents taken up by Sir Toby Calfeild, and is mentioned in his [Chichester's] letter to the late lord treasurer, of the 6th of February instant (69).

2. The abbey of Armagh was demised by his Majesty to Sir Toby, about seven years since, before the plantation was intended; and after the first project, the said abbey, with his [Chichester's] special allowance was passed in fee-farm to Sir Toby (70), being a servitor. Since which the whole barony of Coleraine (within which divers balliboes are found to be parcels of the possession of the said abbey) are by the contract with the Londoners to be passed to the City. He [Chichester] must

Coleraine Co. [barony of Coleraine], the grange and lands of Agheavy, called Glasgort, Mullaghmore, Gwymore, Coolecrow, and Guybegg, one balliboe each; and Tullaghard, one sessiogh." These names differ considerably in form from the denominations mentioned in this complaint of the Londoners, but they are intended to designate the same lands. They were surrendered freely by Sir Toby to the Londoners, which so pleased the King that he wrote to Chichester in the following terms:—"In consideration of the dutiful conformity the King has found in Sir Toby Caulfeild, in surrendering up at his [the King's] request, his lands which were claimed by the Londoners as theirs by the Articles of plantation; and of having heard him generally so well reported of, both for his ability in his profession, which is arms, and for his carefulness in the administration of the civil affairs of the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, with which he has been principally entrusted since the departure of the fugitive traitors from thence, his Majesty thinks him well worthy of the liberal testimony of his services given by him [Chichester] and the council of Ireland. Since his [Sir Toby's] coming over his Majesty has had speech with him touching the state of the plantation, and the King's other affairs there, and has received full information and satisfaction from him. And Sir Toby being now on his return into Ireland, his Majesty wishes him to be admitted as a privy councillor, and authorises him [Chichester] to give him the customary oath. Westminster, 13th Feb., 1612-13."

Moynegrana	...	...	2 balliboes
Also the lands of Kilreagh quarter, viz.,			
Fallowghy	...	...	one balliboe
Bally Leyeregney	...	...	one balliboe
Clare Leytrim	...	...	one balliboe
Bally Nealane	...	...	one balliboe
Bally Aulagh <i>alias</i> Fullaghy	...	...	2 balliboes

Likewise the lands of Athgeave in the barony of Coleraine, viz.,

Glashart	...	...	one balliboe
Mullaghmac	...	...	one balliboe
Quilmore	...	...	one balliboe
Coolero	...	...	one balliboe
Gaynebeg	...	...	one balliboe

3. Divers grants for aquavita, selling of wine, drawing of beer, measuring salt, sowing seeds, making oil and rope, the clerkship of the markets, which, by contract were to be surrendered, and the whole lands undertaken freed and cleared, are yet unsundered (71).

(71). *Yet unsundered*.—The setting aside of these numerous licenses to please the Londoners, and carry out the terms of the compact, was more difficult than either they or the Government, perhaps, had at first supposed. In July, 1611, the King wrote to draw Chichester's attention specially to this matter, stating, in reference to the leading questions at least likely to give most trouble, that he [the King] "had formerly granted to John Wakeman certain customs, subsidies, and licences, in the province of Ulster, for which a sum of money has been paid by Sir James Hamilton. His Majesty directs that a grant of the same be passed under the great seal to the said Sir James Hamilton. But if the said grant should appear to be prejudicial to the plantation of Ulster, and especially to that of the city of London, directs that the grant may be stayed until his Majesty shall be further advertised. Farnham, 25 July, 1611." It appears that on the 11th of April, 1606, to the aforesaid John Wakeman was granted all customs, subsidies, and imposts, by sea and land, of all merchandize and other customable things, imported or exported, in the ports, havens, creeks, and islands of Ulster, together with certain licenses. (See *Eck's Repertory*, p. 204; and *Patent Rolls*, p. 86). In April, 1610, Chichester, when instructing Ridgeway, before sending him to London, requires him to bring back special directions from head-quarters on this subject of granting licenses. "He knows how he is pressed for granting monopolies under colour of bringing in arts and mysteries,—by one for making salt, by another, for sowing seeds for making oils, and woad, burning ashes for

therefore put them in possession, and compound with Sir Toby, who has received so many benefits from his Majesty.

3. Such patents of privileges as may impeach the contract [with the Londoners] are not to be put in execution within their cities, but the impost of wines were never intended to be within their contract (72).

soap, making glass, saltpetre, cables and ropes, measuring corn and salt, and other such devices, for which they proffer some small rent to the King."

(72). *Their contract*.—From the grant mentioned in the preceding note, the subsidy of wines was specially reserved, and was not granted afterwards even to the Londoners. This special and fruitful source of revenue was granted to the well-known and unhappy lady Arabella Stuart or Seymour. In Feb. 1608-9, this lady petitioned the King, to whom she was nearly related, for a grant to herself and her assigns, for the term of 31 years, of certain privileges and impositions, upon hides, and for license to transport yearly from Ireland 40,000 hides, paying a poundage and rent of 50*s.* per annum, with a statement of reasons in support of petition. To this petition there were others in opposition, for the trade in hides was about the best and most lucrative of which Ireland could boast. Lady Arabella, therefore, did not succeed in this object; but in the November following, Chichester had a letter from the King, requiring him to grant to her for 21 years, the privilege to nominate such persons as should be permitted to sell wines, aquavita, or usquebaugh in Ireland, as given in the 11th of Elizabeth, and respect being had to the statute 31 Edward I., and all the forfeitures and penalties for breach of any statutes made or to be made in that kingdom touching the premises. This letter was to have all liberal construction for lady Arabella's good, her affairs in this matter settled with expedition, and her agents, when so employed, sufficiently assisted and protected. The grant was taken out for lady Arabella by trustees, as

4. That as well the 4,000 acres at the Derry, as the 3,000 acres at Coleraine be laid out unto the towns, with bogs, woods, and mountain excepted, as all other the lands undertaken are; and that the Irish tenants may remain on the lands by us undertaken until we have finished our buildings; which, otherwise, will bring such scarcity that we shall not be able to feed our number of workmen and soldiers; the rather for that there is no purpose to remove them but only to the church and servitors' lands within our undertakings, or thereto adjoining (73).

5. And for that we have not been able to perform our buildings for want of possession, that no part of our rents now due, or to grow due, be withheld from us by virtue of any

4. In the 4,000 acres to be laid to Derry, bog and barren mountain are to be no parcel thereof, but to go as waste to the city, according to the 2nd article of the contract. But in the 3,000 acres to be laid to Coleraine, bog, wood, and mountain are to be accounted as parcel of the number, and not to be excepted, as appears in the 4th article of the contract; neither has the King any lands there to satisfy their demands, nor are they [the Londoners] in the case of the other undertakers, as they pay no rent, but yield only an acknowledgment. As to keeping the Irish, they [the council] expect that the planting with Britons should go speedily forward, the rather as it appears by his [Chichester's] letter of the 6th February inst., that they have no impediment, or just excuse.

5. His Lordship [Chichester] is to inquire into the truth of this allegation, and if the fishings be withheld contrary to the tenor of the contract he is to pass the City [Londoners]

explained by the following communication from the council in London to Chichester, dated March 31, 1610:—"Although the license to Sir George St. Paule [often written Semple] and Henry Velverton, Esq., to appoint any two whom they may think fit during their lives successively two by two, for the space of 21 years, to sell wines and usquebagh in Ireland, was passed under the name of the said Sir George St. Paule and Mr. Velverton, yet he [Chichester] may conceive that a suit of this nature would not have been procured from the King but by a personage of extraordinary rank and estimation, as is the lady Arabella Stuarde, near in blood, and in special grace and favour with his Highness, and to whose use and benefit it is wholly intended. And because they [the council] know it to be his pleasure that this gift should be extended to as much benefit for this noble lady as may be, they thought fit to recommend the same and those she may employ to his [Chichester's] especial favour."

(73). *Thereto adjoining*.—Thus, it appeared that whilst the natives must be removed, all classes of undertakers were anxious to retain them, of course, on account of their services. The English and Scotch were on no account to employ the Irish after the month of May, 1611, but the servitors, in the autumn following, excused themselves to Carew for having nothing done, because the

natives were retained exclusively by the British undertakers. The 'Londoners,' in their complaints, as above, of the 'letts or hindrances' in their way, boldly state that the presence of the natives was an absolute necessity for them, until, at least, they could complete the buildings they had undertaken to erect at Derry and Coleraine. The Londoners, afterwards, still more boldly maintained that they were not bound by the 'Articles' to remove the natives at all; neither did they, except partially and when the removal suited their own [the Londoners'] arrangements,—perhaps their religious prejudices or fears. The natives, on their part, submitted more philosophically than could have been expected; indeed, all classes, except, perhaps, the very humblest amongst them, hastened away at every opportunity, when fate had finally decreed that they were to abandon their dearly cherished homes. This alacrity to be gone surprised the authorities not a little. In May, 1611, Davys writing to Salisbury, refers to it as follows:—"Whereas, it was doubted that the natives in this month of May, which was the time fixed for their removing, would not have been transplanted but with some difficulty, it has fallen out contrary to their [the Government's] expectation, that they [the Irish] are more willing to leave the British undertakers' lands than the British undertakers are to leave them" [the Irish].

former order; and that such rents as are due to us by concordatum may be made good unto us. As also that several parts of the fishings held from us by former grants may be resigned, as namely—In the river of Rowe [Roe] a pool fished by Mr. William Gaye, or Gage (see p. 405); a pool near the river of Loughfoyle by Robert Fleming; a pool between the Derry and the castle of Culmore by Captain Hart (see p. 325); a pool about the Lifford, and another called Greene brae, over against the Lifford, by Sir Richard Hansard (see pp. 324, 325); a pool towards Castle Toome, by Capt. Russell (see p. 272); two pools claimed by the Bishop of Derry, Oboygans and Clonye (see p. 106); all granted by patents under the great seal of England, which breed much question and great prejudice to the plantation.

6. They demand, notwithstanding any grant of the same, to Brian Crossagh O'Neil, to have 16 townships and two-thirds (74), in the territory of Arrator, being in the ballibetagh of Cragballindevin, and part of Dergeny, in which precincts of land also Phelim Oge O'Mullcruy, with Con O'Neil and Hugh McShane O'Neil, have certain freeholds granted to them (75), viz., to each one ballibetagh, all of which, with Sir Toby Calfield's lands, and the primate's lands, as were ever known to be temporal lands, as also such lands as the Bishop of Derry has obtained from his Majesty by misinformation as they have heard. Signed, *Edmondes* (76).

(74). *And two-thirds*.—See p. 249. The Londoners were mistaken in supposing that the lands mentioned in Brian Crossagh's grant belonged to their possessions in Loughinsholin. These 16 townlands, and two-thirds lay in the barony of Dungannon (see p. 322), or at least principally; and were granted after Brian Crossagh's attainder, in 1614, to a person named Edgeworth.

(75). *Granted to them*.—The Londoners were mistaken in this matter also; and the grantees named above retained

into possession, and compound for the titles, if any be good in law.

6. If Brian Crossagh's lands lie within the Londonders' precinct, his patent is to be cancelled as made since the contract; and the commissioners are likewise to examine the primate's title to Derrihorgan, the Multenagh, and Cragballindevin, and if it shall appear not to be church land, and to be within the Londoners' precinct, the Londoners are to be established in possession (77).

their lands, which lay in the barony of Dungannon, and not in that of Loughinsholin.

(76). *Edmondes*.—This was the surname of the gentleman who then held the office of City Remembrancer.

(77). *In possession*.—The lands thus mentioned by the authorities in London, were probably held from the complainants illegally, and restored to them, as we do not find them in the grant afterwards made to the Bishop of Derry.

XI.

The foregoing important document, conveying the Londoners' complaints, with the English council's opinions and impressions thereon, appears to have brought about better relations, at least for a time, between the Government and the 'City.' The Londoners, by an order or 'precept' so early as the 30th of January, 1610-11, had constituted their Irish Committee or Society, so as to include a governor, deputy-governor, and twenty-four assistants. By another order or 'precept' of the 31st May, 1611, eleven assistants were added; but by a later arrangement, dated the 8th of Jan., 1612-13—the last indeed prior to the granting of the charter—the Irish Society was to consist of the governor, deputy-governor, and thirty-three assistants. The Government, however, reduced the assistants to the original number of twenty-four, but the governor, the deputy-governor, and the twenty-four assistants named in the charter, were the same governor, deputy-governor, and twenty-four of the thirty-three assistants chosen by the City in Jan., 1612-13. The following are the names of the Irish Society as originally and legally constituted by this charter of March, 1613:—"William Cockaine (see pp. 394, 395), alderman, first governor of the Society; Martin Bond, haberdasher, deputy-governor; the twenty-four assistants were, Sir Henry Montague, Clement Scudamore, Sir John Jollis, John Leamon, Geo. Smith, and Edward Rotheram, citizens and aldermen of London; William Dyos, gentleman, Remembrancer; Robert Jenkinson, John Gore, Matthias Springham, and John Slainy, merchant tailors of London; Rowland Bakehouse, Adrian Moore, and Francis Fuller, mercers of London; Horris Abbot, draper; Graves Heman, goldsmith; William Stone, Robert Middleton, and Francis Covell, skinnners; William Freeman, haberdasher; Nicholas Leet, ironmonger; James Hodgson, vintner; Hugh Morell, cloth worker; and Richard Welby, leather-seller."

The charter appointed these men a society or association "for the better ordering, directing, and governing all, and all manner of things for and concerning the citizens and city of Londonderry, and the county of Londonderry, and the plantation to be made within the same city and county, and other businesses belonging to them." After incorporating the Society, and giving it power to purchase, receive, and possess lands, the charter next granted that its members, or any nine of them, always including the governor or his deputy, should have the power of assembling and holding a court, and in the same court to do, hear, transact, and determine all manner of matters and things whatsoever, for or concerning the plantation of the lands throughout the county above named; and also to transmit orders from England to Ireland for directing and disposing of all manner of matters and things relating to said plantation; and also, for the receipt and laying out of all sums of money to be collected and received, with full powers to make such arrangements generally for the progress and welfare of the undertaking as might be deemed advisable. The charter did not fail in its introductory sentences to consolidate the city and town of Derry, and all the territories and hereditaments thus granted into one county, to be called the county of Londonderry, to declare that the city of Derry should be called Londonderry, to define the extent of the city of Londonderry and the town of Coleraine, to incorporate the citizens of Londonderry, and to declare that they should have a mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and a chamberlain. The mayor, commonalty,

and citizens were empowered to make laws and ordinances, so that such laws and ordinances were certified by the city of Londonderry, under their common seal, to the Society of the governor and assistants, or Irish Society, within four months after the making of such laws and ordinances, to the intent that the same Society might ratify and confirm such laws and ordinances within six months after the delivery of the certificate; and these laws and ordinances, if confirmed by the Society in London, were to be valid, but if rejected by that supreme tribunal, were to be wholly void. The charter then appointed the first mayor and aldermen, sheriffs, chamberlain, and chief burgesses of Derry, as follows:—"We nominate our well-beloved John Rowley, gentleman, first and present mayor of Londonderry. We nominate to be our first and present aldermen, Ralph Bingley, knight, John Vaughan, John Rowley, Henry Hart, Henry Vaughan, John Baker, Francis White, Henry Sadler, John Ray, William ———, Jessy Smith, and John Barkers, gentlemen. We nominate Robert Goodwyn, our first and present chamberlain; Robert Griffith and William Lyne, our first and present sheriffs. We nominate as our first and present burgesses, Samuel Calvert, Thomas Bolton, Adam Copinger, Henry Lovell, William Atkins, Valentine James, William Irenmonger, John Waters, Walter Markes, Thomas Latham, Roger Price, William Booker, Thomas Harvest, Richard Blockley, Richard Middleton, Nicholas Ambrose, Peter Tafter, Thomas Saule, Richard Jenny, William Whitewell, Francis Southwell, William Raven, Thomas Lache, and Clement Moss."

After giving power to the Irish Society to elect officers and to make ordinances for the government of Londonderry during the space of ten years, the charter grants to them and their successors, the several forts, towns, and lands already mentioned in detail (see pp. 387-392), and all fealty and services of socage reserved out of the same premises, and all knights' fees, wards, marriages, escheats, reliefs, heriots, fines, courts leet, courts of view and frank-pledge, hereditaments and appurtenances, to be held as amply as the King himself had held the same, with certain exceptions specified. To hold the premises to the only proper use of the Society and its successors forever; to hold the city of Londonderry and the 4,000 acres next adjoining on the Derry side, and the town of Coleraine and the 3,000 acres to the same adjoining, in free burgage, as of the castle of Dublin; and to hold the rest of the premises by fealty only, in free and common socage, rendering the rents therein mentioned. And the Society covenanted, on its part, to convey certain lands to the bishop and dean of Derry within a year; to keep and maintain forever the fort of Culmore; to convey certain lands for glebes on their estates within a year. The charter then provided that the timber growing on the lands of Glenconkeyne and Killetragh should forever after be used for the convenience and advantage of the settlers in building their houses and other necessary works, and not on any terms to be merchandised or sold. The customs were granted to the Society during a term of ninety-nine years, for a rent of 13*s.* 4*d.*; and, finally, among various other important powers and privileges, the office of admiral was granted forever on the coasts or shores of Tyrconnell or Donegal, Coleraine, and the county of Londonderry. See p. 382; see also Lord Langdale's *Judgment*, delivered in Nov., 1838.

By an order of the Society made on the 24th of June, 1613, after reciting that in so noble a

work, so taken to heart by the King, and wherein the city, in its christian zeal, and upon the hopeful success of the speculation, had already expended, and were likely to expend, great sums of money, it was unanimously considered the right thing, and, indeed essential to the advancement of the work, that "some great and worthy magistrate of the city" of London, "accompanied by some commoner of special credit," should be sent to Londonderry to make an exact view of the whole proceedings, and of all the circumstances of the case. The mission of these specially trusted agents was highly pleasing to the Government. The persons appointed on this grand errand were Alderman Smithes and Mr. Matthias Springham, who were required by the Court of Common Council, by whom they were appointed, to confer with the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants of the Irish Society, before setting forth on the journey. These deputies were required to prepare themselves, whilst on the spot, to make a full, true, and particular report of all the works done and to be done, of disbursements and accounts; and, at the same time, to place, displace, redress, reform, correct, and direct all persons employed for the Londoners' use and service in and about the Plantation. The two citizens appear to have done their work satisfactorily, and their report, which is dated Oct. 15, was read to the Court of Common Council on the 8th November, 1613. After the notice of several minor questions, the report proceeds as follows:—"Whereas, it was generally desired that a division should be made of all the lands by and amongst the several Companies undertaking in this Plantation, we have with great travail, first viewed the lands and carefully inquired after the true value of every balliboe; and thereupon with great care and pains, and with the assistance and advice of the gentlemen of the country, the City's agents and surveyors proceeded to make an equal division of the land into twelve parts, wherein we have used our best skill and diligence, and have done the same as equally as possible we could devise, the form of which division we have here brought you, together with the plot [map] of the same. But, for the city of Londonderry, and the 4,000 acres there; and the town of Coleraine, and the 3,000 acres appointed to the same; the ferries and the fishings; we are of opinion that a division cannot be fitly made of them; but the rents and profits of them may be divided, and go amongst the several Companies; and we advise that upon the division it be provided that, where a proportion of land shall want timber to build with, the Company, to whose share it may fall, may have sufficient timber out of the woods next adjoining, and fitting for that use, to be assigned to them by the City's agents."

The conduct of the two commissioners was highly approved, and their several suggestions and recommendations carried out, even to the summary dismissal of John Rowley, one of the Londoners' agents. "The which report [of Smithes and Springham] being openly read, was in all parts well liked, with a general acknowledgment that the said Mr. Alderman Smithes, and the said Matthias Springham, his assistant, had with great faithfulness, care, and diligence, performed the trust and confidence which was reposed in them in their said negotiation, and the same was, with good acceptance of this whole Court of Common Council approved and allowed; and it is ordered that the same remembrance shall be entered into the journals; and forasmuch as by the same remembrance, as also by credible realation made unto this Court, it will appear that John Rowley

(see p. 405), one of the City's agents in Ireland, hath divers ways dealt very incorrectly and unfaithfully with the City in sundry matters committed to his trust in Ireland, in and about the said plantation and business there; it is therefore with a general voice ordered, enacted, and agreed by the authority aforesaid, that the said John Rowley shall with all expedition, be dismissed from being the City's agent; and he, the said John Rowley, by the authority of this present act of Common Council, is absolutely dismissed; and it is further enacted that he shall not henceforth receive or intermeddle with the receiving of any of the treasure or rents; and further that advertisements shall be forthwith sent unto Mr. Matthias Springham, who remaineth still in Ireland, to call the said Rowley to an account, and to receive from him the same account." This act of dismissal on the part of the City must have been a curious, if not very awkward affair altogether, for Smithes and Springham had actually carried with them, when coming to Ulster, the new charter of Londonderry, containing the appointment of Rowley as the first Mayor of Derry! His dismissal, as aforesaid, so soon afterwards, does not appear to have affected his position as the highest civic functionary of the new city. Rowley had evidently made unto himself friends, if not 'of the mammon of unrighteousness,' at least of several influential northern servitors, whom he had greatly gratified by his liberality at the Londoners' expense, in the surrender of certain lands in Loughinsholin adjoining the new fort of Desert-Linn. He had also fortified himself thoroughly against the Londoners' assaults by purchasing for himself, instead of for them, a fine estate from Bishop Babington, and by so secure a method that neither the church nor the 'City' could disturb him!

Of course many other matters of less importance, perhaps, than the division of the lands or the dismissal of John Rowley, were touched at in the report aforesaid. Thus, as an illustration, Messrs. Smithes and Springham had presented silver-gilt communion cups to the churches at Derry and Coleraine respectively,—a little dodge in the interests of protestant ascendancy which has been repeated, in one shape or another, during almost every visitation of deputies from the Irish Society. But among the numerous duties of those early representatives of the Londoners, whom their charter described as "burning with a flagrant zeal to promote the King's pious intentions," there was one to which we attach special interest even at the present day. Smithes and Springham busied themselves at times in researches about the then prices of provisions on their estates, or within the bounds of the present county of Londonderry; and were thus enabled to report that a cow or bullock sold for about $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound, or 15s. apiece; a sheep, from 1s. 4d. to two shillings; a hog, two shillings; barley, eleven pence per bushel; oats, four pence per bushel; and strong beer, 16s. per barrel,—exceedingly dear, it was said, at that price. Referring to the matter of breadstuffs in the North, Chichester states in a letter to the council at London, on the 5th of February, 1609, that "in Ulster there grows little other corn but barley and oats, which is at reasonable rates as yet, for which he has not restrained them at any time [by protective duties], because the commodity of transportation from thence is only for Great Britain and not elsewhere." Here is the record of a fact which most people would be inclined to regard as remarkable. It is generally supposed that, at the period of the plantation, Ulster was simply a waste and howling

wilderness. At the close of the war in 1602, its native people, indeed, died of hunger in many districts, because the English systematically destroyed their growing crops and all their cattle ; but during the few succeeding years of peace a wondrous change had come, for the Irish of Ulster had made ample provision for their own wants,—they had enough and to spare,—and could supply even Great Britain with quantities of food. Sir Thomas Phillips, in the year 1609, drew up a *Project for the Londoners' Plantation*, stating among other interesting matters, that “the Irishmen have been so addicted to tillage that a Bristowe banbarrell of barley was sold but for eighteenpence in the market of Coleraine. So by reason of the undertakers' tillage, it will be cheaper, and yield great profit to transport it into other countries.”

That part of the report which asserted that certain possessions, already mentioned, could not be divided among the Companies, was also, in an evil hour for the peace of the Londoners themselves, accepted. It was coupled with the statement, to be sure, that the rents and profits arising from the lands around Derry and Coleraine, the ferries, and the fishings might be divided, and handed to the twelve Companies as a regular item of their revenues. But this was never done ; for these vast sums now arising yearly from fifteen thousand acres around Derry, and nine thousand around Coleraine, and the magnificent fisheries, especially of the Foyle and the Bann, are all lost to the Companies, and appropriated to whatever purposes the Irish Society may think proper. This fact has been the source of endless jealousies and heartburnings between the Companies on one side, and the Irish Society, representing the ‘City’ or London corporation on the other. It has led the Companies, perhaps more than any other cause, to lose their natural interest in the welfare or progress of their Ulster estates, and has been the source of fierce litigation between the Skinners' Company and the Irish Society. This litigation culminated in the memorable trial of 1838, before the Right Honourable Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls. Sir W. Follett, one of the counsel for the Skinners' Company, stated the prayer of this Company, as plaintiffs, in the following terms :—“That it may be declared that the plaintiffs and the other Companies who contributed to the expenses of the said new plantation in Ulster, and to whom, and for whose benefit, the said lands and hereditaments were allotted and conveyed, are beneficially entitled to the rents and profits of the said ferries, fisheries, and town lands [the lands adjoining Derry and Coleraine] ; and that it may be declared that the said Irish Society of London are trustees of the same rents and profits, subject, as aforesaid, for plaintiffs and the said other Companies ; and that an account may be taken, by and under the direction of this Hon. Court, of the rents and profits of said ferries, fisheries, and lands, which have been received by said defendants, the Irish Society of London ; and that a partition of the said ferries, fisheries, and lands, between the plaintiffs and the said other Companies, may be decreed ; and that the same may be effected by proper conveyances. Or, if this Hon. Court shall be of opinion that such partition ought not to be made, then that the said Irish Society of London may be removed from being trustees, and that one or more of the said Companies, or such person or persons as to this Hon. Court may appear best, may be appointed trustee or trustees, or that such other arrangement, as to this Hon. Court may appear just and proper, may be made, securing to plaintiffs and said other

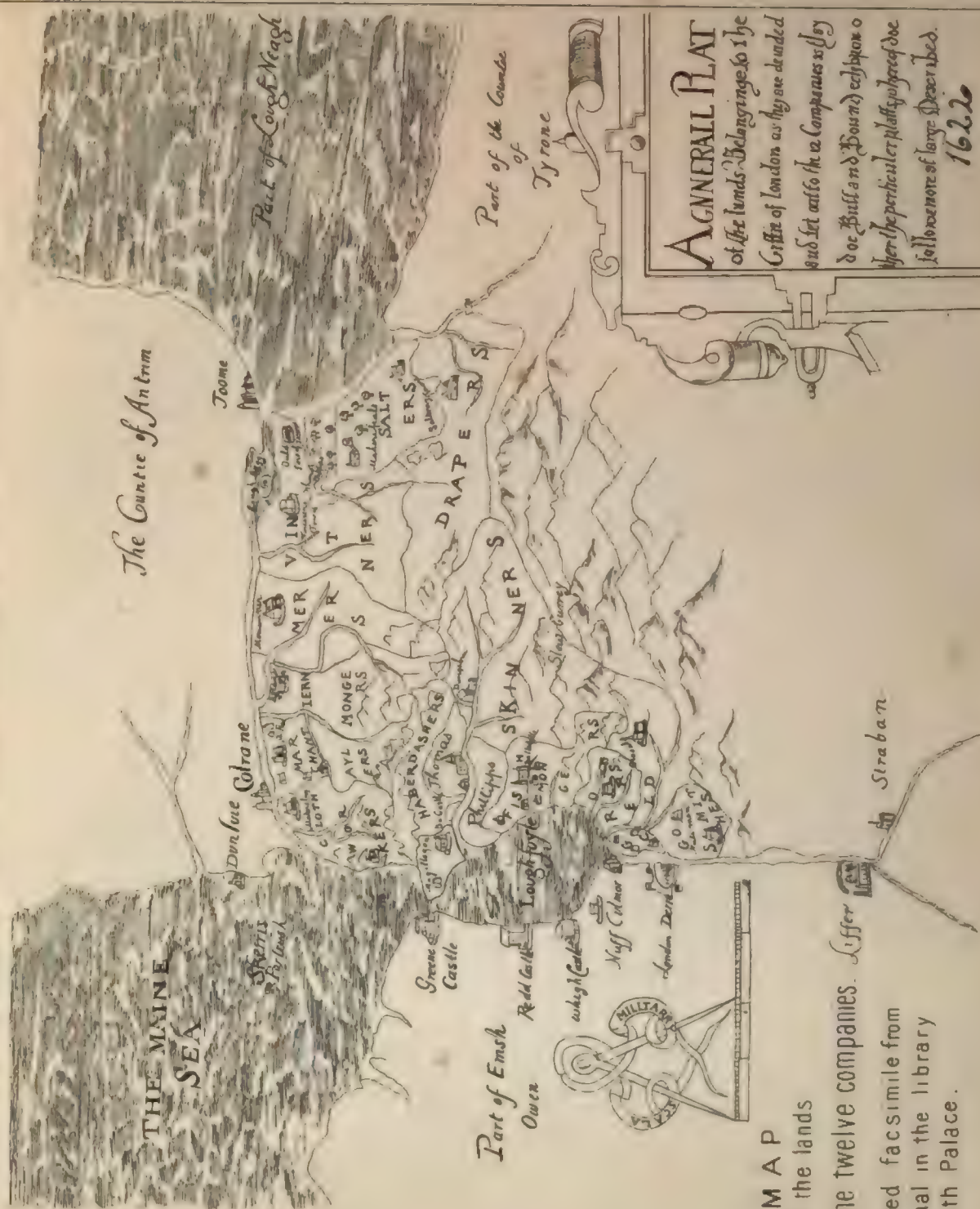
Companies, the due payment of their respective proportions of the rents and profits; and that in the mean time a receiver or receivers of the said rents and profits may be appointed under the decree of this Hon. Court; and that the said defendants, the Irish Society of London, may be restrained, by the injunction of this court, from collecting, getting in, and receiving the same rents and profits." (See *Skinner's Company v. Irish Society*, 1838, pp. 3, 4). The plaintiffs failed in their apparently just attempt to take these rents from under the control of the Irish Society. The judge, when summing up the evidence, observed in reference to this main question, that "we must bear in mind that very considerable and expensive public works were still in progress; that the City was then conceived to have power to levy, compulsorily, all such monies as should be required; and that some income of no inconsiderable amount, was at that time derived, or about to be derived, from the property not then to be divided. At a time when it was thought that money could be levied by taxation whenever it was wanted, the necessity or even the propriety of reserving some property producing income to answer the general purposes of the Plantation, may not have been suggested; or, if suggested, may have yielded to the greater prudence of holding out prospects of income or profit to those upon whom the burden was imposed, by a power which, even if thought lawful, must have been considered as arbitrary; and was, according to the evidence in many instances, not obeyed without reluctance on one side, and the application of force on the other." (*Ibid.* p. 1237). The main point was thus very feebly touched.

But, although it would thus appear that these valuable portions of the Londoners' property could not be divided nor restored in any shape to the twelve companies, for whose use they were at first undoubtedly intended by the grant from the Crown, there was no time lost in subdividing and distributing the other lands, in twelve shares, to the twelve companies aforesaid. So early as the month of April, or about two months after the date of the charter, the Court of Common Council enacted that every several Company of the City should have its several share and proportion of the lands according to the monies by them disbursed, having respect to the good or bad qualities of the soil, the lands of each Company to lie together, and not dispersedly in several places, and where the soil was poor, an allowance to be made in quantity, so as to make it equal in value to that which was better. An actual division was effected by lot under the superintendence of this Common Council, on the 17th Dec., 1613, when each of the twelve chief London Companies had allotted to it so much land as in quantity and value equalled one-twelfth part of the whole of the lands, every smaller company, besides the twelve leading ones, to have an interest or share in the divided lands proportioned to the amount of money levied upon it for the purposes of the plantation.

On the memorable day above named, Alderman Cockaine, the first governor of the Society, assembled the masters and wardens of the several companies to take their lots in the grand raffle. The twelve estates into which the lands had been divided, were severally represented to the admiration of the Court on twelve separate sheets of paper, numbered, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Corresponding to these twelve divisions, the committee had prepared twelve pieces of

paper, each having one of the twelve numbers written on it, and rolled up separately, each to represent a lot. It appears that the whole monies collected until that time, for plantation purposes, amounted to £40,000. This sum was also divided into twelve equal proportions, each proportion amounting to £3,333 6s. 8d. In the subdivision "this course had been taken, that so many of the companies of the City which had contributed so much as made up one full portion of £3,333 6s. 8d., according to the several sums by them already disbursed, had been added and joined together; and that, in every of the said twelve proportions of money, one of the twelve principal companies stood as chief, and unto that principal company, not having of itself expended so much money as amounted to a full proportion, were added and joined so many of the inferior companies as, according to their several sums by them already disbursed, made up a full proportion of £3,333 6s. 8d., as near as possible might be. And where the sum of any company already disbursed exceeded the last mentioned sum, the said company was joined to some other principal company for the overplus; and inasmuch as the companies joined together to make up a proportion of money, and their sums did not altogether make up an even proportion, but some happened to be more and others less, than a full proportion; in that case, the companies so joined together were rateably to pay to, or receive from, the Treasurer of the said plantation, that which should be more or less than a full proportion; which companies' names that were so joined together, to make up the said twelve proportions of money, were, in like manner, severally written on twelve several pieces of paper, together with the sum of money disbursed by each company, and were afterwards in like manner, rolled and tied up together like lots, and were brought likewise and presented in court, by the governor, in a box by themselves. And the same particulars were also written together on a sheet of paper, and subscribed with the names of the committees for the said Plantation." When all the necessary arrangements were completed "by the general assent of all parties present interested in the business, Rowland Smart, Esq., the then sword-bearer of this City, was chosen and appointed an indifferent [impartial] man, to draw the said lots on behalf of the Companies of this City, which was done in this manner. The lots of the figures before mentioned, referring to the proportions of land specified in the several sheets, were opened and poured out of the box wherein they were, into a hat held for that purpose, in which hat they were shuffled together; and the lots of the companies' names, and of their sums disbursed, were likewise opened and poured out of the box within which they were, and put into another hat held for that purpose, and also shuffled together by themselves; and the sword-bearer standing in the midst between both hats, did with one hand draw the lot of figures, and with the other hand the lot of the companies' names and sums, and what figure each of the companies' lots did draw, the proportion of land whereunto that figure did refer and allude, was, together with the same lot, delivered openly in court by the said governor [Cockaine], to one of the wardens of the principal companies that first was named in the same lot; in which course and order all the said lots were drawn."

The process of allotment is but obscurely indicated in the forgoing sentences, but the result appears to have been accepted. The names of the twelve leading companies, and also those of their respective minor or inferior companies, with the sums subscribed by each, to make up the



full amount of £40,000, are mentioned in the following list :—

1. <i>Mercers</i> ...	£2,680	0	0	8. <i>Merchant Tailors</i> ...	£3,333	6	8
Inholders ...	200	0	0	(in part)			
Cooks ...	153	0	0	9. <i>Haberdashers</i> ...	£3,124	0	0
Masons ...	100	0	0	Wax-chandlers ...	80	0	0
	£3,133	0	0	Turners ...	68	0	0
2. <i>Grocers</i> (in part) ...	£3,333	6	8	Founders ...	60	0	0
3. <i>Drapers</i> ...	£3,072	0	0		£3,332	0	0
Tallow-chandlers ...	260	0	0	10. <i>Salters</i> ...	£1,954	0	0
	£3,332	0	0	Dyers ..	580	0	0
4. <i>Fishmongers</i> ...	£2,260	0	0	Sadlers ...	390	0	0
Leather-sellers ...	950	0	0	Cutlers ..	225	0	0
Plasterers ...	40	0	0	Joiners ...	164	0	0
Glaziers ...	32	0	0	Woolmen ...	20	0	0
Basket-makers ...	32	0	0		£3,333	0	0
Musicians ...	20	0	0	11. <i>Ironmongers</i> ...	£1,514	0	0
	£3,334	0	0	Brewers ...	500	0	0
5. <i>Goldsmiths</i> ...	£2,999	0	0	Scourers ...	370	0	0
Cordwainers ...	250	0	0	Coopers ...	280	0	0
Painter-stainers ...	44	0	0	Pewterers ...	240	0	0
Armourers ...	40	0	0	Barber-Surgeons ...	230	0	0
	£3,333	0	0	Carpenters ...	200	0	0
6. <i>Skinner</i> s ...	£1,963	0	0		£3,334	0	0
Stationers ...	520	0	0	12. <i>Vintners</i> ...	£2,080	0	0
White-bakers ...	420	0	0	Overplus from Grocers	540	13	4
Girdlers ...	370	0	0	Woodmongers ...	200	0	0
	£3,273	0	0	Weavers ...	100	0	0
7. <i>Clothworkers</i> ...	£2,260	0	0	Plumbers ...	80	0	0
Overplus from Mer-				Poulterers ...	80	0	0
chant Tailors ...	752	13	4	Tilers and Bricklayers	80	0	0
Butchers ...	150	0	0	Blacksmiths ...	64	0	0
Brown-Bakers ...	90	0	0	Fruiterers ...	64	0	0
Upholders ...	44	0	0	Curriers ...	44	0	0
Boyers ...	20	0	0		£3,332	13	4
Fletchers ...	20	0	0				
	£3,336	13	4				
Total ...							

... £40,000 [only £39,740 0 0]

The following Companies were to pay, viz.,

Mercers	...	...	£0	6	8	Haberdashers	...	...	£1	6	8		
Goldsmiths	...	...	...	0	6	8	Salters	...	...	...	0	6	8
Skinners	...	...	...	0	6	8	Vintners	...	...	...	0	13	4
Drapers	...	...	...	1	6	8							
											<hr/>			£4	13	4

And the following to receive, viz.,

Fishmongers	...	...	...	...	...	£0	13	4
Ironmongers	...	...	...	...	...	0	13	4
Clothworkers	...	...	...	...	...	3	6	8
							<hr/>		
							£4	13	4

The Lord Mayor of London had previously issued a 'precept' to the twelve principal companies begging to be informed whether each of them would accept a proportionable share of land in lieu of the money advanced by it, building and planting the same at its own cost according to the orders and conditions for so doing; or whether each company would prefer letting its own lands, instead of submitting the management of the whole business to the governor and assistants of the company for the time being. The reply to this query in every case was, that each company was prepared to accept land in lieu of its subscriptions, and to manage for itself, in building and planting according to the prescribed regulations in the "printed book"—the book issued by the Government in 1608, containing the orders and conditions of plantation. The twelve proportions or estates were, therefore, immediately consigned to the management of the twelve chief companies and their respective associated minor companies. Conveyances were made by the Society to each of the twelve, separately, in virtue of the powers conferred by their charter of incorporation. After this distribution, the only portions of the Royal grant that remained exclusively in the Irish Society were the city of Derry with its adjoining lands, at the present day numbering 15,000 acres; the town of Coleraine with lands now amounting to 9,000 acres; together with all the fisheries and ferries throughout the whole district, which could not be divided, and which constitute the only property really owned by the Londoners since the dates at which the lands generally were thus conveyed to the companies. So soon as these conveyances were made orders were sent from the governor and assistants of the Irish Society in London to their agent, Tristram Beresford, at Coleraine, to deliver possession of the several proportions in due order to the twelve companies as allotted. At that early period the companies had no regularly appointed agents on their proportions, and were satisfied with scraps of information gleaned from such acquaintances as the members of each company might happen to know anywhere in Ulster. Thus we find the wardens of the Ironmongers' Company inquiring, in the following letter, after their lands, from a Mr. Thomas Parkins, who happened to be located so far away from said lands as at the Liffer or Lifford:—"At your last being in London with us, you gave us knowledge both of your love and experience; with desire of

your further testimony of the same, we, therefore, entertaining your kind offer and friendship, request you, that out of that love you will certify us the state and nature of that country wherein we are fallen by our lot, within four miles of Colrairie, and on part of the Bann, and the fittest place for the erection of a principal castle, and how the country will afford us stuff and workmen; leaving to your judgment and report herein more than we wish or will set down, expecting only your answer and the pleasure you may do us, and leave wishing you prosperous health from the Almightye. Your very loving friends,

JAMES CAMBELL,
WILLIAM BUCKNAM."

See Nicholl's *Account of the Company of Ironmongers*, pp. 385, 386.

As an illustration of the form of certificate reciting the denominations to be surrendered by the agent to each company, we quote the following "*Briefe of the division of landes, ye No. 7, pertaining to the Worshippfull Company of Iernmongers, and other the Worshippfull their associats.*—18 Nov. 1613:—

Athgeave [Aghivey] Grange	Ba. Reah. Refamore. Glaskard. Mullmore. Ballinegew. Colcrow.	Moytulla.	Two Cullens.
	Dromstable. Skalltee. Knockduffe. Clonback. Ruskey. Clarhill. Clonken. Cormuncla. Shaltah. Claggan. Reeske. Mulla Inch Gortfaddy. Coolcapall. Ringrasse. Coddrum.	Kannakille.	Ba. N. Nonta. Ba. Skanlan. Ba. Brack. Ba. Clogh. Colour. Dro. Crum. Ba. Willian. Killeah. Killnaglass. Ba. na. Cluntagh. Ba. na. Chan.
Mulla Inch.			Ba. Ohagan. Enishlom. Carrowrea. Tawnymore. Cah. Liskall. Lissaboy. Tallduffe. Lisnacreegh.
Ballene Fucigh.	Terkerlim. Gortglagon. Magheremew. Coolban. Statalurty. Dunmayne. Brackboy. Colroskean.	Agevenall.	
Forsett Mona [this ford on the Bann is now known as the <i>Vow Ferry</i> .]	Ballymore. Tedenbanc. T'reanaltena."		

Each of the twelve companies was supposed, on the division of the lands, to have received as its portion, just 3,210 acres of arable land; neither more nor less. This portion has since expanded, on an average of all the cases into at least ten times that quantity—such goodly increase resulting in part from the very loose and liberal style in which the survey was originally made, although the reclamation of 'unprofitable lands' has also materially augmented several of the companies' estates.

XII.

The Ironmongers, who, for a time appear to have been unprovided with an agent to look after their lands, soon contrived to obtain the services of a highly respectable and intelligent person, named George Canning (78). This gentleman was engaged in 1614, and sent to Aghadowey, where the lands of the Ironmongers' estate principally lay. In our absolute dearth of information respecting the first feeble movements of the companies in the settlement of their several lands, it is important to have even two or three letters from the scene of action, written by this evidently able man, who speaks specially, of course, in reference to the estate on which he was employed, but whose statements also apply more or less directly to current matters in other companies' lands. Canning, after having spent some months on the Bann-side, wrote to his employers the following, among other letters:—"Right Worshipfull—Maie it please you to understande that my last letter to you was by Mr. Vincent, preacher at Colraine, and nowe being this Saboth come to Colraine, I hear of this conveyance which doth purpose to goe forward to-morrowe morning, and therefore I am enforced to write in some haste, soe that I cannot write soe largelie of your business and my accompt as I would have done if I had more tyme (79). But thus much I must give you to understande that the money which did rest in my hands upon my last accompt is allmost all disbursed (80), and your building nowe begun which is not fitt should be neglected or prolonged, and because I am uncertain how long it will be before I heare from your worships, I have presumed

(78). *Canning*.—This agent belonged to a very old and distinguished family, although before his time it had been pretty much scattered and reduced. The surname is originally derived from a manor in Wiltshire, where the family appears to have been first known, "and where this senior line terminated in co-heiresses in the reign of Henry VII. A younger son had settled in Bristol in the time of Edward II., and the branch founded by him formed the most eminent family of that city during the greater part of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. William Cannings represented Bristol in several successive parliaments, and was six times mayor between 1360 and 1390. He died in 1396, having had, with other issue, John Cannings, his son and heir, who was member for Bristol, and also, in 1392 and 1398, mayor. He died in 1406, leaving three sons and three daughters, all then under age. Thomas, his second son, was lord mayor of London in 1456; William, his third son, was the celebrated mayor of Bristol in the reign of Edward IV., and the re-founder of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, in that city. He died in 1476, being then in holy orders, and dean of the priory of Westbury, which he had previously founded. John Canning, the eldest son of John, was the father of Thomas Canning, who acquired the estate of *Foxcote* [in

Warwickshire] by his marriage with Agnes, the eldest daughter and co-heir of John Salmon and Eustatia his wife, daughter and heir of John Marshall, in whose family *Foxcote* had been vested from the time of the Conquest." George Canning, agent for the Ironmongers, was great-grandson of Thomas, last named, and was born at *Foxcote*, his mother being Elizabeth, a daughter of Richard Petty, of Illmington. See Burke's *Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, pp. 601, 602.

(79). *More tyme*.—Mr. Canning had gone down the Bann from Agivey to Coleraine, to hear one of his own preachers there, and transact certain little secular duties at the same time.

(80). *All disbursed*.—The several companies, without waiting for their conveyances, had generally made certain little movements on their lands by way of beginnings to plant, but these first steps were very slenderly encouraged so far as any actual outlay was concerned. The foundations of a castle or stone house had been laid by the Ironmongers' agent at Agivey, but after that effort the work had come to a stand, and there was now a risk of getting into trouble with the Government should the erection be delayed, and therefore the agent was obliged to borrow as much as might keep going.

to take upp a hundred poundes of Mr. Beresford (see p. 404), to be paid per my Bill of Exchange in London, which I hope (and doe not doubt but) you will see performed : if I had not spoke of it when I did, the Fishmongers' agent had had it. I am beholdinge [obliged] to Mr. Beresforde, for he was verie willinge to supply my wants in your business with it. Nowe the tyme of the yeare is come to followe the building of your castell with all convenient speed, and money must daylie be layed out, wherefore I entreate you not to dislike-with me for taking upp this 100*l*. now when I may have it, and also I pray you not to be unmindfull to supply your busines here with more money, as you in your wisdomes doe understand to be needfull. I will, in my next letters (which shall be per the first that I may convenientlie send by) write you again the particulars of my accompte and send it to you. I perceive that some of my worshipfull friends in the companie did something dislike the accompte of my charges in my first employment here the last yeare ; I feare they would more dislike nowe, and therefore I rather choose to referr it to your owne pleasures than I would offende, nothing doubting but you will consider the troublesomeness of this yeare in these partes, which cannot be but it must augment my charges rather than lessen it ; but whatsoever it please you to allow me I beseech you to let me have your loves with it, and I shall be highly content.

"I am informed (but howe true it is I knowe not) that some in Colraine have accused me of some things to your worships ; if soe, you may perceive by my letters and accompts sent you heretofore howe untrue the accusation is in parte ; and you shall in the ende finde that all the reste is as false ; and, therefore, I beseech you if anie such thing come to you against me, to give noe credit to it, untill you understande the truth, and if I be faultie let me finde no favour. I see it is soe common a practise amongst some to busie themselves in such matters, that it hath made me over-doubtfull, for I cannot flatter them, nor will I yelde to some thinges which is expected from me which makes me to be more subject to their ill wills and ill wordes, but I doubte not of your kinde censure untill you finde just cause to the contrarie. And soe for this tyme, I humbly take my leave, and committ you all to the protection of the most Highest, resting even att your worships' commaunde,

GEORGE CANNING.

"Colraine, the 25th of February, 1614-15."

In securing the services of Canning, the Ironmongers felt rather complimented that a gentleman of real position and respectability, as he was, should undertake the difficult and often thankless duties of an agent under the very trying circumstances of the case. He always writes in a respectful, but at the same time authoritative tone, as one who knows what is necessary to be done on the lands, and not afraid to say so, when occasions require. The companies were all very hard to manage in money matters, the citizens generally believing that they would have had little or no outlay to make, but that their rents under the management of agents would, from the commencement, be sufficient not only to meet all expenses, but provide a good surplus. Indeed all the companies would have required men like Canning, who could instruct them on the subject of their duties as colonisers of Ulster, by showing them that it was really for their own interests at the beginning to avoid a fatal niggardliness and parsimony. He returned, towards the close of

1615, old style, to visit his family at Barton, in Warwickshire. Whilst there, he addressed the following letter to his employers on the state of affairs as he had observed them, and containing suitable recommendations and suggestions :—

"Right Worshipfull—It may please you to understand that since my coming [to England] I have disposed upon my owne affaires here in this country, and are [am] readie to goe forwarde of my journey for Ireland; but it hath pleased God to crosse my intended resolution for the presente by visitting my wiefe with sicknes which hath held her ever since my comeing from London, soe that I cannot take her over with me nowe, and my occasions, as your Worships knowe, doth require my being in Ireland this Spring, and at the fardest a weeke or fourteene daies before Maye. Therefore, I must nowe resolve (if God permit) to returne hither again as soon as I have settled the next half yeares rents, and taken order that the finishing of your plantation there goe forwarde. This duple journey in transporting my weife and familie (81) thither will be duple charges to me, but no remeadie. I write this that your Worships should not thinke it any idle humour in me that I am absent from your plantation any while at all. Now my suite is that you would be pleased to remember those severall things which I gave notice of in writing, and are verie needfull to be presentlie effected, as namelic, the taking out of your particular assurance that the title of your lands in controversy may be tryed in your own names, and also that your Court Baron may be erected there, wherebye your poor tennants shall be freed from anie molestations they are nowe put to by the countie sheriffe and their bailiffes; and alsoe that some good course may be taken for the reliefe of your tennants against the souldiers, which have hitherto continually oppressed them; the present infancie of the plantation doth rather require that they should be cherished and not oppressed any manner of ways; this will be an encouragement to those fewe that are there, and cause others to come sooner thither; I speak not this onlie for your owne proportion, but for the whole plantation of the Cittie's lands (82). Alsoe, that it would please you

(81). *Wife and familie*.—Canning's wife was Anne, daughter of Gilbert Walker, of Walford, in the county of Worcester; and his family included at least three sons, named respectively Paul, Robert, and William. Paul built the church in Garvagh, and was living in 1619, but died soon afterwards and was succeeded by his brother William, Robert having died previously to his eldest brother. William was killed at the outbreak of 1641, and was succeeded by his eldest son and heir George Canning of Garvagh and Agivey, who married Mary Stephney of Dublin. He was succeeded by his son, also named George, who, in 1697, married Abigail, daughter of Robert Strafford, M.P. for the county of Wicklow. He was succeeded by his eldest son Stratford, who was born in 1703, and who, in 1734, married Letitia, daughter and heir of Obadiah Newburgh, of Ballyhaise, in the county of Cavan. By this lady he left a large family, the eldest of whom, named George, married Mary Ann Costelloe, of Wigmore-street, London, thus incurring the displeasure of his family, and the penalty of disinheritance. This son died in 1771, three years after his marriage, leaving one child, whom his mother (although poor, and therefore despised by her husband's connexions), endowed with genius, and who became in due time the Right Hon.

George Canning, one of the greatest statesmen and orators of modern times. Paul, the second son of Stratford Canning, succeeded to the family property; and his eldest son, George, was created Baron Garvagh, on the 12th October, 1818. See Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, p. 602.

(82). *Cittie's lands*.—This was a point of primary importance, and especially for such of the companies as required to go to law about disputed lands. In that year [1615], a licence to hold lands in mortmain was granted to the companies; but it was not until about two years later that manors were created, and conveyances thereof, and of the allotted lands, made to the companies by the Irish Society. The conveyances, when they came, were absolute,—in some without, and in others with, the reservation of rent to the Irish Society. The license of the companies to hold in mortmain contained a recital that the companies, in testimony of their true obedience to the Crown, had disbursed, expended, and bestowed divers great sums of money for and towards the building, fortifying, planting, strengthening, and improving the city of Derry and the town of Coleraine, and were willing and intended to be at further charge for the planting and improving of their several other lands. This was, no doubt, a glowing and rather too highly coloured account of

to further the erecting of a corne mill upon your proportion, and certain small bridges as I gave you notice of. And lastlie, concerninge your fee-farmers to be made there, in the nominating of which it pleased your Worships in your love towards me to appoint me for one and the chiefe, my desire to you then was and is still, in respecte my charges in that service will be farr greater continually than anie of your other tennants, that you would be pleased to allow me three balliboes in fee-farme (83), according as other Companies doe allowe their chiefe fee-farmer, as namelye, the Mercers, Skynners, Gouldsmiths, and others that yet have appointed their fee-farmers, of which some are within 6 or 7 miles of Derry, where their service is to be performed, and some within two myles of the same, and none further offe than I shall be, which is 24 longe myles, whereby both my danger and charges in passing to and fro will be duble, yea treable, to most of theirs. But the chiefest cause which moves me to be thus earnest with your Worships in this suite is that I houlde it will be a disgrace unto me if I be inferior in land to other fee-farmers, especiallie having (in the general opinion there) deserved as well as any one that was ymployed by any of the other Companies. I appeale to the Governor himself what he heard of me when he was there (84). I boast not, for I will ever acknowledge that that which I have done, or shall ever be able to doe, is but my dutie, and far short of which I have alwaies desired to performe. But if I should fall short of your favours in this generall cause which other Companies doe voluntarilie afforde, it will cause some to thinke that your worships finde some defect in me which they cannot see. If I did desire any thing unreasonable of you, I shoulde blame myselfe more in my owne conceipt than you would doe. And, therefore, I will never sue to your worships for anything that I doubt will be denyed me. I suppose there are some few amongst you which will not stick to allege that I

themselves altogether; but it was specially put forward to secure speedier conveyances to the several companies of the lands they intended to plant and build upon, and to the end that they might be still better encouraged and enabled to perfect the intended Plantation, but never losing sight of the great object they had ultimately in view, to wit, the rewards in the shape of good cash returns, for their investments. The license to hold in mortmain was granted, the conveyances of the lands duly made, and then the companies were recognised by the Crown as undertakers, or parties really having an interest in the plantation, as fully entitled to the lands conveyed to them, and as respectively entitled to all the profits arising from their respective allotments. (See *Lord Langdale's Judgment*). In the month of October, 1615, the Society issued a notification to each of the twelve companies, that such of them as desired to have their proportions made into manors, and to have their courts leet and baron, for the ease and advantage of their tenants, should state what the names of their manors were to be; what lands they would allot for demesnes; what lands they would allow for commons for their tenants; what persons were to be made freeholders on each manor, five being recommended, each of the five receiving, as a sufficient quantity, one balliboe, or about 60 acres. See *Concise View*, p. 25.

(83). *In fee-farme*.—Although Canning had previously, in the reign of Elizabeth, been granted the lands of Gar-

vagh adjoining, he was willing to undertake a little more, and therefore prayed, as above, that he might be put on a level at least with certain other neighbouring agents. The Ironmongers granted his request. In 1617, his company, in conformity with the suggestions of the Irish Society, as stated in the preceding note, agreed that their manor should be called the manor of Lizard, nominating, at the same time, as freeholders, George Canning, agent, to have the three balliboes called Ballimore, Brackaboy, and Cah; William Wilkes, to have one balliboe, called Eiskall; John Exful, to have the balliboe called Calduff. Nathaniel Carrington, to have the balliboe of Tawny-more; John Petty, to have the balliboe of Lisarbony; and William Canning, the balliboe of Colcoskreen. William Canning, a brother of George, was Master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1617. He stated at a meeting of their committee that it was his intention to go to Ireland, with his wife and family; but he must have failed to carry his resolution into effect, as his family was afterwards settled at Elsenham in Essex. (See *Nicholl's Account of the Ironmongers' Company*, p. 397). William Canning was also styled as of Basingshaw, Blackwell Hall, London, merchant. See *Burke's Extinct Peerages*, p. 602.

(84). *Was there*.—The governor here appealed to was Cockaine, who had visited Ulster to arrange certain heavy transactions with Sir Thomas Phillips on the questions of disputed lands.

have been alreadie kindlie dealt withall, and out of their ignorance and want of true understandinge of that country, and the nature of the plantation, say that I have a wonderfull good bargan from you. Your kindnes and loves towards me I will always acknowledge, and ever be thankful to the utmost of my power. As for my bargan, I am farr from repenting it, yet I could wishe with all my hart that he that repines att it had the same upone the like resolutions as I take it, which is to continue and dwell upon it himself; I suppose then he would think otherwise, and look back ten tymes towards London before he came so farr as St. Albans; yet I verily think that you need not have looked for a chapman that would have promised many great things, but in the performance you should have found him farr short of that which I have undertaken, and will perform to your content, if it please God to give a blessing to my endeavours and send peace into the country; if not, His will be done!" (85). Nicholl's *Account of the Company of Ironmongers*, pp. 393, 394.

If the Londoners were loudly and truly enough accused of keeping all the natives on their lands simply for their own selfish ends of procuring high rents and cheap labour, they suffered rather severely during the excitement produced by the partial insurrection of 1615. Their lands, in fact, throughout the whole county, both before and after the discovery of the combination in that year, were overrun by guerilla bands, who levied black mail on all English settlers, and in some cases, perhaps, when resisted, did not scruple to commit even greater crimes. On Canning's return to Aghadowey, the wretchedly disorganised state of the country was the first question to attract his attention. Writing from 'Aghiave' [now Agivey], on the Bann, May 13, 1615, he says:—"The newes here is nothing but the contynuall troubles in theis partes, both by sea and land. Sir Thomas Phillips is now going from Colraine to sea with 3 or 4 smale Barkes after the pirates; God speede him well (86). There were never sithence I came hither soe many kernes out in the

(85). *His will be done*.—Mr. Canning soon contrived to get matters pretty much his own way, so far as his employers, the Ironmongers, were concerned, for, in 1619, they gave him a lease for 41 years of the whole lands belonging to their manor of Lizard, from Nov. 1617, at the yearly rent of 150*l.*, he undertaking to build bridges at convenient places, erect a mill, glaze the church windows, provide a pulpit, seats, doors, and a steeple for four bells, and to pay the minister a stipend of 20*l.* a year. This lease must have been succeeded by another, and a much longer one, for which Canning or his successor had probably to pay a good fine. The second lease only expired in 1780, but its conditions we know not. Canning was living in 1631, for there is the following curious entry under that year, in the Ironmongers' books:—"Ao. 1631, a Court was specially called to consider the request of Mr. George Canning, by his letter of the 26th of December last, dated at Aghivee, which letter was to the following effect:—That he, and some others with him, did distreyne upon some Irish for the arrearages of rent to the value of 151*l.* 10*s.*, which distresses were refused from him by about thirty Irish, amongst whom an old Irishman, having overheated himself with running, within six days after dyed, having noe wound nor hurt on his body, yett the coroner and the jury gave upp their verdict of manslaughter against Mr. Canning and his servant then with him; and, for that he feareth the presentment of the same cause against him

at the assizes by his mallicous enemies, who thirst after his estate, which may come into strangers' hands, to the ruine of him and his ten children, he humbly desireth the Company to send over their warrant, under their common seale, to William Vincent, minister of Colraine, and Godfrey Baker, marchand, to authorise them to seize upon his goods and chattels, for the Companies' use after conviction, if it soe fall out, and also his under tenants, if attainted; and to take a just inventory of them, with sufficient bonds of those in whose hands they be, to be answerable to your Company for the value thereof, as forfeited to them. This he desireth may be done privately and speedily, for soe the cause requireth, and, for that the wardens having already taken the opinion of Mr. Pheasant in this matter, conceaveth that the Company may grant his request without prejudice to themselves, soe as they nominate a third person giving warrants to them three, or any two. The court are pleased and contented that Mr. Pheasant doe drawe such a draught or warrant as he conceaveth fitting, which being agreed unto and approved by the masters and wardens, the common seale is to be put." Nicholl's *History of the Ironmongers' Company*, pp. 398, 399.

(86). *God speede him well*.—So, fervently, might Canning, and all other agents for London Companies, pray—for these pirates had determined to play off a practical joke upon them, the very thoughts of which

woodes as nowe ; they are in five or six severall Companies, soe that men can travel no way, neare anie woodes, without great danger, except they goe a good Companie together, and well provided. The last day of Aprill, Mr. Nicholas Elcock, agent for the Clothworkers, was taken by Revelin McCull (87) and his companie ; he [Elcock] had two men with him, those they left bound, and would have killed them had it not bin to deliver a letter which they compelled Mr. Ellcock to write to some of his friends ; the effect was that if their pardons were not procured withen 14 daies, and if they had not 100*li*. sterling delivered them by some meanes at the 14 daies' end, they would hang him ; soe, they took him into the woodes and kept him two days and one night, traling him from place to place ; but the seconde evening (the country being raised after them and divided manie wayes) some of the country churles [Irish labourers and peasant holders], by the great goodness of God, happened in a thicke obscure place in the woodes where Mr. Ellcock was with a fewe of the kernes ; the rest were gone abroad for more pray [prey], att the sight of whom [the churles] the kernes fledd ; so Mr. Ellcock escaped, almost past hope, blessed be God.

" Divers robberies and some murders have been committed neare us sithence that tyme, and they are nowe growen soe bould that on tuisdaye last, being the 7th of this month, a companie of Rebels, about 6 of the clock in the afternoone, entered into an Englishman's house, six miles on this side Derry, upon the highway, where Mr. Fowkes did ly att his first coming into this country ; they wounded the man of the house verie sore, soe that he will verie hardlie scape with life, and tooke between 7 and 8*li*. in money, and all the rest of his goods that were worth carrying away ; and some that brought the first tydings of it hither reported that four or five of the villains most grossly ill-treated his wife.

" Theise mischeifes and miseries causeth us to stand continuallie upon our guard, and when we travell we take good strength with us ; wherefore might it please you, when you send those materialls I wrote for in my last, alsoe to send over some more armes, as musketts, callivers, powder, and bullets (the last callivers' bullets you sent were all too big) ; wherefore, if you please to send two paire of bullet moulds, and lead were best, soe they be made fitt for the pieces, also some halberds and half pikes. When the second floor is laid on your castell, I hope it will be a secure place against a hundred men, if we be anie thing well provided within. For this time I must crave your pardons for my abrupt writing, and commit you all to the protection of

made them tremble,—they had determined in fact to lie in wait for any vessels suspected of carrying money from the 'City' to the new plantation in Ulster ! Even in 1610 the pirates were on the watch for this purpose, and in the month of June in that year Chichester, writing to Salisbury, informs him that "the pirates on this coast are so many and are become so bold that now they are come into this channel, and have lately robbed divers barks, both English and Scotch, and have killed some that have made resistance ; they lay for the Londoners' money sent for the works at Coleraine, but missed it ; they have bred a great terror to all passengers, and he thinks will not spare the King's treasure if they may light upon it. . . . Wishes they had a commission for the adjudging, and

executing of pirates and priests here, who vex and disturb the kingdom more than can be understood by others but them that feel it."

(87). *McCull*.—This name is intended probably for some guerilla leader named Randal McColl, but whether he was an O'Cahan or a Macdonnell, we cannot determine. There were intermarriages between these two septs, and the children of such unions always bore the christian names, plentifully, of both parties. The son of a Cumaghe, or Coey O'Cahan had married a sister of Sir Randal Macdonnell ; and this Randal McCull may have as probably been a Randal McCoe O'Cahan as a Randal McColl Macdonnell.

our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christe, resting ever att your worship's command.

GEORGE CANNINGE."

Having thus first made known the state of affairs on his return, with an urgent request to be better supplied with that commodity so indispensable to settlers in Ulster, to wit, muskets, calivers, half pikes, powder, and bullet-moulds, Canning writes soon afterwards in a less excited state (for no doubt the poor native churls were his friends and protectors), and giving some very interesting particulars as to the progress of the infant settlements in Aghadowey, and other neighbouring districts. The following letter is without date, but it must have been written very soon after his arrival on the 11th of May, 1615:—"May it please you to understand that, after a long stay at Chester for passage, I arrived att the Derry upon the XIth of Maye, and from thence to your proportion, where I found all things in the same state I left them, not anie thing affected by Mr. Heyward concerning the materials for building, to which he hath tyed himself by articles; his reason and excuse was the extremitie of the Winter, the like hath not here been knowne in the memorie of man, the waters so extreme with the abundance of snowe that it was impossible to pass anything upon the Ban (88), besides their cattell being brought into such povertie that they are yet hardly restored to do any service; this excuse must be favourably construed, because I see that Mr. Warner, who hath been here all winter, could not possiblie till yesterday gett a boatfull of limestone to the place of the Mercers' building, having the last sommer provided the most parte of their stone in place, and agreed with masons for the work, who came from Derry to sett upon it in the beginning of this month, and were forced to return back and doe nothing, so their work is not yet begun. He hath agreed with Mr. Benson for the stone work 4s. 2d. the pearche for their castell. I think it not unfitt to follow the same course, for Mr. Benson is best able to performe it of all the men in theise partes, having by reason of the buildings and fortifications att the Derry most of the workmen in the North of Ireland at his disposall; and I can heare yet of no other that doth anie work more reasonable, nor performe better than he hath done. Here are nowe some bricke making not farr from our place of building [Agivey], crosse the Ban (89), if they prove good (which most men doubt), then it will doe well after the stone walls are raised to the first floore, to finish it upp with bricke; a thin wall will then be sufficient, but in all men's judgment the bottom must needs be stone.

"Since my cominge I have busied myself for the most parte in seeking for your rent, some being lost by reason of this late rebellion, some of your tenants being taynted with it, but it [the rent] is to no great value; and also in settling the landes upon the tenants for another half year, which I find verie hard to doe, so many of their cattell being dead with famine in the snowe that they are not able to stock their landes, so of force give some of them upp, yet I have made shifte to sett all except some six townes, which I hope will not lye waste neither.

(88). *Upon the Ban*.—This frost and snow-storm, although so severe, does not appear to have attracted general attention at the time, as, so far as we are aware, there are no other accounts of it on record.

(89). *Crosse the Ban*.—The brick-kiln, across the Bann

from Agivey, must have been at or near a place once celebrated in Irish annals, and known as *Oenach Cross*, about a mile and a half westward from Ballymoney. See Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells*, pp. 421, 422.

"Letters have latelie come from his Matie. for the speedy performance of the plantation, a coppie whereof I have sent to your worships herein closed, desiring to be speedily advised from you how to proceed in the Letting of your landes: if you confer [compare] this letter with the articles of the plantation to which it hath reference, you the better decree [direct me]. Here are some Englishe and Scottishe which are willing to deale with me for some of your townelands, but none will take under 31 yeares, and hardlie any of the Englishe come to the rentes they are now att [in occupation of the natives], if they build at their owne charge. The Scotts are willing to give better rents than the English, but I doubte if they will performe so good building; here is much catching after tenants that I think it not fit to put anie away that will condescend to indifferent [impartial] conditions and covenants. I am sure the Mercers' lands are some sett at a lower rent than they were at the last yeare, and no estate^r under 31 yeares. I think there is some XX townes sett since I went into England, and they are desirous to sett more after the same [lower] rates. If the natives doe departe off from the Cittie lands, the prices will doubtlesse fall. I desire to be fullie instructed uppon what conditions and covenants I may safelie sett parte of your lands to the natives; some of them have promised me privatlie that they will conforme themselves, but they are verie fearful of their owne countrymen yet, till their troubles are fullie past over.

"I am enformed by some here that the $\frac{1}{2}$ parte of the land appointed for glibe lands at our Ladie church in the ballabett [ballybetagh] of Athgeve [Agivey] was mistaken by Mr. Alderman Smythees, for it being Abbey lands there ought to be no glibe taken of it; I do not heare of the same Abbey lands that doth allow anie in other proportions; I pray you understande the truth of it from him, in tyme it may be better helped than hereafter. I desire also to knowe how manie Balleboes you are pleased to appoint for the Demeasnes of your Castell, and which they are, that I may the better proceed to the Letting of the residue as occasion shalle afford. I think the whole Ballebow [ballybetagh] of Athgeave [Agivey] contayneth 6 town lands (glibe and all), to be the fittest to belong to the Castell; or if you please to lay any more lands to it, that if hereafter you please to have a market towne uppon your proportion it may happelie [haply] be thought to be neare the place, for it will be more convenient (having to ferry there) (90), for the lands on the other side of the Ban, and not much unfit for the rest of your owne lands.

"The dangers of these troubles have hindered the setting of land much, and must be more on some other proportions than ours. There are yet divers out in rebellion in the woodes, and some tymes light uppon passengers and robb them and sometymes light into the houses and doe manie villanyes; the last weeke they toke an Irishman as he was keeping cattell in the woodes uppon the Mercers' proportion, and hanged him with a withe in a tree, and 'tis thought for no other cause but that Mr. [] being an Irishman, had conformed himself and gone to our church. Manie outrages are dayly put in practise, which makes those that have businesse abroad in the country to be verie circumspecte for the Robbers, which are yet out, have given out speeches that

(90). *Ferry there.*—This ferry has been long since superseded by a wooden bridge.

if they would take anie Englishe of accompt they would have their [own] pardons or hang them ; this causes every man to provide soe for his own safetie that it draws a greater charge to them than otherwise were needed, and I feare that my expences will exceed your good liking ; wherefore, I desire you all in your worship's favour that you would be pleased to appoint me weekly or monthely allowance to your own contente, for I proteste I hadd rather beare parte of my charges myself than to deliver up an accompt of expenses which should be in anie way displeasing to you.

"As soon as I have gott our materialls in some good forwardness, which I hope will be shortlie, then I will write to your worships for a supplie of more money by Mr. Leate's appointment, as he did offer, for here will be want of money as soon as the work goes forward. All the money here will hardlie satisfy Mr. Heywarde ; and beseech you not to let me want wherewith to satisfy the workmen ; I will not charge you with more than shall be needful. So, being loath to be tedious for this tyme, I humbly take my leave and rest at your worship's service." See Nicholl's *Account of the Company of Ironmongers*, Appendix.

"GEORGE CANNINGE."

The foregoing extracts may be taken as truly descriptive of the other Companies' affairs also at the period referred to, and as affording glimpses at least of the difficulties to which they were all equally exposed. These difficulties continued in a greater or less degree until after the revolutionary struggle of 1690, when the last hope of the native Irish to regain their lands appears to have been all but extinguished. But the neglects and misdeeds of the Londoners themselves during the first twenty years of their career as planters in Northern Ulster, will not be fully understood until the publication of a collection known as *Phillips's Manuscript*, which was left by that indefatigable knight, and into which he had gathered everything worthy of record in connection with the Londoners' plantation, down nearly to the date of his own death, or about the year 1630. He prefaced his collection by a letter to Charles I., which letter was printed by Harris in his *Hibernica*, 1747, and contains an abstract of the contents of his *book*, as he is pleased to designate the manuscript. No one, certainly, was so competent as Sir Thomas Phillips to conduct the controversy on behalf of the King, and as against the Irish Society, for he knew everything connected with the original compact, and was personally acquainted with the condition of their several settlements from the Bann to the Foyle.



CHAPTER IX.—PYNAR'S SURVEY.



HUS, then, was the plantation made ; and the six counties comprising about 3,798,000 statute acres, were distributed among English and Scottish undertakers, servitors, citizens of London, protestant bishops and incumbents, corporate towns, forts, free schools, and the college at Dublin (1). Of the vast quantity of land thus disposed of, about 55,000 acres were handed over to Irish inhabitants of various ranks, the reversion, however, in nearly all the larger grants to the latter being retained by the Crown, which had thus soon the re-disposal of such estates at the deaths of their Irish owners. On Chichester's return to Dublin, after his removal of the natives to make way for British settlers during the autumn of 1610, he appears to have had some time for reflection. As he thought over the scenes he had then recently witnessed, and called to mind the specimens of that class of British undertakers whom he had there an opportunity of meeting, and for whose introduction so many awful sacrifices had been made, his musings evidently became somewhat melancholy. When writing—at least some of his reflections—to Salisbury, on the 27th September, he declined, as he said, to give him "a true and ample discourse of their [the commissioners'] travels, actions, and observations," but forwarded "some particular notes and advertisements of his own, not so well known perhaps to the rest, nor so fit to be imparted in general letters." Among these 'notes,' the first and most prominent he conveys in the following terms :—"He [Chichester] thinks he shall not live to see the plantation performed according to the project laid down, of which opinion he was when he first beheld it [the project] and began to be informed of the quality and condition of the undertakers ; and would gladly have stayed his journey thither [into Ulster] this summer, had he not doubted the same would have displeased his Majesty ; for how well soever he wished to the business, he never thought it a work so easy and

(1). *College at Dublin*—About 10,000 acres in the counties of Armagh, Donegal, and Fermanagh, were supposed by the public of that day (and even of a later time), to have been the extent of the lands set apart in Ulster to assist in the endowment of Trinity College, Dublin. The plantation authorities must have known better. The following table shows the real extent to which the lands of the O'Neills, O'Donnells, and Maguires were appropriated for the purpose now mentioned :—

Denomination.	County.	Barony.	Extent in Statute Acres, Ordnance Survey.		
			A.	R.	P.
Slutmaerooney	Fermanagh	Clankelly	10583	2	15
Brootally	Armagh	Armagh	3249	2	16
Derryhaw	ditto	ditto	1918	1	10
Fellows Hall	ditto	ditto	1270	0	20
Magravatt	ditto	ditto	1052	1	0
Dundrum	ditto	ditto	10065	1	1
Colure	ditto	ditto	1745	2	39
Aghanample	ditto	ditto	2730	0	29

Denomination.	County.	Barony.	Extent in Statute Acres, Ordnance Survey.		
			A.	R.	P.
Kilmacrenan	Donegal	Kilmacrenan	28734	0	35
Ballymacaward	ditto	Tirhugh	605	1	19
Rossinaullagh	ditto	ditto	13016	0	33
Cowlowdown	ditto	ditto	2906	1	13
Killinaugh	ditto	ditto	649	2	4
Coolrimur	ditto	ditto	383	3	14
Brown Hall	ditto	ditto	4496	1	21
Murvagh	ditto	ditto	3227	1	39
Drimany	ditto	ditto	5215	0	37
Drimgowan	ditto	ditto	4011	3	6
Drimany (Mill Site)	ditto	ditto	Included in No. 59.		
Ditto	ditto	ditto			
Rubble Shinny	ditto	ditto	5	1	8
(Mill Site)	ditto	ditto	5	1	8
Ditto	ditto	ditto	5	1	8

See *Dublin University Commission Report*, 1853, pp. 274, 275.

feasable as it seems it was conceived. For to plant almost five whole counties [exclusive of Londonderry] in so barren and remote a place, with new comers, is not a work for such undertakers as those that, for the most part, are come unto them." The deputy thus appears to have made up his mind for disappointment, believing that the work would have required other and better hands. Writing, on the 31st of October, to the Earl of Northampton, a member of the council, Chichester does not appear to have been relieved from his gloomy forebodings. "Considering," says he, "the greatness and difficulty of the work, and the condition and qualities of the parties that have undertaken, that is, such as have yet come in person, he conceives these are not the men who must perform the business; for to displant the natives, who are a warlike people, out of the greatest part of six whole counties, is not a work for private men who seek a present profit."

In a second letter to Salisbury about a month later, the deputy speaks more plainly his impressions as to the general incompetency or unfitness of the undertakers, in the following terms:—"Those from England are, for the most part, plain country gentlemen, who may promise much, but give small assurance or hope of performing what appertains to a work of such moment. If they have money, they keep it close, for hitherto they have disbursed but little; and if he may judge by the outward appearance, the least trouble or alteration of the times here will scare most of them away. It is said by themselves that since the Lords [the council in London] denominated the parties at first that were to be undertakers, some have exchanged their proportions, and others sold them out-right; in one precinct of those that have appeared [arrived], two are churchmen [parsons], and one a youth of some 18 or 19 years' old, whose names he has noted in the schedule sent by Sir Oliver Lambert. The Scottishmen come with greater port [show], and better accompanied and attended, but it may be with less money in their purses; for some of the principal of them, upon their first entrance into their precincts, were forthwith in hand with the natives to supply their wants; and in recompense thereof promise to get license from his Majesty that they [the natives] may remain upon their lands as tenants unto them [the Scottish undertakers]; which is so pleasing to that people [the Irish of Ulster] that they will strain themselves to the uttermost to gratify them [the Scotch], for they are content to become tenants to any man rather than be removed from the place of their birth and education, hoping, as he conceives, at one time or other, to find an opportunity to cut their landlord's throats; for sure he is, they hate the Scottish deadly, and out of their malice towards them they begin to affect [like] the English better than they were accustomed. They [the natives] sell away both corn and cattle, and when they are demanded why they do so, their answer is that they know not what else to do with them, nor to what place to carry them, the portion of land assigned to each of them being too little to receive and feed them [the cattle]. They seek by all means to arm themselves, and have undoubtedly some pieces [muskets] in store; and more pikes, and thereof can make more daily; but powder and lead are scarce with them. Will do his best to prevent their revolt, but greatly doubts it, for they are infinitely discontented."

But the gloomy aspect of affairs, thus depicted by the deputy, was not to any extent relieved or enlivened when the several companies of undertenants and settlers generally made their appearance in Ulster. If the stuff of which the undertaker-class was composed had thus

appeared in some important respects objectionable, the arrival of their humbler followers was not calculated to bring much alleviation to Chichester's disquietude. It would appear that the characters and habits which these colonists brought with them, whether across the North Channel or the Irish Sea, were not generally calculated to recommend them as desirable settlers. The fact, however, that they were free from all troublesome scruples in entering into other men's lands and labours, and of stoutly defending themselves therein, was likely, under the circumstances, to atone for many delinquencies. There exists, curiously enough, a description of these Ulster settlers, written by the Rev. Andrew Stewart, a presbyterian minister at Donaghadee from 1645 to 1671, himself indeed the son of a settler, and not likely, therefore, to depict them in darker colours than truth positively required. "From Scotland came many," says he, "and from England not a few; yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who for debt, or breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither; hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little, as yet, of the fear of God. And, in a few years, there flocked such a multitude of people from Scotland, that these northern counties of Down, Antrim, Londonderry, &c., were in a good measure planted; yet most of the people, as I said before, made up of a body (and it is strange) of different names, nations, dialects, temper, breeding; and in a word, all void of godliness, who seemed rather to flee from God in this enterprise than to follow their own mercy; yet, God followed them when they fled from him—albeit at first it must be remembered that they cared little for any church."

Under these circumstances it could not be expected that the work of plantation would prosper, at least for a time. Chichester did not condescend to criticise the conduct of the common people, but his complaints to the authorities in London about the apathy and greed of undertakers so alarmed the King that he forthwith appointed Sir George Carew and others as commissioners to visit Ulster, and report what progress, if any, had been made in the plantation. This visitation took place in the autumn of 1611, or a year after the undertakers had received possession of their several proportions. It was found that whilst a few had gone earnestly to work, many simply deigned a glance at their lands, and several had not taken the trouble, either personally or by agents, to do even so much as this! Of those who made some progress, it was found that English undertakers had occupied themselves principally in building, whilst their Scottish neighbours devoted their energies to the work of raising crops from their newly acquired lands. The workers were encouraged by the commissioners; the idlers or absentees were threatened with forfeiture; and several of the latter class then sold out their interests in the lands, thus giving place to more energetic planters than they were likely ever to become. The movement thus gained a little life, but mainly from the presence and assistance of the natives, who were willing to become hewers of wood and drawers of waters rather than be removed from their native districts (2).

(2). *Native districts.*—With reference to this removal question, it may be stated once for all that the Government could not carry it out, simply because the settlers could not dispense with their services. The Ulster landlords generally were found, at the commencement of the following reign, to have systematically violated the law requiring the removal of natives from all estates owned by English or

Scottish undertakers. This violation of the original 'Orders and Conditions' when taken in connection with some others, enabled Charles I. to confiscate their plantations, which would have been done in the year 1626, had they not promptly agreed to surrender their first patents, and accept others on such conditions as the King was pleased to impose. These conditions required from

In the years 1612 and 1613, the planters appear to have made some little progress, but

the landlords double the original rent, and a fine of £30 for every thousand acres, but permitted them to let out the fourth part of each proportion to native tenants! "Whereas," says the King, "humble suit has been made unto us [Charles I., in 1625], on behalf of the undertakers of our province of Ulster, that we should be pleased to grant and confirm unto them, their heirs and assigns, all such castles, manors, lands, and tenements, as they, or any of them, do hold, or pretend to hold by letters patent, made to them or others from whom they do severally claim within the said province, for which our gracious favour they do offer to double unto us such rents as were formerly reserved in those patents, whereby our revenue will be much increased; although we have justly heretofore taken offence at the slackness of some of them in accomplishing their contracts made with our late dear father, of blessed memory, upon the passing of their patents, and that in justice we might resume into our hands great quantities of those lands as forfeited unto us by breach of conditions; yet, calling to remembrance that our dear father, in his own royal person, took particular pains in the framing of that plantation, and made it the work of his own hands; and finding that many of our undertakers have well performed, as well in building as in planting, towards whom we do not hold it fit to use severity for the errors of others; and being hopeful that the residue will, by our abundant clemency herein, be led to a more zealous and speedy execution of what they were bound to effect by the articles of that plantation; therefore, upon serious consideration of their present condition, who have bestowed themselves and their substance for our service [a fatal royal mistake] in those remote parts of our dominions, and by advice of our Privy Council, and of such as well know the affairs of that our kingdom, we have resolved to be gracious unto them.

"And, first, we do therefore hereby authorize you [the then deputy, Falkland], that upon the re-grant to be made by the several undertakers unto us of the lands mentioned in their former letters patent, you cause several grants, confirmations, and releases by letters patent to be made by the advice of some of our learned counsel there, of all the lands hitherto held by them, and lying within the several counties of Cavan, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Donegal; yielding unto us yearly, for and out of the lands so to be granted, double the several rents and sums of money mentioned to be reserved in and by their former letters patent respectively, at the Feasts of Michaelmas and Easter; and also that every of the undertakers shall pay a fine of £30 current money of and in England to the Receiver General, to our use, for every thousand acres, and so rateably for every greater or lesser portion of the lands, before the letters patent shall pass our great seal; and that upon the payment of the fines, the grant made by our dear father to Edward Wray, Esquire, of the penalty imposed upon the Irish dwelling upon undertakers' lands contrary to the articles of the plantation, is to cease.

"And also, our pleasure is, that a quantity of land, not exceeding the fourth part of every undertakers' proportion, be set out by particular names and measures, and so inserted in their patents, with licence to the patentee to let or set to any of the Irish for term of 21 years, or three lives,

yielding such rents, duties, and service as the undertakers and their heirs shall think fit; and that the Irish shall build and dwell in villages and townreeds together, and not dispersedly in the plains, and not in woods, nor upon inaccessible mountains, and wear their apparel after the manner used by the English, bring up their children with religious schoolmasters, and permit them to learn the English language: and that all the Irish be removed from the other three parts of the undertakers' land before the 1st day of May, 1628, and not suffered directly or indirectly, by pasture, agistment, or otherwise, to occupy any part of the three parts, but the fourth part only; and that a clause be inserted in the new patents that it shall be lawful for us, or our successors, to seize into our hands any of the three parts which shall be found to be inhabited or occupied by Irish, contrary to our intention; and that the lands and profits thereof be taken and disposed to our use, until the owner thereof shall give good security; and for the better securing our double rent, the undertakers shall covenant in their new letters patent, that they have done no act to hinder us from the having and enjoying the double rent; and if any of the undertakers shall either obstinately or carelessly neglect to take the benefit of this our gracious favour, within six months after the date of these our letters, and to pay after the rate of double rent and fine as aforesaid, that then they may be afterwards debarred our favour hereby graciously intended unto them; that you give direction to our learned counsel there to proceed legally with expedition for our best advantage, against such of the undertakers as shall neglect to pass their patent, as aforesaid. July 8, 1626." See Morrin's *Calendar*, reign of Charles I., pp. 118-20."

Thus, according to the foregoing mandate, although the Irish could be legally admitted to occupy a fourth part of every proportion owned by a British undertaker in any of the five counties above named, the new arrangement was made solely in the interests and for the convenience of the landlords or undertakers, and as distinctly against the interests and convenience of the native tenants. For after the fourth part of each proportion or estate (supposed by the English or Scottish landlord, and his English or Scottish agent, to be most suitable for the occupation of the Irish) had been set apart, the native tenants were collected from the places they had already been permitted to settle, to be huddled into corners where there were few or no natural advantages of soil or position. But this law, also so cruel and unjust, was also very generally winked at or defied. The King, in imposing such an arrangement, must have been pretty certain that it could not or would not be carried out generally, and that, therefore, he might expect to be soon able to pull up the undertakers once more, as he actually did, to realise another gain in the days of Wentworth. It was found then, in fact, as we shall afterwards see, that this arrangement had not been carried out in 1629, nor later; but that, on the contrary, many more natives were admitted as tenants than could be accommodated on only the fourth part of each proportion, and simply from two causes, that British settlers could not be caught in sufficient numbers, and that Irish tenants would readily pay much higher rents than the others.

during the two following years they were kept in a state of trembling and panic, from an instinctive impression, perhaps rather than any definite knowledge, that there existed a wide-spread conspiracy among the natives. Such conspiracy, however, did actually exist, and although discovered before it could be sufficiently matured, the excitement in Ulster produced a weakening effect on the new settlements. When the agitation subsided, on the seizure and execution of the leading conspirators in the summer of 1615, the King sent Sir Josias Bodley to look after and report on the state of affairs in Ulster. Bodley made a most unfavourable report, which appears to have produced a very irritating effect on the King, who forthwith ordered his deputy to have another investigation made, and therein to spare no undertakers, English or Scottish, who might be found to have neglected their plantation duties. The consequent investigation, in 1616, caused a greater degree of energy and activity among the planters. Buildings that had been commenced, but left in an unsightly, because unfinished state, were then completed, and several undertakers compelled through fear of forfeiture, to bring the required number of British families to settle on their lands. It thus came to pass that Captain Pynnar, who made his *Survey* in 1618 and 1619, was really able to report some progress, though not nearly so much as might have been expected from the very liberal terms on which the planters had received their lands.

The following is the mandate to the Irish deputy for Pynnar's appointment as the principal member of a commission to investigate and report on the progress made by Ulster undertakers of lands :—

" These are to pray and require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to cause to issue forth under the great seal of this kingdom, a commission directed to the persons under-named, authorizing them, or any two or more of them, whereof Captain Nicholas Pynnar to be always one, to enquire by all good ways and means by their own view, or by oath or deposition of witnesses, or by impannelling juries of good and lawful men of and in the several counties of Tyrone, Donnegal, Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Londonderry, of and upon the several points, instructions, and articles contained in a schedule hereunto annexed, concerning the performance of such things as are to be done by the several undertakers, servitors, and natives of and in the several counties in the plantation of the lands granted unto them by his Majesty's letters patents. And, further authorizing them, or any two or more of them aforesaid, to minister and take the oath of his Majesty's supremacy, according to the statute of the second of Elizabeth, of all the undertakers and their freeholders, lessees, and undertenants, in the several counties above specified, and inserting therein such other clauses as in like commissions are or have been usual ; and the said commission to be returnable with all convenient speed. For doing whereof this shall be your lordship's warrant. Given at his Majesty's castle of Dublin, the 27th day of November, 1618.

HEN. HOLCROFT.

" First, whether every undertaker of a small proportion, consisting of 1,000 acres, within the several counties of Tyrone, Donnegal, Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Londonderry, and every of them, have built a strong bawne or court, upon the proportions granted to them by letters patents, or how much thereof he hath built, and generally in what forwardness the same is.

Whether every undertaker of middle proportions, consisting of 1,500 acres, within the above-named counties, have built a house of stone or brick, with a bawne upon the same, or in what forwardness the same is.

Whether every undertaker of a great proportion, consisting of 2,000 acres, within the said counties, have built a castle or stone house thereupon, with a bawne about it; or what and how much building is done upon each proportion in nature as aforesaid; and what proportion or proportions within the said several counties, are not built upon according to the articles of plantation, or the bonds of the several undertakers respectively.

Whether every undertaker of 1,000 acres, within the said counties, hath planted upon his proportion ten British families, containing twenty-four men at the least, of eighteen years of age or upwards; or how many of such families there be planted; and what number of British undertakers; and whether according to the rules of plantation, he have two fee-farmers, three lessees, and four husbandmen or cottagers; and whether he hath made estates unto the said tenants, according to the articles of plantation, and according to his bonds, of the quantities of land mentioned therein.

Whether every undertaker of a middle proportion, or a great proportion, within the said counties, have in like manner planted British families, consisting of numbers of men as aforesaid, and made estates rateably according to the quantities of their proportions, as is directed by the same articles of plantation, and as the several undertakers are bound to do.

How many such families every British undertaker within the several said counties hath, and what estates he hath made unto them, and whether he hath made any estates or demises of any land contained in his patent to any person or persons, being mere Irish, or that hath not, or will not take the oath of supremacy, according to the proviso in his letters patents expressed; and what natives of any of the said counties do now dwell or inhabit upon any of the said land.

Whether every undertaker hath convenient store of arms upon his proportion, according to his covenant and bond. What undertakers, by themselves or their sufficient agent, are resident upon their proportions, and whether they have made their residence according to their covenant. Whether the several persons in the said several counties by grant, as servitors, have performed their several buildings in their several proportions, according to their several patents and bonds, and according to the articles of plantation, and how far they have proceeded in their said buildings.

Whether the tenants and inhabitants, as well upon the proportions granted to the British undertakers, as to servitors and natives in the said several counties, have built their houses together and in towns towards their better defence and safety, according to the articles of plantation, and what tenants of any the said lands do dwell dispersedly, contrary to the intent of said articles.

Whether the several natives, planted by grant in the said several counties, have also performed the buildings upon the lands granted unto them, according to their bond, and the articles of plantation.

Whether the said natives have made certain estates for lives or years to undertenants, of or upon the lands granted to them as aforesaid, according to the articles of plantation.

Whether the said natives in the said several counties have used, or caused their tenants to use, tillage and husbandry, after the manner of the English pale, according to the articles of plantation.

What arms and munition each undertaker is tied by tenure to have in readiness for his own defence and the service of the Crown.

Every undertaker of 500 acres of escheated lands is tied to have in readiness in his house upon the said land, for his own defence and the King's service, 3 muskets and calivers, 3 hand-weapons, to furnish six men.

Every undertaker of 1,000 acres is to have in readiness 6 muskets and calivers, 6 hand-weapons, to arm twelve men.

Every undertaker of 2,000 is to have in readiness 12 muskets and calivers, 12 hand-weapons, to arm 24 men.

And every undertaker of 890 acres is to have in readiness 5 muskets and calivers, 5 hand-weapons, to arm 10 men."

After a very lengthened and laborious investigation, Pynnar and his fellow-commissioners drew up the following report, the text of which was printed in Harris's *Hibernica*, 1770, pp. 139-241:—

"A brief View and Survey made at several times, and several Places, in the several Counties within named, between the first day of *December*, 1618, and the 28th day of *March*, 1619, by me, Nicholas Pynnar, Esq., and others, by virtue of his Majesty's Commissioners, under the great Seal of *Ireland* to me and others directed, dated the 28th of *November*, 1618: Wherein are set forth the Names of the several *Brittish* Undertakers, Servitors, and principal Natives, with their proportions, and the Undertakers of Towns in the several Counties of *Armagh*, *Tyrone*, *Donegall*, *Cavan*, and *Fermanagh*; and how they have performed their Buildings, and Plantations of Inhabitants; and other particular Matters answerable to certain Articles to the said Commission annexed; together with the Works and Plantation performed by the City of *London* in the City and County of *London-Derry*: All which I do certify as upon my own View and Examination—the Particulars whereof do hereafter follow.

COUNTY OF CAVAN.

The Precinct of *Clanchie* [now Clonkee], allotted to *Scottish* Undertakers.

I.

The *Lord Aubignie* (3), was the first Patentee; 3,000 acres. *Sir James Hamilton Kt.* (4),

(3). *Lord Aubignie*.—In the autumn of 1611, Carew reported of the undertakers in this precinct as follows:—"The Lord Obigny, 3,000 acres in the county of Cavan; appeared not, nor any for him; nothing done, the natives still remaining. William Downebarr, William Baylye, and John Rolleston [Ralston], 1,000 acres apiece; the like. Since our return from the north, one Mr. Thomas Chreaghton arrived here and presented himself as agent of the Lord Obigny, and William Downebarr, William Bayley, and John Ralston, who informed us that he brought with him sundry artificers and tenants, with cattle, horses, and household provision, for the planting

and inhabiting of that precinct, and is gone thither with intent to provide materials, and it is said that Downebarr, Bayley, and Ralston are themselves arrived in the north, and gone to their portions. Likewise, one Mr. John Hamilton arrived, and presented himself as agent for Sir Claud Hamilton, undertaker of 1,000 acres in the county of Cavan, who informed us that he brought with him people to plant, and is gone thither with resolution to provide materials to go in hand with buildings upon that proportion."

(4). *Sir James Hamilton*.—The original patentee did not long retain these proportions, as it appears by inquisi-

holdeth these lands by the names called *Keneth* 2,000 acres, and *Cashell* alias *Castle Aubignie*, 1,000 acres. Upon this Proportion there is built a very large strong Castle of Lyme and Stone, called *Castle Aubignie*, with the King's Arms cut in Freestone over the Gate. This castle is five stories high, with four round Towers for Flankers; the body of the Castle 50 feet long, and 28 feet broad; the Roof is set up and ready to be slated (5). There is adjoining to the one End of the Castle a Bawne of Lyme and Stone 80 feet square, with two Flankers 15 feet high. This is strongly built and surely wrought. In this Castle himself dwelleth, and keepeth house with his Lady and Family. It standeth upon a Meeting of five beaten ways, which keeps all that part of the Country.

I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* birth and descent,

Freeholders 8, viz.,

- 1 having 480 acres.
- 2 having 144 acres le piece.
- 2 having 192 acres jointly.
- 1 having 108 acres.
- 2 having 120 acres le piece (6).

Lease-holders for 3 lives, 3, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 96 acres.
- 1 having 48 acres (7).

Total, 41 Families, which do consist of 80 men at Arms.

Thirty-six of the Heads of these Families have now taken the Oath

tion that he sold them to Sir James Hamilton, on the 30th of July, 1611.

(5). *To be slated*.—This mansion, with its adjoining bawn, is referred to in an inquisition as follows:—"Since the date of the said graunte there hath been builte upon the pole of lande called Lisdromskagh, a large bawne of lyme and stone, the walls being four feete thick and 14 foote in height; and there is built a faire and strong castle of lyme and stone. There is a town planted of 18 English-like houses, and the castle and towne is nowe [1629] called and knowne by the name of Perse-Courte." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (19) Car. I.). From Pynnar's statement above, it would appear that Sir James Hamilton must have resided in the county of Cavan during at least a part of the year, although his principal and generally-occupied residence was Killileagh castle, in the county of Down.

(6). *Le piece*.—The inquisition of 1629, already quoted, has the following account of these grants to freeholders, which, however, differs from Pynnar's statement as to the number of this class of tenants:—"The said Esme lord Aubigney, together with the said Viscount Claneboyes, by their deed of feoffment bearing date the 2nd December, in the 14th year of the said late raigne [1616], at Kinneigh, did graunte unto *Richard Hadzor, Esq.*, and his heirs, the townes and landes following, viz., Dromhillogh, being one pole of lande; Mullan, one pole; Corleck, one pole; Moyegh, one pole; Lisclaghos, one pole; Drom-neveale, Barnagno, Kildery, Kesskame, and Dromconra, each one pole; with their appurtenances to hould forever.

The said Viscount Claneboyes, at the same date, graunted to *John Kennedie* and his heirs forever, the three polls of lande following, viz., Kappagh, Cashell, and Lurgaboye." Subsequently to the date of Pynnar's *Survey*, others were made freeholders, but they had enjoyed this position before being formally admitted thereto. Thus, Sir James Hamilton, "by his indenture bearing date the last day of June, 1621, did enfeoffe unto *John Hamilton, Esq.*, and his heirs, the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the pole of land called Knocknelosty, and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the pole called Ralaghan, the said John Hamilton being then in peaceable possession thereof, to hould to him, his heirs and assigns forever." Sir Henry Perse having got possession of this estate, from Sir James Hamilton, in 1629, did, on the 9th of April in that year, enfeoffe unto *Richard Lighterfoote*, his heirs and assigns forever, the pole of land called Lisnadarragh; and on the 1st of April, 1627, enfeoffed unto *Edmond Stafford* the two poles of land, called Kinnaigh and Corvaddy.

(7). *48 acres*.—The following are the names of leaseholders for three lives formally obtaining leases after the date of Pynnar's *Survey*, but enjoying virtually that privilege no doubt from the time of their original settlement on the property:—"Edward Bailie, to whom was demised, on the 2nd of April, 1627, the poll of land called Corlaticarroll, and the half poll called Tuberluan, for his natural life, and the life of Jennett, his wife, and John Bailie, his son; *John Hamilton*, to whom was demised, on the 19th of April, 1627, the pole called Dromhillagh, for his natural life, and the life of Jennett, his wife, and Nicholas, his son; *John Lock*, 1st April, 1627, the pole

Lease-holders for five years, viz.,

- 1 having 102 acres.
- 2 having 96 acres le piece.
- 1 having 168 acres.
- 1 having 100 acres.

Cottagers, 25.

Each man a tenement, a small quantity of Land, and Commons for a certain number of Cattle.

II. 1,000 Acres.

John Hamilton, Esq., hath a 1,000 acres called *Kilcloghan* (9). Upon this Proportion there is built a Bawne of Lime and Stone 80 feet square, and 13 feet high, with two round Towers for Flankers, being 12 feet le piece in the diameter. There is also begun a Stone House, which is now one storie high, and is intended to be four stories high, being 48 feet long, and 24

of Supremacy (8).

I find upon these Lands good tillage and Husbandry according to the *English* manner.

called Lisneclea, for his natural life, and the life of his wife, Jennett, and of his son, James Lach; *William Price*, on the 10th of April, 1627, the pole called Corvillie-mahie, during his natural life, and the life of Ellen, his wife, and Anthony Price, his son; on the same day to *George Steele*, the pole called Cornelyon, for his natural life, and the life of Eliza, his wife, and Mary, his daughter; to *James Stewart*, on the 15th of April, 1627, the pole called Corbeagh, or Corveagh, for his natural life, and the life of Ann, his wife, and Mary, his daughter. See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Cavan*, (19) Car. I.

(8). *Of Supremacy*.—Although so many of the settlers on this property are here stated by Pynnar to have duly taken this oath, it is incredible that so many among the undertaker class had neglected to do so. We are told by the inquisition of 1629 that "neither the said Sir James Hamilton, Richard Hadsor, or the other persons before mentioned, by the space of one yere and more after the severall graunts, did take the oath of Supremacy; and soe the said Esme lord Aubigny and Sir James Hamilton the provisoes and conditions [of the grant] did breake, whereby the premises did escheate to the late King James, his heirs and successors." Sir Henry Perse, for a time the principal owner, and Sir William Parsons, who was a trustee on the estate, neglected this oath also, and consequently had compromised their claims. (See also (38) Car. I.) In the year 1626, the undertakers generally, fearing that in consequence of their having neglected this and other conditions, their lands might be confiscated, joined in a petition to Charles I. for re-grants, offering to pay, in each case, a fine of 30*l.* for every 1,000 acres, according to the survey, and so rateably for every greater or lesser proportion of the lands (see note 2). To this the King acceded, and, for the further encouragement of undertakers, stipulated in the new patents that three parts of each proportion only should be occupied by British tenants, whilst if it so pleased them, they might settle the fourth part with Irish. (See *Morrin's Calendar*, Car. I., pp. 100, 118). In accordance with this arrangement, a grant in July, 1629, was made to Sir Henry Pierse, knight

and baronet, and his heirs and assigns forever, of the manors of Kinnegh and Cashell, and other lands in the barony of Clanchy and county of Cavan, containing 3,000 acres, and the advowson of the vicarage of Drandone; to be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises are created into a manor, to be called the manor of Pierscourt, with power to create tenures, hold courts baron and leet, free warren, and licence to impark 900 acres; pursuant to the conditions of the plantation. July 4, 5^o [1629]. *Morrin's Calendar*, Car. I., p. 476.

(9). *Kilcloghan*.—See p. 309. This proportion was originally granted to John Ralston, on the 29th of August, 1610, and on the 11th of June, 1613, Ralston sold the lands with their appurtenances to John Hamilton, Esq., and his heirs and assigns forever. "The said John Hamilton, within one yere before the said alienation, did not take the oathe of supremacy, whereby the said manor [of Kilcloghan], proportion and lands unto the King did escheate and come;" but on the 10th of Dec., 1613, by way of placing himself safely in law, Hamilton surrendered his whole right and title into the hands of the King, receiving a re-grant on the 18th of the same month, of all the "said manor and proportion, polls and parcells of lande, together with one-half of the pole of Drombenys, upon the same provisoe and conditions, as by the first letters patent mentioned." "There is a halfe pole of land called Cornewhoe al' Cornewhoan, that doth lie within the next adjoining unto the said proportion, and halfe of the said halfe pole hath been, since the time of the said grant unto John Hamilton, occupied and possessed by him, whereunto his Majesty was justly intitled, by the grand office taken within the county of Cavan in the 7th year of his raigne [1609]; and notwithstanding, the rentes and profits thereof have been deteained and withheld. The said half pole is not put in charge uppon account, with the auditor of the said county, but hath been held and reputed as a concealment." See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Cavan*, (18) Car. I.

feet broad; besides two Towers, which be vaulted, and do flank the House. There is also another Bawne near adjoining to the former Bawne, which is built of Stone and Clay, being 100 feet square, and 12 feet high; and in the Bawne there are begun two Houses of Stone and Clay, the one to be 80 feet long, the other 60, and each to be 20 feet in breadth (10). There is also a village consisting of 8 houses joining to the Bawne, being all inhabited with Brittish Tenants. Also a Water-Mill and five Houses adjoining to it (11).

I find planted and estated upon this land, of *Brittish* birth and descent,

Freeholders 2 (12), viz.,
2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees (13) for years, 6, viz.,
6 having 48 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 7.

Each of these has a House and Garden plott, and Com-mons for four Cows.

In total, 15 Families, which consist of 40 Men armed.

These 15 principal tenants have all taken the Oath of Supremacy (14).

Here is good Tillage and Husbandry after the manner of the English.

(10). *In breadth.*—In 1629, the inquisition last quoted makes mention of these buildings in the following terms:—"The said John Hamilton hath, since the said grant, erected upon the pole of lande called Correnerye al' Hansborrowe, a bawne of lyme and stone, and within the same a castle or tower of lyme and stone of 20 foote square, and also one other buildinge of lyme and stone, adjoining unto the same, of 40 foote long and 20 broad within the walls." It is curious here to observe the great discrepancies between the statement in Pynnar's *Survey* and that of the inquisition taken ten years later. Pynnar evidently has told what was *intended* by Hamilton in the matter of buildings; and we learn from the inquisition that his intentions were very far from being carried out—at least during the subsequent ten years.

(11). *Adjoining to it.*—This bawn, with the water-mill and five houses, originally constituted *Hansborrow*, in the parcel of land known as *Corronery*. The inquisition of 1629 adds:—"There is one weekly markt kepte within the said towne, uppon the Satturdaie, and 2 fairs yerelye, uppon the 6th of May and 26th of October. It will be more felt and convenient to have the latter kept on the 11th of November, there not being any fayer kept on that day within ten myles of the towne."

(12). *Freeholders, 2.*—These freeholders were—as we are told by the inquisition—"David Barber, a fee-farmer of 6 score acres, to him and his heirs; and David M'Culloch, a fee-farmer of 6 score acres, to him and his heirs." These fee-farmers are stated by the inquisition to have been 'made' by the said John Hamilton; so that the original patentee, John Ralston, had done nothing by way of planting his proportion.

(13). *Lessees.*—These lessees for lives and years were—*Alex. Davyson*, who on the 2nd of Dec., 1618, got a lease of the pole of land called Glasdromen, for the term of his own life and that of his wife Jennett; *Alex. Anderson*, who, on the 16th of April, 1619, got a lease, for 21 years,

of three-fourths of the pole called Knocknelosty; *John Wyllie*, who, on the 15th of April, 1627, got a lease, for 21 years, of the pole called Killnecrewe; *John Musgrave*, a lease dated May 1, 1618, for 21 years, of the pole called Ralaghan; *John and Patrick Fenlay*, a lease for 7 years, from the 12th of May, 1620, of the pole called Tullylurkan; *Robert Tailor*, the pole of Latsiboulgidan, for the term of his natural life, from the 9th of April, 1619; *John Deanes*, the pole of Rouskie, for a term of 7 years, from the 1st of May, 1620; and *Oliver Udny*, the 3 pottles of the pole of Cran, for a term of 5 years, from the 1st of April, 1621. Hamilton also let lands to the following natives; as yearly tenants, holding quantities varying respectively from a gallon to a pole of land, viz., Coll McOwen more McClery, Cohonoght [Cuconaght] McComen, Tirlagh McShane O'Reilly, Manus McGauran, Philip O'Halton and Hugh O'Reilly, Tirlagh McEdmond Oge O'Reilly, Coll and Ferrall O'Linshie, Tirlagh O'Linshie, Owen McHugh O'Reilly, Philip McGrogan, and Gilleice Oge O'Reilly.

(14). *Supremacy.*—This statement appears to be flatly contradicted by the inquisition already quoted, which states that "neither the said Alexander Davison, Jennett his wife, Alexander Henderson, nor the said several other persons before-mentioned did take the oath of supremacy, and soe the said John Hamilton the provisor and condition [on this point] did breake, whereby the said manor and lands unto the said late King James, his heirs and successors, did escheate and come." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (18) Car. I.) John Hamilton, according to the conditions of 1626, obtained a re-grant to him and his heirs forever, of the small proportion of Kilcloghan, in the barony or precinct of Clanchie. These lands were erected into a manor, to be called the manor of Coranery alias Hannesborough; with power to create tenures, to hold court leet, court baron, free warren, park, and chase, pursuant to the conditions of the plantation, July, 29, 5^o [1629]. See *Morrin's Calendar*, p. 478.

III. 1,000 Acres.

William Hamilton, Esq., holdeth 1,000 acres called *Dromuck* (15). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, being 80 feet square, with two round Towers for Flankers, and two stories high, vaulted, the wall itself being 13 feet high. Within the Bawne there is a House of Lyme and Stone 36 feet long, 20 feet broad, and near to this Bawne there is a village consisting of five houses, being all *British* Families.

I find planted and estated, upon this Land, of *British* Birth and Descent,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for three Lives, 2, viz.,

1 having 42 acres.

1 having 54 acres.

Lessees for years, 4, viz.,

1 having 128 acres.

1 having 84 acres.

Total, 14 Families, consisting of 30 able men to serve the King.

There are 12 of the Heads of these Families have taken the Oath

(15). *Dromuck*.—William Hamilton, the owner of these lands, resided at Ballymeaghan, in the county of Down. At his death he was succeeded by his son and heir, James Hamilton, a boy ten years of age. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (52) Car. 1.) This Wm. Hamilton, styled of Ballymeaghan (now Ballymachan, near Belfast), was the fifth son of the Rev. Hans Hamilton, the first protestant minister, after the Reformation, in the parish of Dunlop, Ayrshire. He was brought into Ulster by his eldest brother, Sir James Hamilton, Viscount Clannaboy. "by whom," says the author of the *Hamilton Manuscripts*, "he was educated into the management of his country affairs, of setting his lands, receiving his rents, and proved therein very effectual and active, to the very good acceptance both of my lord and his tenants; and also purchased for himself a very competent estate in several places in the county of Down, partly of my lord, and partly of other places adjacent to his estate, wherein he lived plentifully, and in very good respect with all. . . . He married Jane Melville, daughter to Sir John Melville, in Isle-le-Kail [Lecale], and had children by her, James, John, Hans, William, and Ursula. He was a prudent, industrious, and pious man, very useful in the country, and to my Lord Claneboy; he died at middle age, but had little satisfaction in his wife, but was very patient towards her; was creditably buried, and with great lamentation, at Hollywood, having left his wife and children a very competent estate." (See *Hamilton MSS.*, edited by T. K. Lowry, pp. 12, 45). This William Hamilton was nominated the first provost of Killileagh, in the county of Down. From the terms of the following letter from his brother, Sir James Hamilton, dated July 9, 1619, it would appear that the latter had made a contract with a Dublin grain merchant to supply him from his estate in Cavan, through the agency of his brother William, and that the transaction did not result satisfactorily:—"William, I have written lately to you by Patrick Shawe, but in good trueth not so much as I

thinke. I will write no more than that if there be not a greater care had, things will fall out that you and I both will be sorry for it; it being strange that of about fourteen hundredth pounds ster., and more, all payable before, or at this May day, besides sundry casualties not accounted, I have not hitherto received one penny. Mr. Ormsby hath called to me eagerly for his money here, and hath told me that Harry Corragh, is not only likely to fall into decay, and to be disabled from paying anything, but doth also seeke to lay reproaches on me of a bad bargain, by reason of your not keeping of condicions. What your condicions were by my throtte I do not knowe, but they seem not to be the same to me at Dublin as you wrot to me of at Clanchie [in Cavan]; for you wrot to me that the barrel of oats was sold to him for . . . and I understood at Dublin that the same was to be but . . . I bearing the freight and all other charges; so as in effect the same came not but to halfe a crowne the barrel. Get your money from him the best you may, for it is like otherwise you will have ill getting it, and then my graine is brought to a faire market." (*Ibid.*, p. 12). In his will, dated October 24, 1627, William Hamilton directs payment of his debts; appoints for his wife the profits of his lands of Ballymechean and Newcastle, and half the town of Ballysprage, in satisfaction of her dower; four poles of Clanche [in the proportion of Dromucke], for his son John; to his son Hans, a moiety of Granshagh and Bangor lands; to his son William, the lands called Milagh in Slut McNeiles [parish of Comber]; to his daughter Ursula, 200*l.*, and to Alice, 150*l.*; his son William is to hold the rectory of Rathmullin until Lord Claneboye shall pay him 40*l.*; and testator bequeaths his estate in Newcastle to his lawful son James; and after other bequests, he appoints his wife executrix, and Lord Claneboy and Archibald Hamilton overseers of his will. (See *Morrin's Calendar*, Car. 1., p. 517). This William Hamilton was ancestor of Lord Bangor, in the peerage of Ireland.

1 having 48 acres.

1 having 36 acres.

Cottagers that hold for years, 6, viz.,

1 having 30 acres.

1 having 20 acres.

1 having 15 acres.

1 having 12 acres.

1 having 11 acres.

1 having 10 acres.

IV. 1,000 Acres.

William Bealie, Esq., holdeth 1,000 acres called *Tonregie*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lyne and Stone 90 feet square, with two Flankers; and in one of the Flankers there is a Castle in building which is above the first storie; and the length of it is 30 feet, the breadth 22 feet, being vaulted; there is another House at one of the Corners, 20 feet square, being but one storie high. In this himself, with his Wife and Family, are now dwelling (16).

I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Birth and Descent*,

Freeholders (17), 2, viz.,

1 having 144 acres.

1 having 48 acres.

Leaseholders (18), for years, 4, viz.,

2 having 96 acres le piece.

2 having 48 acres le piece.

(16). *Now dwelling*.—In this instance it is evident that the undertaker had made progress in the matter of building, in the interval between Pynnar's report and the taking of an inquisition at Castle Aubigny, on the 10th of April, 1629. The following is the evidence of this fact as made known by the contents of the inquisition:—"Since the graunte of the said premises, there is built upon the pole of land called Kilcolhie at Bailiborrowe, by the said William Baillie and his assigns, one bawne of lyne and stone, and within the said bawne one castell, or fair capitall mansion-house, built likewise of stone, and lyne. The houses are all vaulted belowe, with a stair-case and flankers for the defence of the same."

(17). *Freeholders*, 2.—By the inquisition now quoted it appears that these freeholders were Edward and James Baillie. The following is the reference to the former:—"Edward Baillie is a fee-farmer of 2½ poles of land, viz., the pole of Dronlume and ½ pole commonlie called by the name of Lisgar, by deed of infeoffment thereof to him and his heirs forever, by the said William Baillie, bearinge date the 12th of November in 16th yeere of his late Maties raigne [1618]; and the pole of Dirrymore, with the appurtenances, by deed of feoffment to him and his heirs, made by the said William Baillie bearinge date the 9th April in the 5th yeere of his said late Maties raigne [1607], and the said Edward is yet tenant in possession, for and in full performance of the plantation of the said proportion, accordinge unto the articles of plan-

of Supremacy.

I find upon these Lands Tillage and Husbandry according to the English manner.

Total, 10 Families (19), consisting of 28 armed Men.

These 10 families have now taken the Oath of Supremacy (20).

tation of the province of Ulster." James Baillie held the two poles of Moltelagh and Lisnalsk in fee-farm.

(18). *Leaseholders*.—The number of leaseholders here mentioned by Pynnar had been doubled at the time of taking the inquisition in 1629. Their names were John Steivinson, John Baillie, James Teate, David Barbour, Gilbert Cuthbertson, John Hamilton, William Rae, and Walter Miller. These leaseholders generally held for the term of 21 years. The following natives were yearly tenants on this proportion in 1629, viz., Edmond Duffe O'Reillie, Mulmore McBrian O'Reillie, Coll O'Relly, Shane McGil-Martin, Owen More McShane McClerie, Edmond McGurgan, Bryan O'Reillie, Farrell McPhilip O'Reilly, and Walter Tweddy. These Irish tenants generally held half a pole each.

(19). *Ten families*.—In 1629, it was found by inquisition that since the time of the letters patent being taken out by William Baillie, in 1610, "there is the nombre of 15 English-like houses planted and inhabited with British families within the premises."

(20). *Supremacy*.—The inquisition states that none of the freeholders nor leaseholders above named had duly taken the required oath, "and so the said William Baillie the provisor and condition in the said letters patent specified did breake, whereby the said proportion of Tone-regie, unto the said late King in his lifetime and to his heirs and successors after his decease, did escheate and come." To remedy this neglect, it was necessary that

Cottagers for years, 4, viz.,
2 having 20 acres jointly.
1 having 5 acres.
1 having 4 acres.

I find here good Tillage after the English manner.

The Precinct of *Castlerahin* (21), allotted to Servitors and Natives. (See pp. 343-345).

V. 1,000 Acres.

Sir William Taaffe was the first Patentee (see p. 343). *Sir Thomas Ash, Kt.*, holdeth 1,000 acres called the *Mullagh*. Upon this Proportion there is an old Castle new mended; but all the land is now inhabited with *Irish* (22).

VI. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Edmond Phettiplace (23) was the first Patentee. *Sir Thomas Ash* holdeth this Proportion called *Carvyn*. Upon this there is built a very good Bawne of Lyme and Stone, being 70 feet square, with two Flankers, and 12 feet high; but all the Land is inhabited with *Irish*.

VII. 500 Acres.

Lieutenant Garth (24) was the first Patentee. *Sir Thomas Ash* holdeth 500 acres called *Murmode*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Sodds; but all the land is inhabited with *Irish*.

VIII. 1,000 acres.

Captain Ridgewaie (25) was the first Patentee. *Captain Culme* (26) holdeth 1,000 acres

the owner should pay the stipulated fine and take out a new grant, which he did, of the manor, castle, and lands of Kilkoshie *alias* Balliburrowe, the pole of Tone-regie, and other lands in the barony of Clanchie, containing by estimation 100 acres, and of the half pole of Tully-bricke, containing 30 acres; to be held as of the castle of Dublin in free and common socage. The premises are created into a manor, to be called the manor of Bailiburrowe, with power to create tenures, and hold 400 acres in demesne, court baron, court leet, liberty of free warren, and to impark 300 acres; pursuant to the condition of the plantation. June, 22, 5th [1629]. See *Morrin's Calendar*, Car. I., p. 476.

(21). *Castlerahin*.—See pp. 342-345. This precinct, in 1610, must have had few natural attractions; and any spots of good soil were enjoyed by the servitors, to the exclusion of native freeholders. Even at the present time, the barony of Castlerahin (excepting the lands adjoining Lough Ramor and surrounding Virginia), is generally bleak and without wood, nearly the whole surface consisting of low hills, marshes, bogs, and flat valleys.

(22). *With Irish*.—In 1611, Carew reported that "Sir William Tathe [Taaffe], knight, 1,000 acres as servitor in B. Castle Rame [Castlerahin], has taken possession, but nothing done."

(23). *Phettiplace*.—Carew reports of this servitor as follows:—"Sir Edmond Fetiplace, 1,000 acres, has taken possession, done nothing else."

(24). *Lieutenant Garth*.—See p. 344. Carew reports of this officer in a few words, thus:—"Lieut. Carth, 500

acres as servitor, has taken possession, but done nothing else."

(25). *Captain Ridgewaie*.—See p. 343. In 1611, this first patentee had made some progress. Carew reports as follows:—"Captain John Ridgeway, 1,000 acres. 120 great oaks have been brought from Fermanagh, 30 miles from him, and more ready framed, being 280 garons loads from Bealturbert; has made a watercourse for a mill in a stony and rocky ground, which cost him 25*l.*, as he says. Has agreed for 500 barrels of lime in Meath, to be brought him upon demand. Has removed five Irish houses near his castle, and built two other Irish houses in the Great Island [on Lough Ramor]. Has an English millwright, smith, and farrier, with their wives and families, and necessary tools; and an English and Irish house carpenter, with their wives and families; two or three other families of several trades; and has contracted at Bealturbert for a boat for use at Lough Rawre" [now Ramor].

(26). *Captain Culme*.—This officer was the son of Sir Hugh Culme of Chamston and Cannonsleigh in Devonshire, and Mary, daughter of Richard Fortescue of Filleigh, in the same county. Capt. Culme, who was knighted in 1623, married the daughter of a gentleman named Emerson of Derbyshire, and died in 1630. His residence was Cloughouter, in Cavan. By his wife (who re-married with a Colonel Jones, and died in 1661), Sir Hugh left a large family of sons and daughters. His eldest son and heir, Arthur Culme, resided at Cloughouter, and died without leaving children, in 1650. One of Sir Hugh's daughters,

called *Logh-rammar* alias the Manor of *Chichester* (see p. 343). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone 180 feet square, with two Flankers, and fourteen feet high; and a House in it of Lyme and Stone, which is building, being now about the second storie, the Roof ready to be set on. He hath four English Families, and this Bawne standeth upon a Passage which is able to do good service.

Captain Culme is to build a Town called *Virginia* (27), for which he is allowed 250 acres. Upon this he hath built 8 timber Houses, and put into them 8 *English* tenants; of which town there is a Minister which keepeth school, and is a very good Preacher (28).

IX. 400 Acres.

Sir John Elliott, Kt. (see p. 343), holdeth 400 acres, called *Muckon*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone 60 feet square, and a Small House. All the land is inhabited with Irish.

X. 900 Acres.

Shane McPhillip O'Rellie (29) hath 900 acres. Upon this Proportion is a small Bawne of Sodds, and an Irish House wherein he dwelleth.

The Precinct of *Tullaghgarvy* (30), allotted to Servitors and Natives.

XI. 1,500 Acres.

Captain Hugh Culme and *Archibald Moore, Esq.*, hold 1,500 acres, called *Tullavin* (31). Upon this Proportion the Bawne and Towers are thoroughly finished, and now the Roof of the

Anne, married John Edgeworth of Cranelagh, in Longford; and a second, Elizabeth, became the wife of George Bradshaw of Bradshaw, in Derbyshire. The Irish branch of this family is extinct in the male line, since the death of Hugh Culme, Esq., of Lisnemain, in the year 1700. See *The Trevelyan Papers*, Part iii., *Culme Pedigree* at the end of the volume.

(27). *Virginia*.—It does not appear why Capt. Culme selected this name for his town, but it has been ever since in use. The little town so called stands on the north-eastern shore of Lough Ramor, six miles south-west of Bailieborough. It belongs to the Headfort estate, the lords of which, in their generations, took pains to have the place duly cared for and made attractive. The inn at Virginia is spoken of as being the best on the whole line of road from Enniskillen to Dublin. See *Parliamentary Gazetteer*, vol. iii., p. 471.

(28). *Good preacher*.—This was probably Benjamin Culme, a brother of Sir Hugh, who came to Ireland with the latter and a third brother named Arthur, who also resided at Cloughouter. Benjamin was no doubt 'a good preacher,' for in 1615 he was appointed prebend of Malahide; in 1616, rector of Rathmore; and in 1619, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He was a commissioner for Ecclesiastical Causes in 1638. He returned to England in 1649, and remained there until 1657, the year of his death. He died at Mudghill, Wilts, where his monument records that he was "an excellent preacher and a good divine." See *The Trevelyan Papers*, Pedigree at the end of part iii.

(29). *Shane McPhillip O'Rellie*.—This native gentleman was one of his numerous and influential clan who had taken an active part on the side of Hugh O'Neill, but who so recommended himself by his quiet demeanour afterwards as to obtain an acknowledgment in lieu of his once extensive lands. He was styled of *Agheskilmore*, now Kilmore, in the county of Cavan. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Cavan*, (1) Jac. I.

(30). *Tullaghgarvy*.—See pp. 345-348. This precinct or barony had been allotted to servitors and natives for special reasons. It contains certain good positions for defence should tumults arise, and these positions with their adjoining lands, the best in the barony, were given to servitors. The remaining lands of Tullaghgarvey were among the worst in the whole county of Cavan, and were, therefore, given to certain Irish there, who got patches of freehold. The barony in general, except its eastern corner around Cootehill, its western corner around Castle-Saunderson, and the pleasant valley of the Annalee, contains poor land; and even at the present time retains its former bleak aspect and comparatively barren soil.

(31.) *Tullavin*.—See pp. 346, 347. This name was an alias of Tullaghgarvey—one of the baronies in the county of Cavan. The lands which thus fell to the lot of these active servitors, Culme and Moore, formed part of the personal estate which had belonged to the successive chieftains or representatives of the whole O'Reilly sept or clan. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Cavan*, (2) Jac. I.) Capt. Culme's first partner in this proportion was another servitor named Talbot. Carew's account of them in 1611 is as follows:—"Captain

House is framed, ready to be set up. It standeth in a Place of great strength, the said Archibald Moore, with his Wife and Family, dwelling in it. He hath four English Families; the rest of the Land is inhabited with Irish.

XII. 750 Acres.

Sir Thomas Ash and *John Ash* have 750 acres called *Drumsheel*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Clay and Stone, and another of Sodds 120 feet square, but all inhabited with Irish.

XIII. 1,000 Acres.

Mullmorie McPhilip O'Reyley hath 1,000 acres called *Itterry-Outra*. Upon this Proportion there is a very strong Bawne of Sodds, with four Flankers, and a deep Moate, a good Irish House within it, in which himself and Family dwelleth. He hath made no Estates. See p. 347.

XIV. 1,000 Acres.

Captain Reley hath 1,000 acres, called *Lisconnor*. Upon this there is a Bawne of Sodds, and a House in it, in which he dwelleth. He hath made no estates but from year to year; and all his Tenants do plough by the Tail (32).

Hugh Colme and Walter Talbot, 1,500 acres as servitors, have built a strong timber house and two other wattled houses, felled 40 timber trees, no other work done."

(32). *By the tail*.—This clumsy and cruel method of ploughing prevailed from a remote period, not only in Ireland and Scotland, but throughout many other regions of Europe. It was virtually suppressed in this country about the year 1612, although many instances of its practice are on record at a later period. In order to abolish the custom in Ulster, where it seems to have prevailed universally among the Irish inhabitants, Chichester imposed smart fines, which, however, were so harshly and selfishly collected, that complaints were made on the subject to the King. Among the grievances complained of by certain Irish noblemen and gentlemen, in 1613, one is stated as follows:—"In the Northern counties, the sheriffs, governors, marshals, and others, do take, for permitting the inhabitants to use their short ploughs, after the rate of 10s. by the year for every plough, which is come to be an exact revenue of extraordinary great value to these officers, to the great grief and impoverishment of the people, who have neither the skill nor means to use other ploughs; and until in those places the people were of more ability, this might be forborne, there being no law against that kind of ploughing." The commissioners appointed to inquire into the several grievances complained of, reported in reference to this special class, in the following terms:—"As to fines for drawing ploughs and carriages by the horses' tails, they find that by Act of Council in 1606, a penalty was enacted of forfeiting for the first year's offence, one garran; for the second, two; and for the third, the whole team: but this was not put in execution till 1611, when Captain Paul Gore was allowed in one or two counties to demand 10s. for every plough so offending, in order to

pay himself 140l., or 160l., due to him from his Majesty for his soldiers' pay, and for extraordinary services in O'Dogherty's rebellion. In 1612 the lord deputy levied 10s. per plough so drawn in all Ulster; and 870l. was thus levied. This fine of 10s. is now passed by patent to Sir William Uvedall, reserving a rent of 100l. a year thereout to the King, the profits whereof have amounted to 800l., though the charge on the people was much more. Other collections of such fines have been levied in Connaught and in some counties of the Pale, but without the lord deputy's warrant, nor can they [the commissioners] discover the amount. The natives pretend a necessity of continuing this manner of ploughing as more fit for stony and mountainous grounds, yet the commissioners think it not fit to be continued." Thus, it appears that the *real* object of the order in council against this custom was not to abolish it, but to raise money by permission to continue it. And when the power of levying this fine from the poor natives was passed by patent to the knight above named, the very King himself was a sharer in the profits! In October, 1611, Sir Charles Cornwallis, writing to Lord Northampton, refers to the commissioners' report on this point as follows:—"His Lordship will, in like manner, understand by their labours what great sums of money have been drawn out of the supposed commiseration of the hinder parts of these poor Irish garrans. The garrans, though strained (perhaps beyond ordinary existence) in those parts, complain not, and the Irish affirm that from their experience, they find that in ground hilly, stony, &c., full of bull-rushes, where a long plough will not go, it is the most profitable way for them to use the share; and that it is more easy for the garran to go up the mountains, where it is all liberty, than where it is loaded with English horse-colars. These Irish are a scurvy nation, and are as scurvily used."

XV. 3,000 Acres.

Mulmorie Oge O'Relie (33) hath 3,000 acres. Upon this there is a Bawne of Sodds, and in it an old Castle, which is now built up, in which himself and Family dwelleth. He hath made no Estates to any of his Tenants, and they do all plough by the Tail.

XVI. 2,000 Acres.

Captain Richard Tirrell, and his brother *William*, have 2,000 acres called *Itterery*. Upon this there is built a strong Bawne of Lyme and Stone, 80 feet square, and 12 feet high, with four Flankers. He hath made no Estates.

XVII. 3,000 Acres.

Maurice McTelligh hath 3,000 acres, called *Liscurcron*. He hath a Bawne of Sodds, and in it a good Irish House, in which himself and Family dwelleth.

The Precinct of *Loghtee*, allotted to *English Undertakers*. (See pp. 204, 280).

XVIII. 1,500 Acres.

John Taylor (34) hath 1,500 acres called *Aghieduff* (35). Upon this Proportion is a Castle and Bawne thoroughly finished, and himself and his Family dwelling in it (36). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Birth and Descent*,

(33). *Mulmorie Oge O'Relie*.—See p. 347. This youthful representative of the whole clan or sept of O'Reilly did not long survive to enjoy the pittance thus granted by the Government. He was grandson of Sir John O'Reilly (see p. 60), his father *Mulmorie* having been slain fighting on the side of the English at the Blackwater. His mother was a niece of the Earl of Ormonde. After she retired with her son, then only a boy, to their proportion of 3,000 acres, he was styled of *Ballincairge*, or *Bellenekarge*, which was the name of an old castle built at a remote period by one of his ancestors. Although Pynnar speaks of *Mulmorie Oge* as if he was alive in 1617-18, it was found by inquisition at Belturbet in Aug. 1622, that he had died on the 27th of February, 1617. A kinsman, named *Hugh O'Reilly*, as nearest heir, succeeded to the property. *Mulmorie Oge's* trustees, appointed on the 6th of May, 1612, were *Walter Talbott* of *Ballaconnolly*, in the county of Cavan, *Thomas Brady* of *Drogheda*, merchant, and *Arthur McGra*, of *Ballenecarge*. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (9) Jac. I.) *Bellanacargy* is now one of the principal villages in the barony. Respecting the doings of the principal natives who got lands in this county of Cavan, *Carew* reported as follows:—"Melmore Oge O'Reilly and his mother, the Lady *Katherine Ny Neale* [Butler], have removed to *Ballynecarge*, assigned them for their portion. *Hugh McShane O'Reilly* removed to his portion, and is building a mill. *Melmore McPhilip O'Reilly* removed and is building a house. *McBrady*, and *Connor McShane Roe McBrady*, removed to their proportions. *Melmore McHugh Conolagh O'Reilly* is dwelling on the land he had before, and given him on the last division. *McKyernan* removed to his proportion, and is about building a house. *Bryan Echoghe McOwen* removed to his proportion. *Philip McTirlagh Brady* is about to

remove. *Magauran* had his own land given him on this division." Rest of the natives that had lands assigned in that county are not yet removed."

(34). *Taylor*.—See pp. 228, 283. This energetic planter is mentioned in *Carew's* report as follows:—"John Taylor, 1,500 acres; came over in the summer of 1610, took possession and remained most part of the following winter, went into England about Shrovetide last, leaving his deputy with some seven or eight tenants. Came back about May last, with provisions, but went back again, and is not yet returned. Brought over three freeholders, whereof two are gone into England for their wives and families; the other resident is *Taylor's* deputy. One copyholder placed upon the land, and eight artificers, able men, and servants. A timber house, with a chimney finished, where he means to erect his dwelling house. Competent arms of all sorts to furnish 12 men.

(35). *Aghieduff*.—This name appears in the survey as *Aghteduffe*, and is so written in *John Taylor's* patent.

(36). *Dwelling in it*.—See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (48) Car. I. There is no account in this inquisition of the building erected by *John Taylor*, nor of the date at which he died. He was succeeded by a person named *Brockhill Taylor*, but whether his son or a kinsman we cannot tell. The latter was styled of *Ballyhayes al' Aghteduffe*, Co. of Cavan, and died on the 10th of July, 1636. He left two daughters, co-heiresses, *Eliza*, aged eleven years, and *Mary*, aged four years at the time of his death. (*Ibid.*; see also (63) Car. I.) There is now a market town at *Ballyhaise*, which stands on the *Annalee* river, on the road from Cavan to Clones. *Ballyhaise House*, now the residence of a gentleman named *Humphreys*, is surrounded by very extensive plantations. It is situated in the parish of *Castleterra*, Upper *Loughtee*.

Freeholders, 7, viz.,

- 1 having 288 acres.
- 1 having 264 acres.
- 1 having 96 acres.
- 2 having 48 acres le piece
- 2 having 24 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 7, viz.,

- 1 having 192 acres.
- 2 having 48 acres le piece.
- 2 having 24 acres le piece.
- 2 having 48 acres le piece.

Cottagers in Fee, 10, viz.,

- 3 having 60 acres le piece.
- 3 having 31 acres le piece.
- 2 having 30 acres le piece.
- 1 having 4 acres.
- 1 having 2 acres.

Total, 24 Families, besides several Undertenants, which are able to make 54 Men armed.

All these have taken the Oath of Supremacy (37), and dwell most of them in a village consisting of fourteen Houses, in which there is a Water-Mill, but no great store of Tillage.

XIX. 2,000 Acres.

Thomas Waldron, Esq., son and heir to Sir Richard Waldron (38), Knight, deceased,

(37). *Supremacy.*—Pynnar states that all—owners and occupants—on this proportion had taken the oath of supremacy. The landlord in 1629 took out a new patent, as follows:—"Grant to Brockhall Taylor, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the middle proportion of Aghateeduffe, and other lands thereto belonging, in the barony or precinct of Loughtee, to be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The lands are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of Aghateeduffe, *alias* Ballyhayes, with power to create tenures, and hold 300 acres in demesne, court leet and court baron, waifs and strays, warren and park; liberty to tan leather, and hold a weekly market on every Wednesday at Aghateeduffe, and two fairs, one on St. Luke's Day, and the other on the Thursday in Holy Week, to continue for two days; subject to the conditions of the plantation, and according to his Majesty's instructions for the renewal of the grants of the undertakers. Oct. 12, 1629." On the 10th of Feb., 1614, John Tailor of Castle Terra, Esq., demised by deed to Thomas Newman of the same, gent., the pole of land called Lissehannan, 300 acres, rent, 6*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*; liberty to hawk, hunt, fish, and fowl is reserved. To hold for 60 years. On the 23rd April, 1615, John Taylor, of Castle-Terra, sold to Henry Quincy of the same, carpenter, the half pole of land of Kilnacrin, rent, 2*l.*, together with four hens and twenty hen eggs, to be paid at his castle or manor house, at or by Ballyhayes; and at the death of every free tenant, a herriot or 20*s.*, at the election of the heir of the said free tenant. To hold forever in fee farm. This estate appears to have been managed according to the plantation conditions, for it did not require to

be surrendered, like others in 1629, but was held at the original low rent, and without the payment of a fine, as in most of the other cases.

(38). *Waldron.*—This gentleman purchased his lands in Loughtee from Sir John Davys, and did not hold them long afterwards, at least in his own immediate possession, although his family must have eventually recovered them. Carew's report in 1611 states that "Sir John Davys, Knight, 2000 acres, has made over his proportion to Mr. Richard Waldron [afterwards Sir Richard], who passed the same to Mr. Rignold Horne, who sold his estate [or interest therein] to Sir Nicholas Lusher, Knight, nothing done." This knight must have died soon after the date of Pynnar's *Survey*, as in 1624, it was found by inquisition that Richard Waldron, no doubt son and heir of Sir Richard, was in possession of the estates. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (11) Jac. I.) The latter died soon after 1624; and his son Thomas, who succeeded him, died in February, 1627, leaving a son, also named Thomas, who was only then a child of two years old. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (33) Car. I.) In 1624, it was found by inquisition that "Richard Waldron is seised as of fee, of the manor of Dromheole and Dromemoylan, with all the rights, members, and appurtenances to the same belonging, and of a court baron to be held within the said manor; alsoe, of the townes and lands called Congaran, one pole, whereof but 3 pottles are in the possession of the said Richard; also of the towne called Tirorkan, 2 poles, and the same consisteth of the parcells of Tirorkan and Lisduffe; the towne called Gortneshellahy, 2

holdeth 2,000 acres, called *Dromhill* and *Dromellan*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Sodds of 200 feet square, and four Flankers; but much of it is fallen down. The Castle or Stone House is now finished, and himself, with his Mother, the Lady Waldron, with all their Family, are dwelling in it. There is built a Town consisting of 31 Houses, all inhabited with *English*. There is also a Wind-Mill. This is a Throughfare and common Passage into the Country, and here is a little Tillage. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *British* Birth and Descent,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

- 2 having 96 acres le piece.
- 1 having 192 acres.
- 2 having 48 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 17, viz.,

- 3 having 96 acres le piece.
- 2 having 48 acres le piece.
- 1 having 72 acres.
- 9 having 24 acres le piece.
- 2 having 33 acres le piece.

Total, 53 Families, consisting of
82 Men very well armed.

Cottagers, 31.

Each having a House and two acres of Land, and Commons for 12 Cattle a-piece.

XX. 2,000 Acres.

John Fish, Esq. (39), hath 2,000 acres called *Dromany* (40). Upon this Proportion the

poles, consisting of the parcells called Gortnasellahé one and $\frac{1}{2}$ pole, and Shancloen $\frac{1}{2}$ pole; a parcell called Dromhill al' Dromhcele, one pole; a parcell called Loghconnoge, 2 polls; Clough-Igonner, 2 polls; Carigaghe al' Corgagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ pole; Coragh mentioned [in the patent] to be $\frac{1}{2}$ pole, and containeth one pole; the towne or parcell called Cooghy al' Coaghies, $\frac{1}{2}$ pole; Dromhanacrone, one pole; Dromchonowry, 2 polls, and it consisteth of the several parcells called Dromchonowry, Drombarr, and Edrimon, which Drombarr and Edrimon lie betwixt the land called Drondewoone in the east, and Dromchonoway and Nachara in the west, a mountain in the north, and the bogge lying between Dromdewoone and Dissicrone in the south; Meonarry, 2 polls; Farrangally, 2 polls; Eynish, mentioned in the said patent, to be $\frac{1}{2}$ a pole, but it conteyneth one pole; Katakine, one pole; Gortnenowle, in the said patent mentioned, to be $\frac{1}{2}$ a pole, and conteyneth one pole; Sirawkeile, in the said patent mentioned, to be $\frac{1}{2}$ a pole, and contayneth one pole; all which the fore recited parcells are called by the name of the small proportion of Dromhill in the letters patents. The said Richard Waldron is also seised, as in fee, of the land called Dromgowla, one pole; Culbyogg, one pole; Ragaltan, one of the two polls of Farrineseir; Tollenagh, 2 polls; Lisdorran, one pole; Farnan, 3 polls; Derriad, one pole; Derrylyne, 2 polls; Dromoamin, one pole;

Nacarragh, one pole; Derrycran, one pole; Dromellan, mentioned in the letters patent, to be one pole, containeth $\frac{1}{2}$ a pole; Dromskreagh, one pole;—the other halfe of Dromskreagh being assigned for gleab; Naf-forragh, one pole, consisting of Lissnevendragh $\frac{1}{2}$ a pole, Inche, one pottle or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pole, Nassorah $\frac{1}{2}$ a pole, and Derricana, mentioned in the letters patent to be $\frac{1}{2}$ a pole and containeth 3 pottles—all which premises are called by the name of the small proportion of Dromellan. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (11) Jac. I.) There is no mention in the inquisitions of the estate having been surrendered, or re-granted (as in many other cases) on the payment of a fine and a higher rent, so that the Waldrons, whilst they held it, appear to have strictly observed the original conditions of plantation. A very slight deviation from these conditions was sure to entail forfeiture, unless the terms imposed by Charles I., in 1626, were acceded to.

(39). *John Fish*.—See p. 281. This was another earnest undertaker. Only twelve months after he had got possession, Carew reports of his progress thus:—"John Fish, 2,000 acres; came over in the summer, took possession, went back again and left his deputy here, returned with his wife and family about May last. Brought with him four freeholders, two whereof returned for their families, none of them yet settled. Brought with him

Bawne and Castle is long since finished, being very strong, and himself with his wife and Family dwelling therein. He hath also built two villages, consisting of 10 Houses the piece, which are built of Lyme and Stone, and two good Innholders; for they stand upon a Road Way. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish* Families,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

2 having 192 acres le piece.

1 having 144 acres.

1 having 130 acres.

Lessees for three lives, 4, viz.,

2 having 150 acres le piece.

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 144 acres.

Lessees for years, 14, viz.,

4 having 92 acres le piece.

4 having 48 acres le piece.

2 having 24 acres le piece.

Total, 22 Families, besides Cottagers, which are able to make 60 men well armed.

artificers and servants of all sorts, thirty-three or thereabout. Two English teams of horses with English carts continually employed in drawing materials; oaks felled, and carpenters employed in the woods of Fermanagh, felling more. Arms of all sorts for 35 men, or thereabout; a barrel of powder, with match and lead proportionable." The following letter from the council in London to Chichester, refers to a dispute between Fishe and Captain Culme so early as 1611:—"Captain Hugh Cullam, having obtained a grant of one poll of ground, called Inishmuck, lying in the midst of the great proportion of Dromany, in the precinct of Loughtee, and county of Cavan, belonging to John Fishe, the bearer, one of the English undertakers, the same [poll] being either misnamed, or not named in his patent, they [the council] request him [Chichester] to take order for settling Mr. Fish in the quiet possession of the parcel aforesaid, believing that the circumstances were hid from him [Chichester], and that the grant to Captain Culm is expressly contrary to the Articles of plantation."

(40). *Dromany*.—An inquisition taken in 1629, six years after the death of John Fish (or, more correctly, Sir John Fishe, for he was both a knight and an Ulster baronet, see p. 281), mentions his setting off and letting lands on his proportion, as follows:—"On the 1st of May, 1615, Sir Hugh Worrell, or Wyrrell, was enfeofed in the pole called Dromchoile; on the 20th April, 1615, Oliver Pyndar and John Taylor, a lease for 21 years, of the pole called Conochin; John Taylor and Daniel O'Lery, a lease of two poles called Ruskie, for 21 years, from the 10th of April, 1616; George Bowker, a lease of the poll called Derhowe, for 21 years, from the 10th of April, 1616; George Bowker, aforesaid, a lease of the poll called Dromany, for 21 years, from the 16th of May, 1616; John Baker, Maria, his wife, and William, their son, a lease of the pole called Derrychrine, for their natural

lives, from June 1, 1616. Sir John Fishe, after obtaining his letters patent, enfeofed Nicholas Powlter in a large quantity of land; and in May, 1617, he leased for a term of 21 years to Sir Hugh Cullane [Culm] a pole called Dromard, and a quarter of a poll called Dronoghian; on the 1st of May, 1616, he leased for 21 years, to John and Anne Taylor, the pole called Corodiralisse. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (26) Car. I). Fishe died on the 20th of March, 1623, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Sir Edward Fishe, who received many of the Irish as yearly tenants. The following are their names, and the names of their holdings, as mentioned by the inquisition already quoted, viz., "Knogher O'Rely, May 1, 1628, the pole called Gortichare; William Bouts, same date, the pole of Kellanecare; Hugh Groome, same date, the pole called Dromerslady; Richard Smith, same date, the pole of Lissimoyne; John O'Rely, same date, the pole of Aghaganilly; Cahill O'Rely, same date, the pole of Carriaghan; Donnogh O'Mulpatrick, same date, the two polls called Fugh; Patrick Brady McDonnogh, same date, the pole called Knockeingerke. Sir Edward granted in fee, to John Sugden, the lands called Ruffian and Dromachon; and to Robert Burrowes, the pole called Keilegony, for a term of 31 years." (*Ibid.*) On the 14th of February, 1629, a re-grant was given to Sir Edward Fishe, his heirs and assigns, forever, as an undertaker of the province of Ulster, of the great proportion of Dromany, in the barony or precinct of Loughtee, containing by estimation 2,000 acres, and other lands containing 50 acres, in the same barony; to be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The lands are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of Dromany, with power to create tenures, and hold court baron and court leet, waifs and strays, park and warren, and chase, with provisos and conditions similar to those contained in the patents of undertakers of like proportions in the province of Ulster.

- 1 having 30 acres.
- 2 having 40 acres le piece.
- 1 having 20 acres.

Cottagers, 14, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden, and a Plott, and Commons for four Head of Cattle.

XXI. 1,500 Acres.

This is now in the hands of *Mr. Adwick* (41). *Sir Hugh Wirral, Knight*, holdeth 1,500 acres, called *Monaghan*. Upon this Proportion there is no Bawne, but he is building a House of Lyme and Stone, which is but two stories high (42), and so it hath been this two years; and now he hath

(41). *Mr. Adwick*.—The fact here mentioned simply meant that *Mr. Adwick* had a mortgage on *Sir Hugh Worrall's* proportion of *Monaghan*. For an account of *Sir Hugh's* difficulties, see pp. 274, 282. By an inquisition taken at the town of *Cavan*, in 1628, it appears that on the 4th of December, 1613, *Sir Hugh Worrall* sold this property to *Thomas Mountford*, who held it until the 12th of November, 1614. As no parties on the estate had taken the oath of supremacy, the lands vested again in the Crown. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, *Cavan*, (16) Car. I.) *Carew's* account of *Sir Hugh Worrall's* proceedings shows that the latter was actively, if not very successfully at work, so early as 1611:—"Sir Hugh Worrall, Knight, 1,500 acres; was here in the summer [of 1610], took possession and returned into England. His lady and family came over about the 20th of July last. Three freeholders resident; one is building on his freehold. Twenty artificers and servants, or thereabouts, resident, most of whom lived there all last winter. He has built a fair house at *Bealturberte* after the English manner, and three other dwelling houses, with a smith's forge. Between *Sir Hugh Worrall* and *Mr. Stephen Butler* were built at *Bealturberte* five boats of several burthens, one of them will carry 12 or 14 tons. Timber prepared for building. Arms of all sorts for 10 men; and burnt by mischance in a house as much as would furnish 12 more." *Worrall* must have been employed by the Government, for a time, in assisting to work out some plan or project for the plantation generally. During this time he drew up a "Project for the Plantation of the North of Ireland," which he addressed to the Earl of *Northampton*, as a leading member of the council in London—"The only hindrance," he states in this document, "is the want of means to carry out the necessary works. This it is proposed to meet by a general appeal to the nobility and gentry of England, Ireland, and Scotland, either by a letter of the King himself, or of some commissioned by his royal authority, for subscriptions in and of the undertaking; the amount to be graduated according to a scale given in the project. The sums raised in England to be applied to the use of the precincts of the English lords and their undertakers; those in Scotland, to those of the Scottish; and those in Ireland, to the precincts assigned to the servitors and natives. The clergy should be invited to contribute for the building of churches. A roll of contributors to be recorded in Chancery." This was akin to *Chichester's* plan of carrying out a successful plantation in Ulster, and prob-

ably indeed, *Sir Hugh Worrall* was but the deputy's mouthpiece in submitting his project to the King and his subjects.

(42). *Two stories high*.—This house, somewhat improved probably, was afterwards dignified with the title of *Castlebagshaw*. While *Sir Hugh Wirral* held the proportion of *Monaghan*, a settler named *Sir Edward Bagshaw* held one pole called *Gariathranie*, and either he or his son afterwards became the owner of the whole property. On the 2nd of December, 1628, *Sir Edward Bagshaw* obtained a re-grant to him and his heirs and assigns, forever, as an undertaker, of the entire proportion of land by the late general survey called the middle proportion of *Monaghan*, containing 1,590 acres, erecting the same into a manor, to be called the manor of *Castlebagshawe*, with power to reserve 450 acres in demesne, to impark 300 acres, to be held as of the castle of *Dublin*, in free and common socage, subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. By an inquisition taken at *Belturbett*, on the 12th of June, 1661, it was found that *Sir Edward Bagshaw*, late of *Finglasse*, in the county of *Dublin*, had been in possession until the 28th of May, 1654, but at that date had signed it away partly as a marriage dowry with his daughter, *Anne Bagshaw*, who married *Thomas Richardson, Esq.*, of *Dublin*, and partly for the consideration of 600*l.* paid by the latter to him [*Sir Edward*]. On the 7th of May, 1661, *Thomas Richardson* sold to *Humphrey Perrott* the several parcels of the estate called *Monaghan*, two polls; *Dromchoole*, one pole; *Bailliehue*, *Edingullen*, and $\frac{1}{2}$ pole of *Mullaghboy*, reserving on the lands a yearly rent of 18*s.*; *Derryvony*, *Necorragh*, and *Cloneny*, reserving 6*l.* 17*s.* yearly, as rent; *Camleer*, *Drumgart*, *Kilcarobagh*, and *Tumason*, reserving 16*s.* 8*d.* yearly; *Drumbrora*, 4*l.*; *Kenaghan* and *Temconrode*, 10*s.*; *Fugh*, *Droughill*, and *Teere-Gormley*. On the 30th April, 1661, *Richardson* sold to *Thomas Gwilliams*, the lands of *Aghacrosskilley*, *Quillaghan*, and *Corquill*, 4 polls, lying in the parish of *Dromlane*, and manor of *Castlebagshaw*. And on the 30th April, 1661, in consideration of a sum of 464*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* he sold to *Ambrose Bedell* of *Carne*, in the county of *Cavan*, the lands of *Coney*, two polls; *Ardea*, two polls, *Greaghane*, one pole; *Anture*, one pole; *Killewooly* and *Tenorerine*, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ pole; and *Clonoluligg*, one pole. *Ambrose Bedell* was then [1661] in peaceable possession. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, *Cavan*, (1) Car. II.

made it away to Mr. Adwick, who is in possession. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 3, viz.,

- 2 having 96 acres le piece.
- 1 having 48 acres.

Lessees, 5, viz.,

- 2 having 48 acres le piece.
- 1 having 72 acres.
- 2 having 24 acres le piece.

Cottagers I saw not any, nor any Counterpan to make it appear ; but they said they have eight, whose Names they gave me.

These eight Families, with the eight Cottagers, are able to make 26 men ; but for Arms I saw not any, neither is there any place to keep them in.

XXII. 2,000 Acres.

Sir Stephen Butler holdeth 2,000 acres, called *Clonose* (43). The Castle and Bawne are finished, being of great strength. He hath built two Corn Mills, and one fulling Mill. He is also able to arm 200 men with very good Arms, which are within his Castle ; besides others which are dispersed to his Tenants for their safe-guard. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 15, viz.,

- 1 having 144 acres.
- 2 having 96 acres.
- 6 having 48 acres le piece.
- 6 having 24 acres le piece.

Lessees for 3 lives, 11, viz.,

- 1 having 264 acres.
- 1 having 144 acres.
- 9 having 40 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 15, viz.,

- 1 having 144 acres.
- 5 having 48 acres le piece.
- 6 having 24 acres le piece.
- 3 having 12 acres le piece.

Total, 41 Families, besides Undertenants, which are able to make 139 Men armed.

XXIII. 384 Acres.

Sir Stephen Butler, and the Undertakers of the Precinct, are to plant a Town at *Belurbet*,

(43). *Clonose*.—This undertaker died on the 21st September, 1631, and was succeeded by his son, then ten years old. His wife, whose name was Maria Brindsley, was living in 1638. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (60, 62) Car. I). At *Sir Stephen Butler*'s death his estate contained 2,760 acres, all of which was re-granted for his son by patent from the Crown, on the 9th of September, 1639, to his trustees, *Sir Robert Dillon*, *Sir Charles Coote*, and *Lady Maria Butler*, widow of the deceased baronet. The entire property, consisting of several frag-

ments, was granted as the manor of *Castlebutler al' Belurbet*. The trustees, on the 20th of May, 1640, leased to *Edmond Sherwine* of *Greenagh*, the two half poles of *Crenehone* and *Crenebane* and the pole of *Deringlasse*, in the large proportion of *Clonossy*, or *Clonose*, as the name is written by *Pynnar*, for a term of 87 years. *James Butler* died in July, 1640, and his brother, *Stephen*, then 11 years old, succeeded as next heir. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (67) Car. I.

and for that there is allowed 384 acres of Land (44), and to build a Church. In this Town there are Houses built of Cage-Work all inhabited with *Brittish* Tenants, and most of them Tradesmen, each of these having a House and Garden Plott, with four acres of Land, and Commons for certain numbers of Cows and Garrons.

XXIV. 2,000 Acres.

Reinald Horne was the first Patentee. *Sir George Manneringe* (45), *Knight*, hath 2,000 acres called *Lisreagh*. Upon this Proportion there is built a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 44 feet long, 12 feet high, with two Flankers; also a brick House of the same length, and 20 feet high, all very good work and strong. There is also a small Village consisting of seven Houses, all which are inhabited with *English* Families. I find planted and estated with *Brittish* Families upon the Land,

Freeholders, 3, viz.,

1 having 144 acres.

2 having 192 acres.

Lessees for years, 21, viz.,

4 having 48 acres le piece.

1 having 51½ acres.

8 having 24 acres le piece.

4 having 48 acres le piece.

3 having 20 acres le piece.

1 having 30 acres le piece (46).

Total, 24 Families, besides Under-
tenants, being able to make 48
Men, as they said, but I did not
see them.

(44). *Of Land*.—The lands for the purposes above specified were Keil-Italry al' Belturbett, Derryphadd, Cornamucklagh, Keil-Ivehy, Moy, and Shroghecoglin. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (67) Car. I.

(45). *Manneringe*.—The proportion known as *Lisreagh* originally belonged to *Horne*, who sold it to *Sir Nicholas Lusher*, who, in turn, sold it on the 14th of March, 1613, to *Sir George Mainwaring* of Ight-feilde, in the county of Salop or Shropshire.

(46). *Le piece*.—The following freeholders were made by *Sir Nicholas Lusher*:—"On the 10th of October, 1612, he granted to *Henry Chesman*, the two poles of Drinnan; on the 26th July, 1613, he granted *John Taylor* the two poles called Dromhillagh; and on the 20th July, 1615, he granted to *Walter Bassett*, the poll called Kilnever,—all these grants in perpetuity." The following is an account of the sub-letting by *Sir George Mainwaring* on this property:—"On the 6th of April, 1622, he granted in fee to *Nicholas Lysley*, the two polls called Pollebane. On the 20th of August, 1616, he demised to *Thomas Jackson* the poll of Agharaugh, and two acres of Gortnecosse, with a messuage for a term of 41 years. The said *Sir George*, on the 2nd of October, 1617, did demise unto *Robert Gamble*, and his assigns, a messuage and 30 acres of lande, parcell of the pole called Recorricke al' Gama, and all that pole called Crabbiney, to hold for the like term. The said *Sir George*, on the 1st of August, 1618, did demise unto *Richard Castledine*, one water-myle and

myl-howse, with parcell of the two poles of Drynan, for 31 yeares. The said *Sir George*, by his indenture beringe date the same day did demise and sell unto *Edward Lockington* and his assigns, the ½ pole called Corlorogagh, and two acres of land, parcell of Drynan aforesaid, for 39 yeares. The said *Sir George*, on the laste day, 1627, did demise unto *Thomas Guye* and his assigns, 6 acres in Gama with a house thereupon built, and 45½ acres, parcell of Racorrick, together with one other house in Gama aforesaid, and three acres thereunto belonging, and 30 acres more, parcell of Racorrick aforesaid, and also one other house at Gama aforesaid, with 7 acres thereunto belonging, for 25 yeares. The said *Sir George*, on the 25th July, 1616, did demise unto *John Broadhurst* and his assigns a messuage and one acre in Gama, with ½ a pole called Aghnaghlogh, for 41 yeares. The said *Sir George*, on the 20th August, 1616, did demise unto *Richard Nutkin* and his assigns ½ of the pole called Corlysally, for 41 yeares. The said *Sir George*, on the same day, did demise unto *John Reley* and his assigns the other half of the said poll, for 41 yeares. The said *Sir George*, on the 20th August, in the same yeare, did demise unto *Robert Newton* and his assigns a messuage and parcell of grounde belonging thereto in Gama aforesaid, and ½ of the poll called Aghnaghlogh, for 41 yeares. The said *Sir George*, on the same day, did demise unto *Bartholomew Jackson* and his assigns the other pole called Pollybrally, for 41 yeares. The said *Sir George*, con-

XXV. 1,500 Acres.

William Snow (47) was the first Patentee. *Peter Ameas, Esq.*, hath 1,500 acres, called *Tonagh* (48). Upon this Proportion there is a good Bawne of Lime and Stone, 75 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers; a stone House within it 60 feet long, and three stories high, strongly built; and a small Village not far from it, consisting of seven Houses. There is planted and estated upon this Proportion, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

3 having 480 jointly.

1 having 48 acres.

Lessees for years, 7, viz.,

3 having 96 acres le piece.

1 having 96 acres.

1 having 68 acres.

2 having 96 acres le piece.

Total, 11 Families, besides divers
Undertenants, which are able to
make 30 Men.

tinuing still his seizen and possession of the said manor, by his deed of feoffment, bearing date the 20th October, 1627, did graunte the said manor and great proportion of Lisreagh unto *Thomas, late Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh*, his heirs and assigns forever. The said bishop, on the 6th January, 1628, died seized of the premises aforesaid, and after his death *Roger Moyne* was thereof seized, and now [1629] is the reputed tenant and possessor of the same." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (23) Car. I). Instead of 21 leaseholders on this proportion as represented by Pynnar, there are only thirteen names recorded in the above extract from the inquisition of 1629. Respecting these, it is added, that "neither the said bishop, nor said other persons, did take the oathe of supremacye, and soe the said Sir George [Mainwaring] the provisoe and condition did breake, whereby the premises unto the late King, his heirs and successors, did escheate and come." In this case there had been progress made in the general work of planting and building during the interval between the time of Pynnar's report and the taking of the inquisition in 1629. Pynnar reported 24 families, making 48 able men, adding the rather significant observation, "but I did not see them;" but they were really forthcoming, as we learn from the following passage of the inquisition above quoted:—"There is erected upon the poll called Oughall al' Moynes-Hall, one fayer bawne of lyme and stone, and within the same a large, fayer, and spacious castle, or capitall mansion-house and buildinge, of lyme-stone, vaulted, with three storyes in height, and havinge within 26 fayer romes, with two flankers for the defence thereof; and alsoe a towne or village havinge 24 English-like howses and more, all inhabited with Englishe and Britishe famelies, in performance of the said plantation." It was also found by this inquisition that the inhabitants of Oughall, alias Moynes-Hall, required a fair to be appointed on the 1st of May, and the other "on the 8th of September, being Lady-day in harvist," as on those days there were no fairs held nearer than seven miles from that

place. It was also found that the old ruined parish church of Annakelly, which stood on an island "not passable for water in the tyme of winter," ought not to be rebuilt, but that a new edifice should be erected on the top of a hill at Gortneishe, where *Roger Moyne*, the landlord, was willing to grant an acre and a half for that purpose, and in the vicinity of which "the English plantation and most nombre of the inhabitants dwell." On the 13th of July, 1629, there was a grant to *Abigail Moigne*, widow of *Roger Moigne* and *John Greenham*, of the great proportion of Lisreagh, to be called the manor of Moigne Hall, with all manorial rights, and subject to the terms for renewal of grants.

(47) *William Snow*.—Carew's report of this patentee is in the following terms:—"William Snowe, 1500 acres; never came, nor any for him. Passed over his proportion to *William Lusher*, son to *Sir Nicholas Lusher*—nothing done. Since our return from the north [to Dublin], *William Lusher*, son to *Sir Nicholas*, who bought *William Snowe's* proportion of 1500 acres, came over with his father, took out warrants of possession, and is gone down to his land."

(48) *Tonagh*.—*Peter Ameas* would appear, in turn, to have soon disposed of this proportion to a Dublin purchaser named *John Greenham*. The latter died in 1637, and was succeeded by his son and heir *Thomas Greenham*, who was then of age, and unmarried. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (50) Car. I). On the 4th of July, 1629, a re-grant was made to *John Greenham*, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the middle proportion of *Tonnagh*, containing 1606 acres in the barony of Lough-tee; to be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises were to be divided into a manor, to be called the manor of *Tonnagh*, with liberty to create tenures, and hold 600 acres in demesne, and to impark 450 acres; to hold court baron and court leet; with liberty of free warren; pursuant to the conditions of the plantation.

The Precinct of *Clonmahown* (49), allotted to Servitors and Natives. (See pp. 340-342).

XXVI. 2,000 Acres.

The *Lord Lambert* hath 2,000 acres called the *Carrig* (50). Upon this there is a large stone Bawne, and a Stone House, which is finished long since, being inhabited with an *English Gentleman*, who is there resident with his Family.

XXVII. 1,000 Acres.

Captain Lyons and *Joseph Jones* were first Patentees (see p. 341). The *Lord Lambert* hath 1,000 acres called *Tullacullen* (51). Here is built a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 200 feet square, 14 feet high, and a deep Moate about it; hath two Flankers. There is a small House, in which there dwells an *English Gentleman* with his Family, having three other Families about the Bawne, which hold land for 21 years apiece.

XXVIII.

Lieutenant Atkinson and *Lieutenant Russell* (52) were first Patentees. *Archibald Moore* hath 1,000 acres (see pp. 346, 347). Upon this there is a strong Bawne of Sodds, with two Flankers, in which there is an Irish House, and one dwelling in it.

XXIX. 500 Acres.

Captain Fleming (53) hath 500 acres. Upon this he hath built a small Bawne, and a House, all of Lime and Stone, very strong.

XXX. 2,000 Acres.

Mullmory McHugh O'Reley (54) hath 2,000 acres called *Commet*. Here is a strong House of Lime and Stone, 40 feet long, 20 feet broad, and three stories high; and a Bawn about it of Sodds. He hath made no estates.

XXXI. 300 Acres.

Phillip McTirlagh hath 300 acres, called *Wateragh*. Here is a Bawne of Sodds, and an Irish House within it, in which he is now dwelling.

(49). *Clonmahown*.—Thenatives were given this barony, as, although it contained some good patches for the accommodation of servitors, the lands were generally wet, rough, and barren. Even at the present day, the general surface of the barony is a singularly varied mixture of bogs and marshes; and as might be expected the people are generally poor, and miserably provided with houses.

(50). *Carrig*.—See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (6) Jac. I. Carew's report is briefly thus:—"Sir Oliver Lambert, 2000 acres as servitor in Clonmahon, is providing materials, but has built nothing."

(51). *Tullacullen*.—Carew reports of these servitors that "they have done no work." Sir Oliver Lambert purchased this proportion from the two servitors above named to whom it was originally granted. On the 1st of April, 1618, Lambert demised to James Large and

Katherine his wife, for the term of their natural lives, the lands of Tullocullen and Cordroman, one pole each, the $\frac{1}{2}$ pole of Monyntowne, the $\frac{1}{2}$ pole of Corgeshedagh, the pole of Cartran-Igally, and the pole of Cartronfrigh. Lambert died on the 9th of June, in the same year. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (6) Jac. I.

(52). *Russell*.—Of these servitors Carew states, in 1611, that they "have 500 acres apiece, and have done nothing but take possession."

(53). *Fleming*.—This was Gerald Fleming, who died in 1615, his son Thomas being then 26 years old, and married. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (8) Jac. I.

(54). *O'Reley*.—This chief was styled of Agh [] *Ly-cigderagh*, county of Cavan. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (1) Jac. I.

The Precinct of *Tullaghconche* [Tullyhunco], allotted to Scottish Undertakers.

XXXII. 2,000 Acres.

Sir Alexander Hamilton (55), the first Patentee. *Jane Hamilton* (56), late wife to *Claude Hamilton*, deceased, hath 2,000 acres, called *Carrotubber* and *Clonkine*. Upon this Proportion there is a strong Castle, and a Bawne of Lime and Stone thoroughly finished, herself with her Family dwelling therein (57). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 6 (58), viz.,

1 having 288 acres.

1 having 144 acres.

1 having 96 acres.

3 having 48 acres le piece.

Total, these 31 Families, with
divers Undertenants will make 52

(55). *Hamilton*.—See p. 306. This knight, who was styled of Enderwicke in Scotland, was granted by the Crown, on the 23rd July, 1610, the two small proportions of Clonkyne and Carrotubber with the advowson of the church of Killshandragh.

(56). *Jane Hamilton*.—This lady was the wife of Sir Claude Hamilton, and afterwards of Sir Arthur Forbes of Granard. Sir Claude died before his father, and when his widow, Jane Hamilton, is mentioned by Pynnar as having the two proportions of Clonkine and Carrotubber, it is to be understood that she held them as trustee for her son, Sir Francis Hamilton, to whom they had been bequeathed by his grandfather, Sir Alexander Hamilton. This fact is stated in the inquisition above quoted, as follows:—"The said Alexander, 20th of July, 1621, did graunt unto Sir Francis Hamilton, knt. and baronet, sonne and heir unto the said Claude Hamilton, deceased, second sonne to the said Sir Alexander (amongst other things), the said manors and proportions of landes called Clonkine and Carrotubber, with all the townes unto the same belonging, with the advoation and right of patronage of the rectorie or church of Kilshandrie al' Kiltawnagh. . . . The said Sir Francis is now the reputed and knowne freeholder and tenant in possession of the manors and proportions aforesaid; and the said Sir Francis, Sir Arthur Forbesse, knt. and baronet, in right of the lady, Jane Forbesse, mother of the said Sir Francis, and their assignes, are now in quiet possession thereof. The said poll of land called Killshandra doth lie within the next adjoining the proportions aforesaid, and the same was held and possessed with the same proportions until it was found out to be a concealment, and afterwards by letters patent granted by John Hamilton (of Corronery or Hansborrow), on the 10th of July, 1615. The said John Hamilton did sell and alien forever all his right and interest in Killshandragh to Sir Francis Hamilton." It was also found by this inquisition that it would be very convenient for the inhabitants of these proportions, and a great furtherance of the plantation, to have the weekly market, then held at Killshandra on Monday, altered to Wednesday; and the yearly fairs there held on St. Simon's and St. Jude's Days continued,

together with another fair on St. Barnaby's Day. It was represented that these fairs and markets would not prejudice any others, "there not being anie town or place within 8 myles distant of the said towne of Killshandra." It was also found that it would be a very convenient arrangement for the inhabitants to have a weekly market every Saturday, and two fairs yearly, at a place called *Serebagh*, in the proportion of Carratubber, the first fair to be held on Ascension Day and the other on St. Andrew's Day "there not being anie faires or markytts upon anie of these daies kept at anie towne or place within 8 myles distant of the towne of Serebagh." On the 17th June, 1631, a re-grant was made to Sir Francis Hamilton of the three proportions called Clonkine, Carrotubber, and Clonyne *alias* Taghleigh; the lands to be created into a manor, to be called the manor of Castle-kaylaghe, enjoying all manorial rights and privileges.

(57). *Dwelling therein*.—Respecting her place of residence in Cavan, which she occupied during her widowhood, we have the following account from the inquisition already quoted:—"Since the time of the graunts made unto the said Sir Alexander Hamilton and Sir Claud Hamilton, there hath bein built upon the pole of land called Killagh al' Castle-Killagh, within the said proportion of Clonkeyne, by the said Sir Alexander and his assigns, one bawne of lyme and stone 60 foote square and 12 foote in height; and within the same is built a fayre and sufficient castle or capitall mansion house of lyme and stone, four storyes in height, with flankers and turrets for the better defence thereof, and two turrets of lyme and stone upon the wall, for defence thereof; and alsoe a towne consisting of 34 English-like houses, and British inhabitants dwelling within the same, upon the pole of land called Killshandra, where the said marketts and fayers are kept."

(58). *Freeholders, 6*.—The inquisition names four freeholders found on these two small proportions of Clonkine and Carrowtubber in 1629, viz., *George Griffin*, *Francis Cofyn*, *Stephen Hunt*, and *Richard Lighterfoot*, to whom Sir Alexander Hamilton had granted deeds of feoffment by Claud Hamilton, his son and attorney.

Lessees, 25 (59), viz.,

2 having 144 acres le piece.

3 having 96 acres.

14 having 48 acres le piece.

4 having 96 acres le piece.

2 having 24 acres le piece.

Men. (See note 39).

Fourteen of the Heads of these families have now taken the Oath of Supremacy (60).

XXXIII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Claude Hamilton was first Patentee (see p. 307, and preceding notes). The said *Jane Hamilton* hath 1,000 acres, called *Clomny* (61). There is no Castle built (62), but there is a Town consisting of 22 Houses; but the Inhabitants have no Estates as yet, for she alledgeth she can not make them any, her son being under Age; but hereafter they shall [have estates] (63); and in the mean time ten of the principal of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy (64). Each of these have a House and Garden Plot, with four acres of Land and Commons for some Cows.

XXXIV. 2,000 Acres.

Alexander and John Aghmootie were the first Patentees (65), (see p. 307). *James Craigg, Knt.*

(59). *Lessees, 25.*—The inquisition names only four of these lessees, viz., *Stephen and Susan Hunt* for the term of their natural lives; and *Adam Maunderson, John McVittye, and John Acheson*, each for a term of 21 years. These leases were granted from *Sir Alexander*, "by the Lady *Jane Forbessie*, then called by the name of *Jane Hamilton*, widow, relict of the said *Claud Hamilton*, and attorney lawfully authorized by the said *Sir Alexander*."

(60). *Supremacy.*—On this subject we have the following account from the inquisition of 1629:—"The said *Sir Francis Hamilton, John Acheson, Joh. McVittye, Adam Maunderson, Richard Lighterfoote, Stephen Hunt, Francis Cofyn, nor Geo. Griffin*, did take, within one yere before the several graunts aforesaid, nor within six months after, the said oath of supremacy, wherefore the said *Sir Alex. Hamilton* the conditions and provisoes in the letters patents did breake, whereby the premises unto the late King, and unto *Charles* that now is, did escheate and come."

(61). *Clomny.*—This proportion in a few years often changed hands, after its original demise from the Crown. On the 14th of August, 1610, the premises, correctly called *Clomny at Taughleagh*, were granted by patent to *Sir Claud Hamilton*, son of *Sir Alexander Hamilton* above named. *Sir Claud*, on the 30th of October, 1611, sold this proportion to *John Hamilton*, of *Corronery*, in the county of *Cavan*, Esq. "The said *John Hamilton*, the 14th December, 1614, by his deed of feoffment, did enfeoffe *William Lawder* of *Belhaven*, in *Scotland*, of the said manor and proportion to hold unto the said *William* his heirs and assigns for ever." *William Lawder* died on the 30th of March, 1618, and his son *Alexander*, who succeeded him, sold the property on the 1st of April, in the same year, to *Sir Alexander Hamilton*, whose heir and grandson, *Sir Francis Hamilton* had thus restored to him what had been sold by his father, *Sir Claude*.

(62). *No castle built.*—Although there was no 'capitall mansion' erected on this proportion at the time of *Pynnar's* survey and report, it was found by inquisition in 1629, that "upon the pole of land called *Derendreheid*, parcell of the proportion of *Clomny*, there is built a bawne of lyme and stone 60 foote in breadth, 120 in length, and 10 in height; and a stone house of two storyes in height, with 4 turrets at each quarter, for and in full performance of the said plantation of all the said proportions of *Clonkine, Carrotubber, and Clonyn*."

(63). *Shall have estates.*—This promise appears, from the inquisition, to have been afterwards performed at least to some extent. *George Lawder* is named as a freeholder of two poles; *George Lynford* and *Thomas Cooper* got leases for the terms of thirty years and twenty-nine years, respectively.

(64). *Supremacy.*—It was found by the inquisition, already quoted, that neither the owner nor occupiers of this property had taken the necessary oath, and therefore, that it escheated and was vested again in the Crown. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Cavan*, (24) Car. I.) In 1611, *Carew* reported of these *Hamiltons*, father and son, as follows:—"Sir *Alexander Hamilton*, knight, 2,000 acres in the county of *Cavan*; has not appeared; his son *Claude* took possession, and brought two tenants, three servants, and six artificers; is in hand with building a mill, trees felled; hath a minister, but not yet allowed by the bishop; has raised stones, and hath competent arms in readiness. Besides, there are arrived upon that proportion since our return [to *Dublin*] from the journey (as we are informed), twelve tenants and artificers who intend to reside there, and to build upon the same."

(65). *Patentees.*—Of these brothers, *Carew*, in 1611, reports:—"John *Auchmothy* and *Alexander Auchmothy*, 1000 [apiece]; have not appeared; *James Craigie* is their deputy for five years, who has brought four artificers of divers sorts, with their wives and families, and two

hath 2,000 acres called *Drumheda* and *Kilagh* (66). Upon this Proportion there is built a strong Bawne of Lime and Stone, 75 feet square, 16 feet high, and four round Towers to flank the wall. He hath also a strong and large Castle of the length of the Bawne, 20 feet broad within the walls, and five stories high. There is another House in building within the Bawne, which is now built to the Top of the wall, and shall be a Platform for two small Pieces [of cannon]. (67). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants, which are resident (68),

servants. Stone raised for building a mill; and trees felled; a walled house with a smith's forge built; four horses and mares upon the ground; with competent arms." Craig became the owner of these proportions, as we here learn from Pynnar.

(66). *Drumheda and Kilagh*.—Alexander Aghmootie sold his proportion of Dromheada to James Craig on the 14th of August, 1610; and John Aghmootie sold his proportion of Kilagh or Keylagh, to the same purchaser, on the 16th of August 1610—not long after the these undertakers had taken out their patents. In addition to these extensive lands, James Craig purchased 8 poles from a native named Brian M'Kergeren, who had received a grant of this property from the Crown. The name of these 8 poles were Dronge, Cornacran, Cornahan, Clontegrigenie, Derranlaster, Dromlara, Ardlogher, and Killneskellan, and Killegarnan. On the 26th of April, 1631, a re-grant was made to Sir James Craige, and dame Mary his wife, of the two small proportions of Keylagh and Dromheda, each containing 1,000 acres, and the portion called Dronge, containing 400 acres; the lands to be created into a manor, to be called the manor of Castlecraige, with all manorial rights and privileges; and to be held pursuant to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. *Dronge* contained the several parcels called Aghanerrie, Knocknecolom, Tawneskregrie, Tanegarnuck, Knocknever, and Cortasse; *Killegarnan* contained the separate parcels called Aghowleg, Aghemore, Gillegarnan, Monenemullagh, and Carnillcale; *Cornacran* contained the several parcels Aghogreagh, Chorowe, Margebochegin, Tawchoboune, Genganby, Gerryhiggin, and Monevalle, Leycreagh, and Knocknecarm; *Clontegrigenie* contained the several parcels called Corraghtmaght, Tawnelagh, and Aghbellenagheneddie; *Ardlogher* and Killneskillen contained the several parcels called Lismole, Gortinfadlany, Aghemorelismole, Mullaghnelaroen, Derryvelim, [], Gatinetubber, Tawnenaltan, Cathrasnen, and Boylenane; *Derranlaster* contained the several parcels called Knockcollen, Sheeran, Gerradius, Kerrinkeister, Corlemadrum, Aghanmore, and Derrinkeister; *Dromlara* contained the several parcels called Mullaghdownleglen, Aghamullen, Drumlaremeen, Drumlarregarrow, and Gurtinorleagh; and *Cornahan* contained the several parcels called Knocktullester, Carlea, Corneskear, and Aghacameagh. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (27) Car. I.) The bordering lands of Sir James Craig and Sir Francis Hamilton became, to some extent, debateable ground, on which these knights waged a fierce controversy for a time on the question of mearings. It was found by inquisition, (24) Car. I.—“That the two poles of Derrywyle or Derryweill doe contayne two poles of lande distinctly called by the

several names following [rather containing the following several parcels], viz., Culnahorna, Dromcassidie, Gortny, Culneneni, Cormonagh, Curierin, Curiarte, Curnemullie, Curranna, and Coanespidocke. These have been occupied as part of the proportion of Cloyn al' Taughleagh, until of late they have been wrongfullie withheld and possessed by Sir James Craige, Knight, and his assigns. The lands of Dromany and Codrum, likewise possessed by the said Sir James Craige as parcell of his proportion of Dromheada, are two other distinct whole poles of land, and have been ever soe called, knowne, and distinguished from the said two poles of Derryweill, and neither of them, in noe part nor any wise, belonging unto the other.” (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (28) Car. I.)

(67). *Small Pieces*.—An inquisition—(27) Car. I.—states that, in 1629, Sir James Craig had built a castle, on the parcell of his property called Croghan, 35 feet in height, within a circuit or enclosure of 240 feet in circumference.

(68). *Are resident*.—By the inquisition—(27) Car. I., there is no mention whatever of any British families being settled in 1629 on Sir James Craig's lands; but there is the following list of the names of such natives as were there and then accommodated with portions of land, viz., Bryan bane McKernan, the pole of Croghan; Gille oge McKernan, the pole of Dourany; Eugene boy O'Rely, the pole of Laghin; Corkonagh McKernan, the polls of Teighabane, Nullaghdow, Aghadravie, Mockane, Mac-hernagh, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ pole of Dromynan; [] McKernan, the pole of Keylagh; Brian oge McKernan, the pole of Dromartragh; Donagh McKernan, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the pole of Clovagh; Eugene McCahill McKernan, the polls of Clonkenie, [], and Killengrosse; Farrell oge McKernan, the polls of Tutreagh, Carontonie, Killnegrahan, and []; John McEdmond oge McKernan, the two poles of Listernan; William McKernan, Teig McKernan, and Thomas McShane birn McKernan, Dromfarte $\frac{1}{2}$ pole, Quitemore, $\frac{1}{2}$ and [], $\frac{1}{2}$; [] McKernan and Pat McKernan, Dromlife, $\frac{1}{2}$ a pole, and Cadarin, $\frac{1}{2}$ pole; Donald McMaister and Wm. McMaister, Loghnafinny $\frac{1}{2}$ pole, and Coromaghin, $\frac{1}{2}$ pole; Cahir McShane, John boy McBryan, and Eugene McThomas, the polls of Dawnonaironagh and Agycorr; Donald oge and Eugene McCormick oge McKernan, the polls of Annagharcran, Derrylane, and Corryn; Donnell McKernan, and [], Dromheadan and Tullagh, one pole; Eugene McThomas reagh, Caher McShane and [] boy McBryen, and Wm. McFarrell McKernan, the polls of Tullaghnevagh, Portleaghell, and Derrirkell; Mullagher McMaister, Phelim McMaister, and Chononohort McKernan, the polls of Carrawdonagh, Drommany,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

- 1 having 96 acres.
- 3 having 48 acres le piece.
- 1 having 24 acres.

Lessees, 7, viz.,

- 1 having 168 acres.
- 3 having 48 acres le piece.
- 3 having 24 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 21.

Each of these has a House and Backside, with Commons for greasing of cows.

Total, 33 Families are resident on the Land, and are able to make 100 men.

XXXV. 1,000 Acres.

John Browne was first Patentee (69). *Archibald Acheson, Esq.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Carrowdownan* (70). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Stone and Clay, being 100

and Crodram; Eugene McCormick oge McKernan, the $\frac{3}{4}$ of the pole of Boheron; Dermot McKelly, the pole of Ardra; and Eugene McCormuck boye, and Wm. McCormuck boye, the pole of Dromgiloskie.

(69). *Patentee*.—See p. 308. Carew's account of John Browne is "that in 1611, he had sent an agent who took possession, set the lands to the Irish, returned into Scotland, and performed nothing."

(70). *Carrowdownan*.—Archibald Acheson is represented by an inquisition—(31) Car. I.—as purchasing this proportion from John Browne on the 10th of December, 1628; but there must be a mistake in this date, as Pynnar mentions that the lands were in Acheson's possession earlier than 1620. Indeed it is well ascertained that he owned this proportion from the year 1612. Sir Archibald originally belonged to a place called Goose-ford, or Guiseford, in the county of Haddington. In 1628 he was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, and enjoyed in succession the several high positions, in Scotland, of Solicitor-General, Senator of the College of Justice, and Joint-Secretary of State. "He possessed a large and elegant mansion in the Cannongate of Edinburgh, which still remains, presenting over the doorway a crest exhibiting the figure of a cock mounted on a trumpet, with the motto *Vigilantibus*, and the date 1633. Over two upper windows are the letters S. A. A., and D. M. H., the initials of Sir Archibald Acheson and his wife Dame Margaret Hamilton. Sir Archibald died at Letterkenny, county Donegal, in 1634. He left two sons, viz., Patrick, who succeeded him, and died in 1638, and George, third baronet, and owner of the Irish estates." The following notice of Sir Archibald and his family was written after his death by Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet:—"Sir Archibald Acheson of Glencairney, conjunct secretary with the said Earl of Stirling, enjoyed the place but few years, and had no land in Scotland, but some four hundred pounds sterling in Ireland of the Earl of Tyrone's lands. His eldest son was of great expectation, having married a rich heiress in England. He died the first year of their marriage, without issue. Of his

second wife, Sir William Hamilton's daughter, he had but one son, George; but his mother turned Papist after Sir Archibald's death, and said she had ventured her soul for an *Acheson*. He died of a pestilential fever; and it is thought that his son George shall get nothing of that estate, it being all destroyed by war in the late [1641] troubles." (See Scotstarvet's *Staggering State*, p. 77.) But Sir John Scott was mistaken in supposing that Sir George Acheson would lose the family property in Ulster. His representatives, now earls of Gosford, continue to enjoy their broad lands in the counties of Cavan and Armagh at the present day. The earl that now [in 1876] has offered the Cavan estate for sale. The several poles of which this proportion was made up contained, in each case, a number of distinct parcels known by the following names:—"The pole of *Tagheoskery* was also called Tecosker, of which Knocknelag, Ferrivirry, Aughinlagh, Cloncullen, Arvaghbeg, Arvaghmore, and Knockulguin were parcells. The pole of *Tonitragh* is also called Tonelitrigh, and Corhonge, of which Cornecamragh, Derricloygh, Annaghmorman, Gurtenmore, [], Moneycletlogh, Tewagh, Tonaghboy, Bellaghecorlea, Skenaghesh, Garvagh, Corrifoghan, Ballaghnaknok, and Seshiagh, are parcells. *Dromcherin* was also called Coullisbrenton, and contained the parcells of Aghengreagh, Corleagh, Craphogagh, Gurtenfadd, Tonemaccarmick, Cudroawgan, Gargyaghneserymoge, and Skregg. *Garrownerye* is also called Corronerye, and contains the parcells of Cloneyn, Gannan, Aughkin-teere, and Corrynarrymore. *Gartellogh* contains the parcells of Gartearne, Anneygheill, Teivecanib, Tonalein, Keldragh, Tonaghboy, Kilgarve, Leevone, and Gartenknok. *Farrongarronoughtra* contains the parcells called Aghvonteskyn, Tawnaghnesoll, Gobnecurr, Cloyragh, Gortenmorenecloyrin, Gortenmeenecloyrin, Skraghvieilkenan, Cormoynecloyrin, Straghmoneduff, Knockmonderbullin, and Knocknemullan. *Farrangarrincightra* contains the parcells called Lagnegrowagh, Knockneshervoke, Tawnaghboy, Cornegh, Spencokagh, Garridonnellmacewir, Moneinlehan, and Townaghnaowle. *Drommallo* is

feet square, with four Flankers, and 9 feet high, standing upon a Mountain (71). Here is planted upon this Land both *English and Scottish*; but they have not taken out their Leases, which I saw drawn and signed, and so many Tenants were named (72).

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

1 having 144 acres.

1 having 120 acres.

Lessees for years, 19, viz.,

4 having 50 acres le piece.

2 having 48 acres jointly.

5 having 30 acres le piece.

3 having 36 acres le piece.

2 having 48 acres jointly.

3 having 48 acres le piece.

Total, 21 Families, consisting of 28 Men.

Eight of these Tenants have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

The rest refused till they have taken out their Leases.

The Precinct of *Tullagha* (73), allotted to Servitors and Natives.

XXXVI. 1,500 Acres.

Captain Culme and *Walter Talbott*, have 1,500 Acres, called *Balleconnel* (74). Upon this Proportion there is built a strong Bawne 100 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers, and within the Bawne a strong Castle of Lime and Stone three stories high: This standeth in a very good and convenient place for the strength and service of the Country.

also called Drommalt, and contains Dromnefalla, Derrenedoyne, Knoknegroggah, Droonan, Balaness, Tewboy, Cunnena, Tewneemoone, Cronekillan, Corgiaghbeg, Corgiaghmore, Cloyragh, Knokwhossan, Knokgilheeny, Shentonagh, Droncyn, Dirlister, Ghengan, Knoknekearoe, Reaske, Polfaddaghym, Keiller, Gortenneiller, Keankiller, Knocknacullen, Knokmundelbagan, and Knockmullen. *Kilsherin* is also called Cormort, and contains the parcels of Dromhallagh, Knockrummer, Corcullentragh, Knockanowle, and Liscormore. *Lecke* contains the parcels called Leckyn, Carricknuske, Knoktoggill, Corgyaghleekyn, Tawnaghorne, Tawnaghbyn, Kearkeele, Tassan, Dromshinagh, Tawnaghtott, and Graphogagh. *Cashell and Creven* contain the several parcels called Gortinneback, Crosekoyle, Knagowell, Gortennewagh, Corliss, Cargyagh-kin, Taghreagh, and Dromghirge. *Corridonoghy* contains the parcels called Aghnecrosse, Dromcaggy, Gobgarrow, Gortinfeenog, Aghnacrossoughtra, Loughdromeaggin, Aghnacrosseightra, Quillagh, Corrilow, Camrowghan, Aughkilbrwyne, Knokithomas, Knokucossan, and Dowlisis. *Corteenagh* contains the parcels called Corriaghy, Aghnecloygh, Cortra, Greoghgerue, Knoknavagh, Carricknoffring, Carrickocury, and Corggaghbane. *Dromgoha* is also called Dromyough, and contains Gortennecnonghro, Mullenemerock, and []. *Aughacorrnan* contains Dromgawnagh, Aghdromphirre, Gortintissan, and Lisgervagh. *Dromchree* contains Dromsheile, Cargyagh, Gortinleclan, Kildragh, and Moneyloyske. And *Drombary* contains Tawnaghnearde and Golandrombary.

Dromtallowin [] Tewaghow and Corduff are parcels of *Brenchill*." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (31) Car. I.

(71). *Upon a Mountain*.—Although this bawne occupied a position so conspicuous, it did not attract any notice from those who held the inquisition above quoted, and who assembled for the purpose of holding their meeting at Killeshandra, on the 29th of Sept., 1630.

(72). *Were named*.—The inquisition already mentioned contains no reference to any tenants occupying this proportion in 1630—English, Irish, or Scotch.

(73). *Tullagha*.—The south-eastern districts of this barony are picturesque and attractive, containing generally very good land, which was wholly appropriated by the servitors; but the central and north-western districts, which fell to the lot of the natives, consist generally of mountainous and moorish tracts, which even now retain their wild and dismal appearance.

(74). *Balleconnel*.—See p. 338. This proportion is called *Beallaconnell* in an inquisition—(29) Car. I.—and is mentioned as having been let by Walter Talbott, on the 1st of September, 1612, to John Talbott of Agher, in the county of Meath, and Walter Brett of Dublin. Walter Talbott died on the 26th of June, 1625, and was succeeded by his son and heir, James Talbott, then only 10 years of age.

XXXVII. 2,000 Acres.

Sir Richard and *Sir George Grimes* have 2,000 Acres (75). Upon this there is built a *Bawn* of Stone and Lime, 60 feet square, and 10 feet high, with a little House in it.

XXXVIII. 1,000 Acres.

William Parsons, Esq., hath 1,000 acres, called *Larga*. It is between divers Men, for it was granted for Concealments, and they were not bound to build at all (76).

XXXIX. 1,000 Acres.

Magauran (77), a Native, hath 1,000 acres. And upon this he hath built a strong and good house of Lime and Stone, with a Ditch cut up about it.

(75). 2,000 Acres.—See p. 337. These lands were divided between the brothers. *Sir Richard*, the elder was styled of *Corismorgan*, in the county of Cavan, and owned 20 poles, viz., *Corismorgan*, one pole; *Kilsob*, 4 poles; *Kilkryne*, *Killsallagh*, one pole; *Drymernagh*, one pole; *Moylagh*, two poles; *Outnekally*, one pole; *Drymussy*, one pole; *Drimecorbe*, one pole; *Drumbarry*, one pole; *Drombochus*, one pole; *Oughragh*, one pole; *Clonkye*, one pole; *Mully*, one pole; *Cordirricorich*, one pole; and *Drimecaske*, one pole. *Sir Richard Grimes* [*Graham*] died on the 7th of November, 1625, and was succeeded by his son *Thomas*, then forty years of age, and married. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (13) Car. I.) *George Graham* had also twenty poles, viz., *Brackly* one pole; *Camerag*, one pole; *Gortnefreighane*, one pole; *Corismorgan*, one pole; *Killsallagh*, one pole; *Mullaowtra*, one pole; *Corr*, one pole; *Tawnyreaske*, one pole; *Aghowlogh*, one pole; *Gortmone*, one pole; and ten poles in *Noclone*. *George Grimes* or *Graham* died on the 9th of October, 1624, and was succeeded by his son *William*, then 30 years of age, and unmarried. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (14) Car. I.) These brothers, *Sir Richard* and *Sir George*, were distinguished officers in the war waged against the Earl of Tyrone, and both appear to have been men of a daring and fearless character. Each commanded a troop of horse, under *Sir George Carew*, when the latter was president of Munster, and both the *Grahams* are mentioned in the *Pacata Hibernia*, as soldiers of rare courage and prowess. They are also spoken of in similar terms by *Fynes Moryson*. At the time of the grants made to them in Ulster as servitors they were both married. *Sir Richard's* wife was *Elizabeth Hetherington*, who belonged to one of seven respectable English families or tribes who had settled together in Queen's county about the year 1560, the others being *Cosbys*, *Hartpoles*, *Bowens*, *Hovendens*, *Ruishes*, and *Barringtons*. By his wife *Sir Richard* had a family of ten children. His brother, *Sir George*, married *Jane Huntingfield*, of *Castle Warnynge*, near *Sallins*, and had by her a family of six children. He married, as his second wife, *Miss Crahall*, and died in 1619. Towards the close of the reign of *James I.*, *Sir Richard Graham*, and his son *William*, were actively engaged in the lawless and cruel plunder of the *Byrnes* of *Wicklow*, a case exhibiting—as described by the protestant historian, *Carte*—"such a scene of iniquity and cruelty, that it is scarce to be paralleled in any age or country." This business

is generally known in Irish history as *The case of the Byrnes*, and the story occupies four folio pages in *Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde*. Although *Sir Richard Graham* had several accomplices to inspire and assist in the robbery, he appears to have commenced the work single-handed, or only with the co-operation of his eldest son *William*, who had married *Jane Browne* of *Mulrakan*, and who appears to have been a flagitious and inhuman man, worthy in all respects of such a father. *Felim* and *Bryan O'Byrne*, whom by false witnesses, they immured for many years in a dungeon, were gentlemen of ancient blood and high position in the county of *Wicklow*. The *Grahams*, and others, among whom *Sir William Parsons* occupied a very "bad eminence," coveted the beautiful and attractive estates of the *Byrnes*, *Parsons* procuring a commission from the Crown, on the allegations of certain "discoverers" to inquire into the title of these gentlemen to their hereditary property. This was all *Parsons* required, and in the cunning exercise of his functions as commissioner, he got the *Byrnes* imprisoned for many years, during which the wife of one of the captives died of grief, and he had leisure to divide the victims' lands among the *Grahams* and two other spoliators named *Esmonde* and *Belling*. *Parsons* himself retaining the most desirable portion, and taking care to secure it irretrievably to himself. Whilst the *Grahams* and the others soon lost their "ill-gotten gains," *Parsons* secured a grant by patent of his share of the spoil, his manor of *Carrick* having been part of the *Byrnes'* property, in right of which he [*Parsons*] was returned M.P. for the county of *Wicklow* in 1630. See *Carte's Life of Ormonde*, vol. I, p. 27; *Burke's Vicissitudes*, third series, pp. 150-56.

(76). *Build at all*.—This property belonging to *Parsons* was afterwards known as the manor of *Pinner* and *Parsonstowne* al' *Corcashell*, in the barony of *Tullagh*. He let it off to tenants who had discovered its several parcels to be concealed lands, and therefore neither he nor they were bound by plantation regulations as to building thereon. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (3 and 4) Car. II.

(77). *Magauran*.—See p. 339. This was *Phelim Macgauran*, who died in January, 1622-23, and was succeeded by his son *Brian*, then 30 years of age and married. *Brian* married *Mary O'Brien*, and died in 1631, his son and heir, *Edward*, being then 15 years of age. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Cavan, (10) and (40) Car. I.

COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

The Precinct of *Knockniny*, allotted to *Scottish Undertakers* (see p. 203).

XL. 3,000 Acres.

The *Lord Burligh* was first Patentee. *Sir James Belford* (78), *Knight*, hath 1,000 acres called *Carrowshee*, alias *Belford*, and 2,000 acres in a remote place, and out of all good way (79).

(78). *Belford*.—This was Sir James Balfour, created Lord Glenawley, and second son of Michael Balfour Lord Burleigh (see p. 300). The latter was undertaker of 2,000 acres, and his eldest son, Michael Lord Mountwhanny, was undertaker for 1,000 acres, but James, the second son above mentioned, appears to have become owner of the 2,000 acres owned by his father, and to have added another 1,000 acres to this estate. His elder brother Michael, on getting his patent, let the lands of his proportion, called Kilspinan, to Irish tenants by the year; and eventually sold out his interest to Sir Stephen Butler. On the tale of land called Crum, a parcel of this proportion, Michael Balfour Lord Mountwhanny had built a bawn 61 feet square and 15 feet high, and within it a castle or capital-messuage, 22 feet square. Also, on the tale of land called Dowhate, he had built another mansion-house 22 feet square and 20 feet in height. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (12) Car I.). On the 6th of Oct., 1626, a grant to James, Lord Balfour, of the small proportion of Carrowshee and other lands in the baronies of Maghrestephana, Knocknynny, Maghreboy, and Coole, with free fishing in the lake or river of Lough Erne; the lands to be called the manor of *Carrowshee*; also to the said Lord Balfour and dame Anne, his wife, the great proportion of *Legun*. Both proportions to be held in free and common socage, with all manorial rights, subject to the terms for renewal of grants to undertakers. Two fairs yearly at Castlebalfour, in Carrowshee, and two at the town of Legan, in the manor so called. The other lands, mentioned in the grant of Carrowshee, were the proportions of Dristernan, Laytrim, and Kilspinan.

(79). *All good way*.—For a consideration of 3,328*l*. Sir James Balfour Lord Glenawley, demised this property to Sir William Balfour for the term of 1,000 years from July, 1634, and at the rent of a pepper corn. He had previously, on the 20th of August, 1623, let the lands called Killypaddy and Kilmacrannell, the latter known as Barnehill, to Sir John Wemyss, for the term of the natural life of the latter. Sir James Balfour died in October, 1635, his son and heir, James, being then of age, and married. In addition to the extensive lands sold for 1,000 years to Sir Wm. Balfour, and those let to Sir John Wemyss, he demised several parcels to Francis Gouldsmith of Graye's Inn, and William Hamilton, in trust for his wife and family. His wife's share of the property thus remaining was, at her decease, to be enjoyed by their daughter Anne, who was married first to Sir John Wemyss, and afterwards to Archibald Hamilton, of Ballygawley, county Tyrone. The inquisitions referring to this Sir James Balfour, make no mention of his buildings nor of the settlers planted on his lands. In *Memoirs of the Life of James Spottiswoode bishop of Clogher*, supposed to be compiled by Father Hay, the bishop's great grandson, this Lord

Balfour of Glenawley figures in no enviable light. A few passages from the work now mentioned will serve not only to explain our remark, but at the same time to supply some illustrations of Scottish colonist life in Fermanagh. "Soone after the Bishop of Clogher his coming to Ireland [in 1621], the Lord Balfour, though an ancient man of great age, was a suitor to the Lord Blaney's eldest daughter [Anne], a girl of fifteen years old. And though Lord Blaney was informed that Balfour had a lady liveing still in Scotland, yet Balfour affirmed he was divorced from her. Primate Hampton [advanced from the bishoprick of Derry to the primacy in 1613], advised Lord Blaney, who was doubtful what he might doe, that there was no danger, and for his better resolution, went in person to Castle Blaney, and joined them together. The portion the Lord Blaney promised with his daughter was, as he affirmed, no more than 1,200*l*., and that Balfour would needs have 2,000*l*. named, promising to give a discharge of the other 800*l*. But when the discharge was demanded, after the marriage celebrat, which was done on both sides with more haste than good speed, Balfour refused it, quarreld with Lord Blaney who urged it, alleging that Robert [her cousin] had abused his wife, both before his marriage with her and after. The young lady herself was brought to acknowledge no less, her friends alleging she was forced to confess what her lord pleased, or was bewitched, complained to the Lord Deputy and estate of the abuse, and got the young lady to be sequestrat from her lord; whereupon the Lord Balfour complained to the King that the estate was partiall with the Lord Blaney, and had a commission sent from England to examine the cause, and so to verifie his Majestie of the truth of all things. The Bishop of Clogher was named, amongst others, one of the commissioners, which gave the Lord Balfour occasion to resort the more to the bishop's house." From everything known of this case, it would appear that had Balfour been promptly handed the 800*l*. already mentioned, he would have accepted it as an equivalent for his wife's chastity; but that he could not bring himself to relinquish both. Whilst the case was pending money became so very scarce with Lord Balfour that, as we are further informed, he "made a heavy moan unto the bishop, and borrowed first but a little, but by degrees skrewed himself in more and more; and at last finding the bishop to be weary of lending, he offered the bishop a bargain he had of Lord Ridgeway, who had mortgaged the castle and demesnes of Agher to the Lord Balfour. This Agher was within a mile and a half of Clogher. The bishop then having no demesne nor house left him by his predecessor, he hearkened to the bargain, and bought for 800*l*. Sir James Areskine [Erskine, eleventh son of Alexander, second son of John Earl of Mar], was come over by this time to

He hath begun his building at Castle-Skeagh, and hath laid the foundation of a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 70 feet square, of which the two sides are raised fifteen feet high. There

Ireland, with his Majesty's graunt for makeinge some nobleman ane earle. He being of the bishop's old acquaintance, schoolfellow in the Colledge of Glasgow, and fellow-servants att Court, he resorted often to the bishop's house, cravinge the bishop's advice for makinge the best profit of the King's said graunt. The honour was offered to manie upon very easie terms." At the time above referred to, the King's necessities induced him to make merchandise of titles to a flagrant extent; and in the instance now mentioned, Esrkinge had no doubt got the grant for making 'ane earle,' in payment of some debt personally owing by his Majesty. It seems strange, however, that Sir Thomas Ridgeway, who had been already created a viscount, should have been willing to pay so much for his title of Earl of Londonderry; here, however, is a curious account of the transaction:—"But att last Robert Barclay, Dean of Clogher, took in hand to make the bargain betwixt Lord Ridgeway and Sir James, upon advantageous conditions to Sir James, and mutch more than ever he expected. So the dean drave the bargain, which was this—That Sir James Areskine should have the reversion of the castle and demeans of Agher; and 2,500 acres [*i.e.*, the proportion of Portclare and Ballykingier, see pp. 264, 265] lying adjacent to it in possession; and Sir James should assure him of the honour. This meanwhile; the Bishop of Clogher haveing but two children, and both marriageable—a sone and a daughter—Sir James Areskine by the Lord Balfour's advice, made a motion of marryinge a sone of his, a master of arts, to the bishop's daughter, upon whome he would bestow the lands of Agher. The bishop, although he had far better matches offered him, yet he was perswaded by the dean, the archdeacon, and many other his countrymen, to hearken to Sir James, whose estate then was not known to be att soe low ane ebb. Sir James then brought his sone to the bishop's house, and brought the young maide, by many golden promises, to a fool's paradise. There rested nothing now but drawing a contract, and so solemnise the marriage, which Sir James hasted, for he longed to finger the bishop's money; but when the bishop's learned counsell was met to put the contract in forme, Sir James made new propositions, so unreasonable and so far from the first communeing, that the bishop broke off the meeting, desired his daughter to estrange herself from their company, and requested Sir James and his sone to forbear his house." Lord Balfour, in this delicate business, played the bishop false. He first advised the young people to go on, and get married, alleging that the bishop, being a kind-hearted man, would soon forgive them. Sir James Erskine and his family followed this counsel; "so one day when the bishop had mutch company dining with him, and the bishop's wife was attending her only sone who was dangerously sick that same time, they bribed a serving woman of the house to bring the bishop's daughter to the street; so enticed her to Sir James Areskine's chamber, where the marriage was made up by some deboyed [degraded] minister." Lord Balfour now changed his tactics, expressed his grief to the bishop at the result of the match-making negotiations, and

suggested to the latter a means by which the Erskines, father and son, could be balked in their evil intentions. "He discoursed to the bishop of Sir James Areskine's property, and his intention to make up his decayed estate by the bishop's means. 'He perceiveth,' said he, 'your sone to be sickly, and assureth himself to get all you have in the end; but if you will be advised by me, I will teach you how to defeat them of their purpose, and how to strengthen yourself by a better friendship in this kingdom.' 'There is,' said he, 'a maide, a niece to the Viscountess Valencia [Grizel Bulkley, afterwards wife of Henry Power, created Viscount Valencia in 1620], both wise and vertuous, and like to be a great matche.' 'For my neighbour, Sir Stephen Butler,' said he, 'was offered to have 1,500*l.* with her, and greater matters in hope. I will find the way to make Sir Stephen leave off his suite. If your sone then can compass the maide's goodwill, you may make up a fair estate for your sone. Lett your daughter drink as she hath brewed.' The bishop replied that he had already consented to ane other motion made unto him by Sir Stephen Butler himself for his brother's daughter, a beautifull young gentlewoman, and well bred, with whome he [Butler] offered security for 1,200*l.* in portion. The Lord Balfour replied, that that gentleman had confessed to himself she was handfast [had lived on trial or approval with another man], before she came out of England, and that Sir Stephen made this offer only to hinder the matche [of the bishop's son with lady Valencia's niece], and so renue his [own] suit. So he [Balfour] never took rest till he made up the matche between the bishop's son and the lady Valencia her niece." It appeared that Lord Balfour's professed friendship for the bishop had an object in view which the latter could not appreciate, but, on the contrary, firmly and properly opposed. Balfour, in a word, wanted to get possession, by a dishonest trick, of certain lands which had been set apart in the plantation for the building and support of a Free School in Fermanagh. When opposed by the bishop, both parties appealed to the authorities in London, and appeared there at the same time to prosecute their several pleas. They met face to face at the house of Lady Valencia, and we have here the following account of their meeting:—"Amongst other slanders invented against the bishop, he [Balfour] accused him to the Lady Valencia, then residing in London, that he had cousined her niece of her joynture; that he had put Sir James Areskine in possession of the castle and demeasnes of Agher; againe that he kept Mr. Archibald Areskine [youngest son of Sir James] in his house of purpose to vex her niecc. The Lady Valencia charged the bishop with these points, whereof he cleared himself sufficiently. So one day, both the bishop and Balfour meeting at her lodging, she told them she perceived some grudge and heartburning betwixt them, and desired to know the cause. The bishop answered that the Lord Balfour had invented many slanders and calumnies to disgrace him, but that his innocencie would bear him out against all his calumnies, and that his counterfeitt letters and lies would not make him desist to doe what belongs to his place. Balfour, thinking

is also a Castle of the same length, of which the one half is built two stories high, and is to be three stories and a half high. There are great numbers of Men at Work, which are bound to finish it speedily, and all materials I saw in the place. This is both strong and beautiful.

There is also a Plot laid out for a Church, which must be 75 feet long, and 24 feet broad, all which is now in Hand, and promised to be finished this summer. There is also a school, which is now 64 feet long, and 24 feet broad, and two stories high. This is of good Stone and Lime strongly built, the Roof is ready framed, and shall be presently set up. Near this Castle there is a House in which Sir James and his Family are now dwelling; and adjoining to this there is a town, consisting of 40 houses of Timber Work, and Mud-wall. All these are inhabited with *Brittish* Tenants, and is the only Thorough-fare into the Country. I find planted in these two Proportions 82 Men armed, which I saw; but not any of these have any estates as yet, as they told me, or, at leastwise they did not show me any.

XLI. 1,000 Acres.

The *Lady* [Laird] *Kinkell* (80) was the first Patentee. *Mr. Adwick* hath 1,000 acres, called *Aghalane*. Upon this there is a Bawne of Clay and Stone, rough cast over with Lime, 50 feet

that the word lyes was a sufficient ground to swagger, did offer violence to the bishop. The bishop directing his speech to the lady, told her he thought her lodging and her presence had been a sanctuarie, and that his coat should have protected him anywhere from blows—the wrong was done to her more than to him. But, while she was about to pacify them both, Balfour made a second assault, whereby the bishop was forced in his own defence to lay hold on him, and after once or twice going about [whirling him round] the bishop threw him on his back in the chimney, att the noise whereof the lady's servants came up and parted them. The bishop would have complained to the King of the abuse, but was persuaded by the said lady to forbear. Her lord also with the Earle of Anandale laboured to reconcile them. The bishop gave the lords humble thanks, and assured them they should find him subject to their advices, and all reasons; but withall, that he would not betray the trust was put in him, touching the schoole of Fermanagh, and the building of the church of Aghenlurker, for which Balfour had received 1,500*l*." See *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 102-110.

(80). *Kinkell*.—Carew reports in 1611, "La. Kinalle, 1,000 acres; not appeared, and none for him; nothing done." This undertaker's title was written *La. Kinkell*, and some transcriber, in this and several other instances, mistook *La.* for *Lady*, instead of *Laird*! This Scottish laird was named Thomas Monypenny. He sold his proportion of Aghalane to Thomas Crichton. The latter left a son named David, who was only a child at the time of his father's death. The widow of the latter married George Adwick, who with Katherine, his wife, became guardians of David Crichton during his minority. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (9) Car. I). Thomas Crichton built on the parcel called Aghalane, a house of stone and lime 18 feet high; and a bawne 48 feet long and 48 feet wide, the walls being 17 feet in height, and 172 feet in circuit, with

4 flankers. The proportion of Aghalane consists of the following smaller parcels in each tate (see grant, pp. 301, 302), viz., Dromelly, Tenmore, [], Feugh, Corre, Derrinagore, Lorgombooy, Aghovolenaboe, Moulan, and Derrydeny, reputed one tate; Aghadisart, Garvone, Dromkerragebegg, Knicklagh, Coronene, Corg, [], Aghe, Derrenteine, Derarke, and Greagheen, reputed one tate. Gatnedon, Leglaghnedernagh, and Corregreagh, reputed one tate. Corgelouse, Mullodnesfren, Knoc, Partense, Enestallon, and Clance, reputed one tate. Aghalanamoore, Aghalanebegg, Killeknawe, Killeclaghan, Correlane, and Tonimore, reputed one tate. Killeknockmore, Killeknockbegg, Kyllemoore, Sh [], and Gartarde, reputed one tate. Feugh, Kinrushe, Drometa, and Dromhelster, reputed one tate. Molonecough, Derreganny, Corlatt, Fernoyale and Tonaghmore al' Inesherk, reputed one tate. Gorgogon, reputed one quarter called Gartegorgan. Corterry, Sroe, Knockellrestan and Knocksmodge, reputed one tate. Clantiknose, Mullainshogga, Drumconna, Dromderrickmore, Erden, Clonebrack, and Goleomuckean, reputed one tate. Dorrivore, Corelhin, Correvarran, Mullaghoise, Mullenehar, Teinan, Leighwollaghe, Derrecorrian, reputed one tate. Cackeneis, Corrahoise, Towralte, Corrughada, Strongallattie, Mullaghsallagh, Knockgarran, and Aghamore, reputed one tate. Derrykenna contains the several denominations following, viz., Derrykennan, Gubbukreere, Relagh, Cornowel, Cornakill, and island of Conny-Goiglam, and Derrycree, reputed one tate. Dromborry, Drombampony, Knockrenan, Bingarrowd, Kyllmeane, Keynoutra, Feughnuhi, Fernoyale, Oclanamiwhi, reputed one tate. The quarter of Dromlongers reputed one tate. On the 29th of June, 1630, there was a grant to John Pitt and John Austin, of the small proportion of Aghalagh [Aghalane], to be held in common socage. The lands to be known as the manor of Aghalagh, with the usual baronial rights. Subject to the terms for renewal of grants to undertakers.

square, and 12 feet high, with two Flankers. It hath a poor thatched House within. I find planted upon this Proportion, of *Brittish* Tenants, ten, but I saw no Estates more than by promise, which are here named.

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

- 1 having 180 acres.
- 1 having 60 acres.
- 4 having 120 acres jointly.

Lessees, 4, viz.,

- 2 having 60 acres le piece.
- 1 having 30 acres.
- 1 having 40 acres.

These ten Families are all that I can hear of; the rest are Irish.

XLII. 1,000 Acres.

James Traile (81) was the first Patentee. *Mr. Adwick* hath 1,000 acres, called *Dristernan* (82). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne begun of Stone, being 60 feet square, with two Flankers, but is not as yet above five feet from the Ground. He hath no English [*Scottish*] Tenants, but all the Land is inhabited with Irish.

XLIII. 1,000 Acres.

The Lord [Laird] *Mountwhany* (83), the first Patentee. *Sir Stephen Butler* hath 1,500 acres, called *Kilspeen*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, being 60 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers. Within the Bawne there is a House of Lime and Stone. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Lessees for years, 12, viz.

- 1 having 180 acres.
- 3 having 120 acres le piece.
- 1 having 140 acres.
- 1 having 90 acres.
- 6 having 60 acres le piece (84).

Total, these 12 Families, consisting of 15 Men, do dwell dispersedly here; not one Freeholder, but many Irish (85).

(81). *James Traile*.—Carew writes this surname *Trayle*, and reports of him as follows:—"James Trayle, 1,000 acres; took possession, returned into Scotland; sent over four persons to make freeholders; some timber and other materials provided, and six horses and mares sent out of Scotland."

(82). *Dristernan*.—This proportion afterwards came into the possession of Sir James Balfour Lord Glenawley, who sold it to Sir William Balfour. Previously, however, James Trayle, the original patentee, demised it to Sir Stephen Butler, on the 4th of August, 1615, when it was extensively occupied by yearly tenants from the native population. It was found by inquisition that "it would be very fit and convenient, and for the good and furtherance of the plantation and English inhabitants thereabouts, to have a weekly market upon the tuesdays, to be kept within the said proportion, upon the parcel of land called Callaghill al' Markett-hill, and 3 fayers yearelie to be kepte, the first upon St. Andrew's day, the second upon St. Patrick's day, and the third

upon St. Mary Magdeleyne's daie; and the said fayers and marketts will not be any hindrance or nocument unto any the neyboringe townes, where any fayers or marketts are kept upon those days or tymes, at any towne or place within 8 myles distante of the said towne of Callaghill." On this proportion, Sir Stephen Butler built at Callaghill a bawn of stone and lyme 68 feet square, and 12 feet high. Within this enclosure, he also built two messuages or capital mansions of stone and lyme. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (13) Car. I.

(83). *Mountwhany*.—See pp. 300, 301. Carew reports of this undertaker's progress as follows:—"Mr. Balfore, laird Mountwhany, 1,500 acres; appeared in person; brought over eight freeholders and leaseholders, with four women servants. He felled 200 oaks, provided lime, and brought over a dozen horses and mares, with household stuff."

(84). *Le piece*.—The 12 leaseholders are not named, nor referred to in any inquisition.

(85). *Many Irish*.—The names of these Irish tenants,

XLIV. 1,500 Acres.

Sir John Whisher (86) was the first Patentee. *Sir Stephen Butler, Knt.*, hath 1,500 acres, called *Leytrim* (87). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 70 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers, which are three stories high; there is also a good Stone House in

in 1629, were—Patrick O'Terne, Edmond boy McMahon, Owen reagh McTeugart, Cahill McGwire, Donell McTeagarte, Patrick McGwire, Donagh Arman, Donough McGwire, Anne Gellan, Tirlough O'Gillane, Tho. O'Kane, Art McGwire, Ross McGwire, Art McGwire, Owen McDonoghoe, Brian McGwire, Patrick McGwire, Patrick McCafferye, Cormock McCafferye, Owen McGwire, Donough McAneny, Tiede O'Tamultie, Knogher McGwire, Rowrie McGwire, Knogher McBryan, and James McGwire. (*Ibid*). The most suitable portions of this estate whereon to locate Irish tenants were the half tate of Lettergreene-Itra; Dromgoale, one tate; Dromsasericke, one tate; Cornevran, one tate; Mullelehan and Gortleage, one large tate; Killelahure, one tate; and Port and Derrebegge, one large tate. (*Ibid*). Butler and Balfour built, on the tate called Crum, a bawn of 61 feet square, 15 feet high; and on the same tate, a castle 22 feet square. On the tate or parcel called Dowhate was erected a castle 22 feet square, and 20 feet in height. (*Ibid*.; see also *Carrooneshee, supra*). The Balfours of Mountwhany, Fifeshire, professed the principles of the Reformation, but acted generally with the court party in the time of Mary Queen of Scots. The Presbyterians boasted that Sir James, the famous Clerk Register, was one of themselves. But they "reckoned without their host," and John Knox expressed his anger when made aware of Balfour's joining another communion. "This we write," says Knox, "because we have heard that the said Maister James allegeis that he was never of this our religion, but that he was brought up in Martine's [Luther's] opinion of the sacrament, and therefore he cannot communicat with us. But his ain conscience, and two hundred witnesses besydes, know that he lyes." The lands above-named now form part of the beautiful estate of the Earl of Erne. The castle built at Crum or Crom by Butler and Balfour, at great expense, was gallantly held by the earl's ancestor in 1688, against Lord Galmoy until relieved by the Enniskilleners. The ruins of the old castle are still preserved, the modern family residence being built at some distance on an eminence, near the lake. Seen from the lake, "the graceful towers rise, like those which have been imagined as appertaining to a fairy palace, above plantations of great extent and natural loveliness. Few walks can be imagined more beautiful than the path from the ruined castle to the modern buildings, leading as it does by the edge of the lake, over which in many places hang graceful trees" (see Wakeman's *Lough Erne*, p. 91). The modern Crom castle is generally described by those who have written their impressions of that district, as situated at the head of a narrow peninsula, and amidst the romantic labyrinth of wood and water, which generally characterises the southern part of upper Lough Erne. The demesne, including the peninsula already mentioned, as well as several picturesque islands and promontories, is richly wooded with fine indigenous timber, among which are many gigantic oak and ash trees. "From a little above Crum castle," says Mr. Fraser, "where the Erne loses the river character till it

joins the head of the upper Lough, a distance of six miles, the waters, from the nature of the surface, spread over a great extent of country, assume the most fantastic and intricate outlines. It is only those who have sailed through this labyrinth of little lakes, or who have traversed their shores, can form a correct idea of their devious windings, their endlessly varied creeks and bays, or the numerous pretty islets they contain. Among the latter some are wholly wooded; others in tillage; but generally speaking, the larger are inhabited; and it adds not a little to the interest of the scenery to see the peasantry who are located in the islands, or along the shores of the mainland, rowing their little home-made skiffs over the smooth waters, from isle to isle, or from shore to shore, at which men and women, young and old, are equally expert."

(86). *Whisher*.—This name is now written *Wishart*. Carew writes it *Wyhard*, and reports of Sir John, in 1611, that "he had possession, returned to Scotland and done nothing. He is since our return from the north arrived and brought with him 15 persons well armed; he hath set up two ploughs sowing wheat, and intends to go forward with building." This Sir John Wishart was son of Sir John, a principal landowner of the Mearns, and ultimately created Earl of Angus. For an account of his domestic misfortunes, see Sir John Scott's *Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, p. 111.

(87). *Leytrim*.—See p. 301. Sir John Wishart sold this proportion to Sir Stephen Butler, on the 10th of November, 1615. "The said proportions of Latrym and Kilspinan doe all, or the most parte thereof, lye within the parish of Drumully. The cite and reweens of the ancient church of Dromully standeth verie remote, and in the woods uppon the uttermost south parte of the parish, towards the borders of the countie of Monaghan, above 7 myles distante from the north parte of the parish, and is altogether rewinous and out of use, and verie unfit to be continued for divers respects. It will be much more fitt and convenient, and a great furtherance and safetie unto the Englishe plantation, and the inhabitants thereabouts, to have the parish church erected within the towne of Newtowne al' Castlecoole, wher the said great plantation of English now is, and wher there is a house builte, and a churchyarde alreadie laid out to that purpose, which is usuallie frequented, and devine service every Sunday and hollyday saide, and the holy sacraments and christian burials, and other holly rights and seremonyes celebrated, used, and said therein, which is desired as most fitt to be continewed there. The faires and marketts formerlie graunted to be kepte upon the tate of land called Aghadee al' Castlecoole, are fitt to be continewed as they are now kept and held; and it is and will be, verie fitt, to have one other faire to be holden upon St. Nicholas' daie, everie yeare, which will not prejudice anie other of the neighbor townes, there not being anie faires kept that daie within 10 myles." See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (11) Car 1).

building, which is but as yet above the first storie (88). Upon this land I find planted and estated, of *Brittish Nation*,

Lessees (89) for years, 17, viz.,

- 3 having 240 acres le piece.
- 3 having 120 acres le piece.
- 1 having 90 acres.
- 6 having 60 acres le piece.
- 1 having 30 acres le piece.
- 1 having 10 acres.

Each of these has a House and 10 acres, and dwell most of them in a Towne joining to the Bawne: Eight of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy. They are able to make 66 Men with arms.

XLV. 1,000 Acres.

George Smelhom (90) was first Patentee. *Sir Stephen Butler* hath 1,000 acres, called *Derryanye* (91). Upon this Proportion there is a small Bawne of Clay and Stone, 60 feet square, with two Flankers, and a little House within it of the same Materials. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Nation*,

Lessees (92) for years, 3, viz.,

- 1 having 500 acres.
- 1 having 250 acres.
- 1 having 60 acres.

Total, three Families, besides Undertenants, being able to make 15 men. Here are many *Irish* on this Land.

(88). *First storie*.—It was found by inquisition that, ten years subsequently to Pynnar's report as above, *Sir Stephen Butler* on his proportion of Latrym or Leitrim, at Aghadee and Cortegamon, a bawn of stone and lime 64 feet square, and 15 feet in height; and that inside this enclosure he had erected a castle or capital-mansion 100 feet long and 30 feet in width; another bawn of stone and lime 200 feet square and 10 high; and at Drombrochas another castle or capital-mansion of stone and lime, 30 feet long and 24 in width. These buildings were erected on the site of an old castle of the O'Casidys, anciently the hereditary physicians of the princely Maguires of Fermanagh. The same site is now occupied by the magnificent seat of the Earl of Belmore, known still by the old name of Castlecoole. This residence is said to have cost upwards of £200,000; and it is certainly one of the finest in the three Kingdoms.

(89). *Lessees*.—There is no mention in the inquisition above quoted of any freeholders or lessees on this proportion, in 1629. The following natives had been admitted as yearly tenants:—John McMahowne, Patrick O'Greene, Cormock O'Carrahin, Teige reagh O'Gelligane, Hugh M'Gillgane, John Maguire, Owen McEnrowe, Philip O'Caill Magwire, Knogher O'Kenon, Bryan oge Magwire, Arte oge McMartin, Hen. McGillmartyn, Brian Magwire, Cahill O'Donogh, Murrough McPhillipp, Donogh McDonnell, Donogh Magwire, Owen Magwier, Brian McManus, Patrick McDonnell, Murrough McDonnell, Patrick boy McDonnell, Shane McDonnell, Patrick M'Elenan, Edmond McDonnell, Shane O'Reily, Patrick M'Donaghan, and Cormuck McManus. The lands in

this proportion most suitable for the location of Irish tenants were the island of Derrekarp, the tates of Lisnedorke, Clancoricke, and Mullaivarran, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the tate of Clangowna, $\frac{2}{3}$ of Knocknekagh and Lissnegillgray, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate of Cavanesekeill, $\frac{1}{2}$ of a parcel of Latrym, Clanky $\frac{1}{2}$ a tate, Clanneltic $\frac{1}{2}$ a tate, and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate called Agnahinchebegge. *Ibid.*; see also *Carrowshee*, *supra*.

(90). *Smelhome*.—Carew reports of this patentee that he "had taken possession, returned into Scotland, left no agent, nothing done." Such, indeed was the record which had to be made of those generally who soon afterwards sold out their interests, and probably had never entertained the least idea of coming to reside in Ulster.

(91). *Derryanye*.—An inquisition taken at Newtown, otherwise Castlecoole, on the 30th of July, 1629, reports the name of this proportion as *Dirrianye*, and of its original patentee as George Smethorne. On the 26th of August, 1618, George Smethorne sold his property to Sir Stephen Butler.

(92). *Lessees*.—The names of these three leaseholders were Richard Buckland, Robert Mountgomerye, and Charles Waterhouse. There were very few Irish on this proportion in 1629; and there is no mention by the inquisition of any buildings erected at the date now named. The lands on this proportion considered most suitable for the location of Irish tenants were Dirrada, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Gortgranaghe, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Dirianye, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Encoragh, $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; [], one tate; Dromlonan, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; Drumrillbeg $\frac{1}{2}$ tate; in all, $\frac{1}{2}$ of said proportion.

The Precinct of *Clancally* [Clankelly], appointed for *English* Undertakers.

[Of the progress made by undertakers in this precinct Carew made the following report in 1611:—"Thomas Flowerdew, 2000 acres; is resident, has brought over two freeholders and five fine copyholders; he cast a trench about an old Rath, and is building an *English* house, of 50 feet long, and 22 broad, providing materials.

Edward Warde, 1,000 acres; has not appeared nor any for him; nothing done.

Thomas Plumsted has made over his portion to Sir Hugh Worrall; nothing done.

Thomas Chincy, 1,000 acres; has not appeared, nor any one for him; nothing done.

Henry Gunning [Honyng], 1,000 acres; has taken possession, but nothing done.

John Sedborough, 1,000 acres; is resident with his wife and family; has brought over two freeholders, one leaseholder, and three copyholders; felled timber, raised stones, set up an oven, and two chimneys in his house, and intends to go in hand with his bawne.

Robert Calvert, 1,000 acres; is resident, has built a house after the English manner. Has two families of English, unto whom he will give estates. Six other families have promised to come unto him at May next.

Robert Bogas, 1,000 acres; has not appeared, nor any for him; nothing done.

John Archdale, 1,000 acres; the like.

Enishkellin. There is a fair strong wall newly erected of lime and stone, 26 foot high, with flankers, a parapet, and a walk on the top of the wall, built by Captain William Colle [Cole], constable thereof, towards which he had 200*l.* sterling from the King. A fair house begun upon the foundation of the old castle, with other convenient houses for store and munition, which, besides the laying out of the captain's own money, will draw on some increase of charge to the King. The bawn is ditched about with a fair large ditch and the river on one side, with a good drawbridge. The King has three good boats there ready to attend all services. A large piece of ground adjoins the fort with a good timber house, after the English fashion, built by the captain, in which he and his family now dwell."

In a 'Note' preserved among the Carew MSS., and written by 'Phillip Gatisfeth,' there are the following references to the above mentioned undertakers, Flowerdew and Sedborough:—"Thomas Flowerdew hath with him six persons, one a carpenter, others freeholders or leaseholders; has built an Irish house with a chimney at the end, made of wattles, contrived in two rooms, and a frame for a timber house of birch, most part to be set up in a Danes' fort. He has a plough of mares and garrons, with two English horses, an English mare, one cow, with some three or four bullocks for their provision, and some few arms. Mr. Sudborough has with him eight men well armed, including two sons, and one Mr. Stookes, a leaseholder; he has contrived an Irish house into three rooms, and built a wattled chimney in it. He has one plough of mares and garrons; an English horse and mare; and twenty head of cows."

Of Sir Hugh Worrall, the purchaser of Plumsted's proportion, Gatisfeth states that "he [Worrall] hath his brother there taking up his rent; but, as yet, nothing goes forward." As an apology for Worrall's delay, there is the following note to Chichester from the council

in London, dated April 30, 1611:—"Sir Hugh Worrall, Knight, undertaker in Ulster, being detained by suits beyond the time prescribed by the proclamation, prays a license of absence for two months, which they have granted. And one of his deputies settled there to oversee his plantation being dead, he has appointed one Richard Cotes in his room, under whose charge he intends to send over presently twenty English to inhabit part of his proportion. They accordingly accept the said Cotes as his deputy, so as he send over the said twenty English presently."]

XLVI. 1,000 Acres.

John Sedborough hath 1,000 acres, called *Latgar*. Upon this Proportion there is a most poor Bawne of Sodds, being of a round form, and much of it is fallen down (93). There is nobody dwelling in it. I saw it a Pound for Cattle. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* birth,

- 1 having 420 acres.
- 1 having 240 acres.
- 1 having 240 acres.
- 3 having 60 acres le piece (94).

There are 12 others whose Estates I saw not, and therefore, can say nothing of them. For many of them do dwell in another country [territory]. Of these 18 Families there is but one that took the Oath of Supremacy; they are able to make 24 Men.

XLVII. 1,000 Acres.

Thomas Flowerdew hath 1,000 acres, called *Lisfrisk*. Upon this Proportion there is a large round Bawne of Lyme and Stone, and a little House of Stone within it (95). There is a small Village (96) joining the Bawne, containing six Houses, inhabited with *English*, all

(93). *Fallen down*.—See p. 275. The inquisition, (55) Car. I., reports a "bawne of earth," built by Sedborough, at Lisnegoland, the walls 12 feet high and 240 in circumference, together with 20 English-like houses occupied by English families. Sedborough must have sold his interest in these lands before 1630, as on the 6th of May in that year, a re-grant of the lands was made to Lord Robert Dillon, baron of Kilkenny West, and Francis, Lord Mountnorris, according to the usual plantation conditions.

(94). *Le piece*.—The names of several British tenants are mentioned in the inquisition above named as occupying lands on this proportion about the year 1630. They are Hugh Stokes, Clinton Mamde, Robert Allen, Faithfull Teate, Christopher Gascoine, Robert Newcomen, William Stamers, Stephen Allen, Rauldolph Daye, John and Thomas Tybballs, Toby Vesie, and Joseph Dickinson. The tenure by which these occupiers held their lands is not stated. The patentee, John Sedborough, died in 1629, and had been styled of Mount-Sedborough, county Fermanagh. His grand-daughter Barbara, the child of his son, Peter Sedborough, was his heir. She was 19 years of age at the time of her grandfather's death, and soon afterwards became the wife of John Mayne. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (40) and (55) Car. I.). On

the 6th of May, 1630, there was a grant to Robert, Lord Dillon, baron of Kilkenny West, and Francis Annesley, Lord Mountnorris, of the small proportion of *Latgare*, in the barony of Clankelly, to be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Latgare*, with the usual manorial rights; subject to the regulations for renewal of grants to undertakers in Ulster.

(95). *Within it*.—See p. 276. On the 13th of Aug., 1629, there was a re-grant to Edward Flowerdue, (probably son of Thomas the original patentee), his heirs and assigns, for ever, as an undertaker in the province of Ulster, of the small proportion of *Lisreske*, and all the lands thereunto belonging, in the barony of Clankelly; and also of the small proportion of *Rossgwire*, and all the lands and tenements thereunto belonging, in the barony of *Lurge*. To be held in free and common socage. The proportion of *Lisreske* is erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Shanocke*; and the proportion of *Rossgwire* into a manor, to be called the manor of *Rossgwire*, with power to create tenures, and hold courts leet and baron, with all waifs and strays, park and warren; subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster.

(96). *Small village*.—The only place now in this barony of Clankelly worthy the name of village is *Rosstee*.

of Cage-Work. I find planted and estated upon this land, of *British Families*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

- 1 having 180 acres.
- 1 having 60 acres.

Lessees for years, 14, viz.,

- 1 having 90 acres.
- 3 having 60 acres le piece.
- 2 having 60 acres jointly.
- 2 having 40 acres jointly.
- 5 having 30 acres le piece.
- 1 having 20 acres.

Total, the 16 Families are now resident on the Land; and nine have taken the Oath of Supremacy, and are able to make, with their undertenants, 40 men.

XLVIII. 1,000 acres.

Robert Boges was the first Patentee. *Edward Hatton* hath 1,000 acres, called *Clancarne* (97). Upon this Proportion there is an excellent strong House and Bawne, all of Lime and Stone, and well seated for the King's service, and strength of the country (98). He hath a Water-Mill for Corn by his House, and within half a Mile he hath built four very good Timber Houses, and six more are in building. This town standeth in the common Road in the country. Himself is a Minister, and a good Teacher of the Word of God. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *British Birth*,

Freeholders (99), 2, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 130 acres.

There are but two of these that

(97). *Clancarne*.—See pp. 274, 275. This proportion was sold by Boges, the original patentee on the 24th of May, 1614, to Edward Hatton, who was Archdeacon of Ardagh, and, according to Pynnar, "a good teacher of the Word of God."

(98). *The country*.—These buildings, whose site was so well chosen, stood on the parcel of land called Knockballymore, which was a sub-division of Listonye. The bawne was 68 feet square, the walls being 14 feet in height; and inside this enclosure stood a house 60 feet in length, 28 feet wide, and 31 in height. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (43) Car. I.

(99). *Freeholders*, 2. Only one freeholder—Nicholas Willoughby of the Fraine, county of Meath—is mentioned in the inquisitions as having lands in fee on this proportion, or more correctly, as having purchased several parcels for a term of 1,000 years. No leaseholders are named; and nothing as to the oath of supremacy. Robert Boges—written also Boggus—left a widow, Anne Boggus, who re-married with Ambrose Conyham (Cunningham), a "doctor in sacred theology," and claimed a dowry off the lands of Clancarne. Edward Hatton, the archdeacon, died in September, 1630, leaving a son James, who died in April, 1637. The latter was succeeded by his son and heir, Edward, who held the property on the original conditions of the grant. The Hatton

family had a controversy or dispute with Nich. Willoughby on the subject of the lands he had purchased on the estate, which dispute was settled by arbitration on the 16th April, 1638, the arbitrators being Edward Aldridge and Nicholas Sympton. Anne Hatton, widow of James, and previously the wife of Thomas Peters, received a jointure of 40*l.* per annum from the lands of Clancarne. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (43) Car. I.) The lands on this proportion deemed most suitable for the location of Irish tenants, were, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the tate called Killturke; Clonmoghlan, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; Tonaghmore, one tate and a half; Gortemurcknocke, one tate and $\frac{1}{2}$; Loughnegallgreene, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a tate; and a parcel of mountain land called Eskleagheysra, Eskleagheutra, Carrolan and Doane. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (5) Car. I.) On the 13th of August, 1629, a re-grant was made to Edward Hatton, his heirs and assigns, for ever, of the small proportion called Clancarne, and other lands thereunto belonging, in the barony or precinct of Clankelly; to be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The lands are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Knockballymore*, with power to create tenures, and hold 400 acres in demesne; court baron and court leet, warren and park, according to his Majesty's instructions for the renewal of the grants of the undertakers.

Lessees, 5, viz.,

1 having 240 acres.

4 having 60 acres.

Cottagers, 8, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plat, and four acres of Land.

have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

I find not above 20 Men in all, and these are well armed.

XLIX. 1,000 Acres.

Thomas Plumstead was the first Patentee. *Sir Hugh Wirrall, Kt.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Ardmagh*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 60 feet square, with two Flankers, and a little stone House or Tower within it standing waste. He hath no Freeholder, or Leaseholder, and but three poor men on the Land, which [who] have no estates; for all the Land at this time is inhabited with *Irish* (100).

I. 1,000 Acres.

Robert Calvert was first Patentee. *George Ridgewaie* hath 1,000 acres, called *Gutgoonan* (101). Upon this there is now a Bawne of Lime and Stone in building, which is 60 feet

(100). *With Irish*.—See p. 274. We have the following account of affairs on this proportion in the year 1631:—"Two of the three tates of Ballagh, within the proportion of *Ardmagh* have, since Michaelmas last, been occupied by *Dun McCaghy* and *Hugh O'Corrigan*, meere Irishmen, who have plowed, grassed, and depastured the same ever sithence, and soe are to do till Michaelmas next, and the same two tates are worthe by the yeare 3*l.* 10*s.* sterling. *Dun Carragh Maguire*, a meere Irishman, sithence Michaelmas last, held and occupied the other tate of Ballagh, called *Lenmill*, and ploweth, graseth, and depastureth the same, and so is to doe till Michaelmas next, and the same is worthe by the yeare 30*s.* sterling. The said *Dun Carragh* tilleth and manureth the tate of land called *Kernemore*, since the feast of the Purification of our Lady last past, untill the feast of St. Phillip and Jacob, also last past, to and for the use and behoofe of Lady *Wyrall*, and not otherwise. Two-fifths of the tate called *Drumgallen*, have ever sithence of St. Michael last past, untill the feast of St. Phillip and Jacob, also last past, been held and occupied by *Patrick Oge McGilgune*, a meere Irishman, and the same are worthe 40*s.* sterling by the yeare. The tate of land called *Ardcloone*, hath, ever sithence the feast of the Purification of our Lady, the blessed Virgin Mary, last past, hath beene plowed and occupied by the said *Patrick Oge*, and he is to pay for the same the third sheafe, and the same is worthe to be lett, 40*s.* sterling per annum. All the tates and landes aforementioned are undertakers' landes, and lye within the small proportion of *Ardmagh*, and by letters patents dated about Feb. last, weare graunted to *Sir Thomas Rotheram*, knight, *Stephen Allyn, Esq.*, and *Martin Baxter*, clark, and their heirs, as undertakers [on the usual understanding against alienating to Irishmen]. All said parcells of lande have, in manner and forme aforesaid, beene occupied and enjoyed by the severall persons above named, respectively, being all of them meere Irishmen,

and disceded of the stockes and lynesages of the meere Irish." (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Fermanagh*, (32) Car. I). On the 6th of March, 1629, a re-grant of this manor was made to *Sir Thomas Rotherham*, *Stephen Allen*, and *Martyn Baxter*, clerk, as undertakers of the province of Ulster. The lands are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Ardmagh*, with all manorial rights, and pursuant to the terms for renewal of grants.

(101). *Gutgoonan*.—See p. 275. The name of this proportion is more correctly written *Gortgunan*, in an Ulster inquisition; which inquisition also states that *Calvert*, the original patentee, sold these lands, on the 4th of Nov., 1620, to *James Heygate*, archdeacon of *Clogher*. Although this inquisition was taken in April, 1629, there is no mention therein of *George Ridgewaie*, whom *Pynnar* represents as the owner or landlord in 1620. Neither is there any mention of freeholders or leaseholders, or meere Irish, in occupation of the lands. With reference to buildings, it is stated that on the parcel called *Agharowskye*, there was a bawn 60 feet square, the walls being 11 feet in height; that on the tate called *Mullahenegowna*, there was a house 40 feet in length, 24 feet wide, and 10 feet in height; and that on the tate of *Lyshnesshelled*, there was another house 34 feet long, 20 feet in width, and 10 in height. These several structures were built of stone, without lime probably, as there is no mention thereof, but by whom erected, we are not given by the inquisition to know. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Fermanagh*, (6) Car. I). On the 26th of August, 1629, letters patent of denization were issued to *James Heigate*; and also a grant to him, his heirs, and assigns for ever, of the small proportion of *Gortgannon*, and other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the barony or precinct of *Clankally*. To be held as of the castle of *Dublin*, in free and common socage, the lands to be erected into a manor to be called the manor of *Heigate*, with power to create tenures and

square, and not above eight feet high. His Tenants do dwell dispersedly. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 1, viz.,

1 having 100 acres.

Lessees for years, 7, viz.,

1 having 480 acres.

3 having 240 acres jointly.

1 having 160 acres.

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 60 acres.

Total, eight Families, which are able to make 12 Men with arms. Here are many *Irish*.

The Precinct of *Clinawly* [Glenawley] (102), allotted to Servitors and Natives.

LI. 1,500 Acres.

Sir John Davis, Knight, hath 1,500 acres, called *Lisgoweley* (103). Upon the Abbey Lands there is built a fair stone House, but no Bawne, and on this Proportion there is not anything built.

LII. 500 Acres.

Mrs. Harrison, late Wife to *Captain Harrison*, deceased, upon her 500 acres, called *Gurtin*, hath built nothing at all.

LIII. 300 Acres.

Pierce Mostion hath 300 Acres, called *Moycrane*. Here is also nothing built, and himself dwelleth in *Connaught*.

The Precinct of *Lurge* and *Coolemackernan*, appointed to *English* Undertakers.

LIV. 1,000 Acres.

Thomas Barton was first Patentee (104). *Sir Gerard Lowther, Kt.*, hath two small

hold 400 acres in demesne, court leet, court baron, free warren, park, and chase, pursuant to the conditions of the plantation. James Heygate became bishop of Killfenora. By this title of bishop he let to Richard Morse and Thomas Lane, in 1631, for a term of 47 years, the lands of Arthonagh, containing $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; Mollanabreeye, $\frac{1}{4}$ tate; parcel of Lisnesheled, and parcel of Gortspravem. On the 11th of December, 1635, this bishop granted to his son, James Heygate, and Thomasine, wife of the latter, the several tates of Corne [], Agharuskie, and Clangawnagh, with the one and a half tate known as Ratoyle and Drombayle. On the 1st of May, 1637, he granted, for certain specified objects, to James, Bishop of Clogher, and Eliza Spotteswood, his wife, John Heygate, also son of the grantor, and Jane Parkins, daughter of Eliza Spotteswood, the following parcels of land, viz., Knockinkegan, Derrymolan, Tawnatiboyle, Gortsprabane, Gortrah, Killecrenan, Tawnakill, Mullahynygawnagh-killkerck, Gort [], Lissneshellid, Arthonagh, Mullanybride, Cosrinagh, Cosleagh, Drombolge, Ratoyle, Droma, Clongawnah, Corrohora, Agharasky, Killmore, Derrymeny, and Boywhossett. The Bishop of Killfenora died on the 30th of April, 1638; and his eldest son, James Heygate, on the 20th of July, 1639. Thomasine

Heygate, his daughter and heir, was five years old at the time of her father's death. The King, Charles I., then [1639] granted the estate, by patent, to John Heygate, who died on the 31st of May, 1640, leaving one son, his heir, then 18 months old. Thomasine, the daughter of James Heygate, married Charles Manyng, gent.; and Jane Parkins, the widow of John Heygate, was living in 1661. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (53) and (54) Car. I.

(102). *Clinawly*.—See p. 203. This is a barony of comparatively small extent, three-fourths of the surface being highland, and the remainder low, meadowy land. In the latter the three servitors, including Davys, had their allotments.

103. *Lisgoweley*.—Although three inquisitions were taken on the subject of this proportion there appears to have been nothing of interest elicited beyond the facts that Davys died about the year 1626, and was succeeded by his only child and heir, Lucy Davys, who married Ferdinand Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (26), (37), and (44) Car. I.

(104). *Patentee*.—Thomas Barton, who purchased Ne-carne and Drumynshin, appears to have had, for a time,

Proportions, the one called *Drumynshin*, and the other *Necarn* (105). Upon *Drumynshin* there is a good Bawne of Clay and Stone, rough cast over with Lime, 60 feet square, with two Flankers, but no House in it. I find planted and estated on the Land, of *British Birth and Descent*,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 200 acres.

3 having 46 acres le piece.

Leaseholders, 1, viz.,

1 having 60 acres.

Three of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

LV. 1,000 Acres.

Harrington Sutton first Patentee. *Sir Gerrard Lowther* hath upon *Necarn* (106), a strong Bawne of Lime and Stone, and a House in it (107), and near unto the Bawne there is a

no lack of occupation in the distribution of his lands. On the 2nd of June, 1618, Henry, Lord Folliott, obtained five tates from him, which touched on his [Folliott's] estate in the county of Donegal. Lord Folliott exchanged two tates of his own lands, viz., "Coolegarron and Coolecogh, with one Thomas Barton, who was seised thereof by force of the said exchange; and the said Thomas Barton did, in consideration thereof, exchange and convey unto the said Lord Folliott, his heirs and assigns, for ever, the five tates of land following, that is to say, Drumurer, Sylann, Farnaugh, Baraugh, and half of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Sydaugher, with their appurtenances, being parcell of the small proportion of Drummenshen." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (2) Car. I.) On the 31st of August, 1613, Barton demised to *Christopher Eravinge* the tate called Lettermone. On the 6th of September, 1613, he demised to *Lancelot Carleton* the lands of Eighan, one tate; Monollo, one tate; Edringe, one tate; Clontibrewrye, one tate; and the island of Inish. On the 17th of June, 1615, he parted with the whole manor of Dromynshin to *Sir Gerald Lowther*, excepting and reserving to himself [Barton] and heirs the parcel of Inishclare, with the bawn of Rosseclare thereon; and on the 17th of May, 1616, he granted to Henry Flower, in fee, the whole parcel of Rosseclare, containing 100 acres.

(105). *Necarn*.—This proportion was at first owned by Edward Ward, gent., and its name was generally written *Nakarny*, or *Nakarna*. Warde's patent was dated May 13, 1611, and on the 7th of June following, he sold out to Edmund Sutton, the son and heir apparent of Harrington Sutton of Kallam, in the county of Nottingham, for the term of 1,000 years. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (15) Car. I.) On the 28th of June, 1630, a re-grant was obtained by Sir William Parsons and Sir Adam Loftus, their heirs and assigns for ever, as undertakers of the province of Ulster, of two small proportions, viz., the small proportion of Nakarny, containing 1,000 acres, and the small proportion of Drumynshin, containing 1,000 acres, in the barony of Lurg and CoolmeKernan, with all the lands thereto belonging, and a free fishery in the lake or water of Lough Erne. To be held, as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. All the lands are created into a manor to be called the manor of Lowther,

with power to create tenures, and hold 400 acres of each proportion in demesne, court leet, court baron, free warren, park, and chase; a market on every Tuesday; two fairs,—one on the 1st of May, and the other on the 15th of August; with such conditions and covenants as are contained in the patents of undertakers of proportions in the province of Ulster. For notice of Sir Wm. Parsons, the Surveyor-General, see pp. 153, 154. Sir Adam Loftus, his co-partner in the purchase of the above lands, was appointed lord chancellor, in 1619. He was known as of Monastereven, or Moore Abbey, county of Kildare, was grandson of Edward Loftus of Swineshead, in the parish of Caversham, county of York, and founder of the present noble house of Ely, in the county of Wicklow. Ely Lodge, the family residence on the lands purchased by Sir Adam Loftus, in the barony of Lurge, is distant about four miles north from Enniskillen, the demesne including several of the beautifully-wooded islands at the head of lower Lough Erne. Mr. Fraser's account of this charming district is as follows:—"The vast sheet of water, which is so agreeably broken and varied by the lovely wooded islets, the great extent of holly, which constitutes so large a portion of the natural copse, skirting the left shore of the lake for several miles, together with the natural disposition of the grounds, render Ely Lodge certainly the most unique, if not the most beautiful, of all our summer residences."

(106). *Necarn*.—See preceding note.

(107). *House in it*.—The 'Bawne,' mentioned by Pynnar, is described by the inquisition now quoted as being 324 feet in circumference, and the walls 17 feet high. The inquisition also mentions the existence, in 1630, of several English-like houses, but takes no notice of any castle or capital-mansion on the proportion. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (15) Car. I.) Sir Gerard Lowther, who held these two proportions of Drumynshin and Necarne for a time, was fourth son of Sir Richard Lowther, high sheriff of Cumberland, who conveyed Mary Queen of Scots, on her arrival in England, to Carlisle castle. Sir Gerard obtained several grants in Ireland, where he accumulated a large amount of property. He was appointed 2nd Baron of the Exchequer in 1628, about the time he disposed of his two propor-

Village consisting of 10 Houses, and a Market-House, also a Water-Mill. I find planted and estated upon the Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 90 acres.

Lessees for years, 12, viz.,

1 having 73 acres.

2 having 40 acres jointly.

1 having 60 acres.

6 having 20 acres le piece.

1 having 18 acres.

1 having 4 acres.

In both these Proportions there are 16 *Brittish Families*, besides Undertenants, the which are able to make 28 Men with Arms. Nine of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

LVI. 1,000 Acres.

John Archdale hath 1,000 acres, called *Tullana*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, with three Flankers 15 feet high; in each corner there is a good Lodging slated, with a House in the Bawne, of 80 feet long, and three stories high, and a Battlement about it. Himself with his Family are there resident (108). He hath also a Watermill; and in two several places of his Land he hath made two Villages, consisting of 8 houses apiece.

I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders (109), 6, viz.,

1 having 200 acres.

1 having 120 acres.

2 having 40 acres le piece.

2 having 30 acres le piece.

Lessees for years (110), 10, viz.,

4 having 240 acres jointly.

And these 20 are able to make

tions in Fermanagh. He was afterwards made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and he became Lord Chancellor for the Commonwealth, in 1654. He was three times married, but left no children.

(108.) *Resident*.—Seep. 278. On the tate called Coilenure al' Killenvir, the inquisition now quoted states that John Archdall or his assignes had erected "one fort or bawne of lime and stone contayninge 3 score and 6 foote square, everie way, and 12 foote in height, with 2 flankers in 2 corners of the bawne, contayninge 15 foote square everie way, and 17 foote in height; there is likewise built upon Killenure [Coilenure] one castle or capitall messuage of lime and stone, adjoining to the foresaid bawne or forte, contayninge 3 score and 10 foote in length and 38 foote in height, and in breadth 28 foote."

(109.) *Freeholders*.—The following facts connected with this point were found by the same inquisition, which was sped at Enniskillen, on the 27th of April, 1629:—"The said John Archdall did graunt 4½ tates unto

William and *Thomas Lawton*, gentlemen, their heirs and assignes forever. The said John Archdall did grant 2 tates or ½ quarter of land to *William Johnson* and *Owen Griffith*, their heirs and assignes, forever. The said John Archdall, by coppie of court-rowle, at a court held for the manor of Tallanagh, did grant one and a half tate, or 3 parts of ½ a quarter unto *William Johnson* and *Thomas Clarke*, their heirs and assignes; and half a quarter, being two tates, unto *Thomas Moore*, *Edward Moore*, and *David Byas*, their heirs and assignes."

(110.) *Lessees for years*.—The following is the only reference to this class of tenants on the estate of Tallanagh, or Tullana:—"The said John Archdall did in his lifetime demise 2 tates unto *Richard Lowther* and *Thomas Lawton*; also ½ a quarter, or two tates to *Edmund O'Durnine*, for one yeare, the said Edmund being a mere Irishman, borne in Ireland, and descended from the stock and lineage of the meere Irish. He also demised the island of Convenishe-Aghie to *Donnell O'Connelly*, for one yeare, the said Donnell being a meere Irishman."

2 having 30 acres le piece.
 1 having 60 acres.
 1 having 20 acres.
 1 having 40 acres.
 1 having 15 acres.

42 men, and 7 of these have taken
 the Oath of Supremacy (111).

Cottagers, 4, viz.,

'These having each of them a House, and one acre of
 Land.

LVII. 1,000 Acres.

Thomas Flowerdew hath 1,000 acres, called *Roseguire* (112). Upon this Proportion there is nothing at all built. He hath two Gentlemen that he hath placed, as he thought upon his Land; but it proveth to be Gleabe Land, and this is the Reason he hath not any *English*; but all the rest of the Land is inhabited with *Irish*, which is a great number.

LVIII. 1,000 Acres.

Henry Hunings [Honyng, see p. 279] the first Patentee. *Edward Sibthorp* and *Henry Flower*, Esqrs., have 1,000 acres, called *Dowrosse* (113). Upon this Proportion there is built a Bawne of Lime

(111). *Supremacy*.—The inquisition records that Wm. and Thomas Lawton did not take the oath of supremacy, that William Johnson and Owen Griffith did not take this oath, "and by the space of two yeares and more after the grants or assignments aforesaid, they were in full and perfect health, and soe the conditions in the letters patent did breake, whereby the premises unto the late King, his heirs and successors did escheate." On the 22nd of December, 1629, there was a re-grant to Edward Archdale, his heirs and assigns, for ever, of two small proportions in the precinct of Lurge and Coolmckernan,—one called the small proportion of Tullanagh, and the other the small proportion of Dromra, and the lands thereto belonging. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The lands are erected into two manors, to be called the manors of *Archdale* and *Dromra*; with power to create tenures, and hold 400 acres in demesne, court leet and court baron, free warren and park, subject to his Majesty's instructions for the renewal of grants, i.e., to pay twice the original rent, with a fine of £30 for every 1,000 acres.

(112). *Roseguire*.—See p. 276. Edward Flowerdue, son of Thomas, got a re-grant of this proportion on the 13th of August, 1629, paying double the original rent, and £30 of a fine for renewal. Lowtherstown, better known as Irvinestown, stands on the post road from Enniskillen to Pettigo, in the parish of Derryvallane. In the vicinity of Lowtherstown, or Irvinestown, is Necarne, where a handsome castle has been built. This proportion, together with that of Drumunshine (see *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (15) Car. I.), came early into the hands of Sir Gerrard Lowther, who possessed an estate of 2,800 acres in that district of the county Fermanagh. This knight, also, in virtue of his rights as a landlord, had the fishings of a large portion of Lougherne. He got according to the terms of his

patents, the appointment of three yearly fairs at Lowtherstown, in this manor or proportion, one on the 30th of November, called St. Andrew's day, one on the 1st of May, called St. Phillip's and Jacob's day, and one on the 15th of August, called the Assumption of the Blessed Mary; also of two fairs yearly, in the town of Lisnarrog, in the same manor, one on the 25th of March, called the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, and one on the 4th of October, called St. Francis' day; with a weekly market at each of the places above mentioned. Sir Gerrard Lowther made his will on the 14th of November, 1659, leaving his lands to Henry Lowther of Cockermouth, merchant, and his heirs male; remainder to Thomas Lowther, brother of Henry, and his heirs male; remainder to George Lowther, junior, brother of Henry, and his heirs male; and remainder to Edward Lowther, son of George Lowther, late of Screene, in Ireland, deceased. Sir Gerrard Lowther died on the 20th of April, 1660; and Henry Lowther of Cockermouth, in England, was declared his heir. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (6) Car. II.

(113). *Dowrosse*.—See pp. 279, 280. The two undertakers above named held this proportion jointly for a time, but, in 1631, Henry Flower was found by inquisition to have had exclusive possession thereof. He died in 1623, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Thomas Flower, who was then a child, six years of age. This proportion appears to have been made up of land sold to Henry Flower by Thomas Barton and John Sedborough. As for Edward Sibthorpe, he also bought lands from John Sedborough, on the 8th of June, 1613. The names of the several parcels thus sold were Dromsare, Aghe-Dromsyllaghe, Boysallowe, Golan, Tateneegeragh, Mullanclaghoge, and Tateconnell. Sibthorpe let these lands to several persons for a term of 71 years. The names of his tenants were Robert Allen, Faithful Teate, a clergyman,

and Stone, 60 feet square, with two Flankers; there is no House in it; but it standeth waste, and is now a Pound for Cattle; near to this Bawne there is built a Village in which there are 14 Houses inhabited with *English Families*; but I saw not their Estates; for the Undertakers were out of the Country, and none to bring them together. All that I could see was,

1 having 60 acres.

1 having 60 acres.

LIX. 1,500 Acres.

Thomas Blenerhasset (114) hath 1,500 acres, called *Ederagh*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone; the length is 75 feet, and the breadth is 47 feet, and 12 feet high, having four Flankers. Within this Bawne there is a House of the length thereof, and 20 feet broad, two Stories and a half high, his Wife and Family dwelling therein (115). He hath begun a Church. He hath also a small Village consisting of six Houses built of Cagework, inhabited with *English*. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

1 having 80 acres.

1 having 46 acres.

1 having 22 acres.

1 having 60 acres.

Lessees for years, 3, viz.,

1 having 16 acres.

1 having 26 acres.

1 having 8 acres (116).

Total, 7 Families, who with their Undertenants can make, as I am informed, 26 Men; but I saw them not; for the Undertakers and many of the Tenants were absent.

and Christopher Gascoine. On the death of Edward Sibthorpe, his brother, Sir Christopher Sibthorpe, succeeded to his lands, and let them, for a term of 80 years, to Robert Newcomen, Esq., who had married the widow of Edward Sibthorpe; and to William Staniers, gentleman; none of all the persons above named having taken the oath of supremacy, and much of the lands, therefore, as they held under John Sedborough's patent, escheating to the Crown. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Fermanagh*, (55) Car. I.) On the 29th of June, 1630, there was a re-grant to Edward Hatton and John Greenham, of the small proportion of Dowrosse, in the barony or precinct of Lurge and Coolmckernan, with all the lands thereto belonging, containing 1,000 acres, with a free fishery in the lake of Lough Erne. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The lands were created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Hunningstowne*, with power to create tenures, and hold court leet and baron, free warren, park, and chase; a market on every Saturday, at the town of Hunningstowne, and a fair on the 24th of March, with all such conditions and covenants as are inserted in the patents of undertakers of like proportions in the province of Ulster, and also according to his Majesty's instructions for the renewal of such grants as had become void.

(114). *Thomas Blenerhasset*.—See p. 277. This under-

taker is not mentioned by Carew, but Gatisfeth, already quoted, states in 1611, that he, Thomas, 'has with him six persons, one a joiner, another a carpenter, and three other workmen, with one tenant. He has built a boat, and has broken stones for lime, and some burnt; and 30 trees felled; some squared and sawed; a fair large Irish house built, with windows and rooms after the English manner, wherein is a kitchen with stove, chimney, and oven.'

(115). *Dwelling therein*.—An inquisition mentions the buildings on this proportion, in 1629, as consisting of a stone house 79 feet long, 24 feet in width, and 30 feet high; a bawn 504 feet in circumference, the walls being 12 feet high, with 4 flankers 30 feet in height; another stone house 65 feet long, 19 feet wide, and 18 feet high; and a church 76½ feet long, 13 feet in height, and 25½ feet in width. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Fermanagh*, (2) Car. I.

(116) *Acres*.—The inquisition already quoted gives the names of six British settlers on this proportion, but does not state whether they were freeholders or leaseholders. Their names were Maurice Cowper, Robert Rakins [Rankin?], Thomas Andrew, Thomas Poe, Wm. Cox, and Clinton Ogell. Thomas Blenerhasset, by indenture, dated September 1, 1615, conveyed to Wm. Cope, of Killmayneham, county of Dublin, the tates of Agha-

LX. 1,000 Acres.

This was *John Thurston's* at first. *Sir Edward Blenerhasset* and *Thomas Blenerhasset* hath 1,000 acres, called *Talmackein* (117). Upon this Proportion there is nothing at all built, and all the land is inhabited with *Irish*.

LXI. 1,500 Acres.

Francis Blenerhasset, son to *Sir Edward Blenerhasset* (118), hath 1,500 acres, called *Bannaghmore* (119). Upon this Proportion there is a strong Bawne of Lime and Stone, being 80 feet long, and 60 feet broad, and a Stone House three stories high; all finished; himself and Family dwelling in it (120). He hath also built a Village near unto the Bawne, consisting of nine

grewen and Dromcullen, 12 acres next Crevinsh, and 4 additional acres adjoining, for an annual rent of 15s. 4d. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (2) and (48) Car. I.) The following are the names of the Irish yearly tenants, some of whom held as much as 2 tates each or half a quarter of land:—Teig McCaffery, Neil McCaffery, Teig McCaffery, Brian roe Cassidie, Patrick oge McCaffery, Phillip McCaffery, Cormac O'Rowarty, Laughlin McCaffery, Neece O'Corre, Art O'Mullan, John Maguire, Patrick O'Roherty, Brian McEnny, Patrick duff McCaffery, Cormac merga O'Muldoone, Neil McCaffery, and Patrick modder McCaffery. The lands on this proportion deemed most suitable for the location of Irish tenants were the tates called Tatenetoborad, Cloncaba, Clancarna, Shranadoroe, Dromsawny, Gortenegullin, Dromore, Cromline, Colaghta, Edeneveghie, Trowne, Larga, Tevexperde, Tyrwynye, Tollynegen, Mullorkferno, and Aghigrewen. (*Ibid*). Thomas Blenerhasset, who owned not only the 1,500 acres called the proportion of Edernagh, but the 1,000 acres called the proportion of Tulllegane or Tollynaken, died on 11th March, 1624. His eldest son and heir, Samuel, was then 24 years of age, and unmarried. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (1) Car. I.) He did not long survive his father, as, three years afterwards, we find his younger brother, Leonard, in possession. During the lifetime of the latter, and subsequently, the property was known as the manor and lands of *Castlehassett*. On the 2nd of August, 1634, Leonard Blenerhasset indented to Robert Flack, a clergyman, the lands of Mullochmore and Gortkeryn, for a yearly rent of 40s. On the 24th of February, 1632, he leased the $\frac{1}{2}$ tate of Dromrollo, to Jerome Emery, for an annual rent of 20s. 4d. The tate called Edernagh was demised to Robert Yeates, 21st September, 1627, for a term of 99 years, for the annual rent of 8s. Robert Yeates's wife was named Mildred; and his children's names were Joseph and Mary. The parcel called Cornecree, was let May 1, 1629, to Anthony Childerhowse, for the yearly rent of 'one fatt hogge,' or 6s. sterling. The other British tenants obtaining lands from Leonard Blenerhasset were John and Thomas Vernam, Joseph Walker, Christopher Irvinge of Lowerstowne, John Maxwell of Quillies, and John Betty of Ballyseillan. Leonard Blenerhasset died in or about 1639. His wife, Deborah Hassett, was then living. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (48) Car. I.) On the 27th of October, 1630, there was a re-grant to Leonard Blenerhasset, his heirs and assigns, for

ever, of two proportions, one called Edernagh, containing 1,500 acres, and the other Tullynagen, containing 1,500 acres, with a free fishery in the lake or water of Lougherne. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Castlehassett*; with power to create tenures, hold court leet and court baron, free warren, park, and chase; with all such covenants as are inserted in patents of like proportions in Ulster; also subject to the King's terms for renewal of grants.

(117). *Talmackein*.—The name of this lot is written Tollynakein in the inquisition above quoted. (See note preceding, which represents, in the grant, that Tollynagen had expanded from 1,000 to 1,500 acres). Matters appear to have remained as here described by Pynnar, as, in 1629, there were no British settlers found on the property. At that date, Irish tenants whose names here follow were in occupation of the lands:—Dowaltagh McCabe, Andree O'Harran, Hugh Boy Maguire, Donnell Oge Maguire, John McGilpatrick, Hugh Maguire, Con McShane O'Neil, Morrogh O'Shenan, Dermot McCaffery, James McMurtagh, Phe. [Felim] McRory, Owen McTuragh boy, Hugh O'Shewnan, Owen McKillibriedie, Felim O'Muldoone.

(118). *Blenerhasset*.—Gatisfeth notices this undertaker's son as manager of the lands of which, in Pynnar's time, he was owner. "Sir Edward," says he "whose son, as agent for his father, is there, and with him six persons, of which two have their wives. They have made one English house, with three rooms beneath, a chimney, and an oven, with a loft, and a part of the house is already thatched. They have four mares and a horse; and have brought a dozen head of cattle.

(119). *Bannaghmore*.—See p. 277. This proportion was originally granted to Edward Blenerhasset, but in due time came into the possession of his son and heir, Francis Blenerhasset. During Sir Edward's life, many Irish were living on the property as yearly tenants, and although Pynnar states that they had disappeared at the time of his visit, it was found by inquisition that four had returned in 1629, viz., Alexander McGolrick, Gillernow O'Hagan, Edward boy McGolrick, and Knogher Oge O'Moyle.

(120). *Dwelling in it*.—The inquisition now quoted reports the following buildings in 1629, viz., a stone house 67 feet in length, 27 feet high, and 26 wide; and a bawn 316 feet in circumference, the walls being 14 feet high.

Houses of good cagework. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders (121), 4, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres and a Tenement.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 60 acres.
- 1 having 50 acres.

There are divers other Leaseholders which I saw not; for the Undertaker was in *England*, and I came suddenly upon them. But by a Jury I found the Land to have 22 *Brittish Families* upon it, which, with their Undertenants, were able to make 40 Men; and store of Arms in his House, and I saw not one *Irish Family* upon all the Land.

The Precinct of *Coole and Tircanada* (122), allotted to Servitors and Natives.

LXII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir William Cole (see p. 355), hath 1,000 acres, called *Cornegrade*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 68 feet long, 56 broad, and 12 feet high, with two Flankers. I find planted and estated upon this Land,

Lessees for 3 lives, 7, viz.,

- 3 having 60 acres le piece.
- 4 having 30 acres le piece.

These have all taken the Oath of Supremacy, and are able to make 18 Men armed; and he hath a good Water Mill.

LXIII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Henry Folliot hath 1,500 acres, called *Newporton* (123). Upon this Proportion there is

(121). *Freeholders*.—If these tenants were really visible to any eyes, (for Pynnar states that he saw none), they had disappeared in 1629, as there is not a hint of them in that year, although the state of affairs appears to have been then investigated pretty sharply. By inquiries held at Enniskillen in 1630 and 1632, it was found that several *Irish* tenants were in occupation of lands on this proportion, in addition to the four named above. "The $\frac{1}{2}$ tate of Lamragh; the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the tate of Rossemore; $\frac{1}{4}$ of the tate of Dulrush, within the middle proportion of Bannaghmore, weare mortgaged about 6 yeares sithence by said Francis Blenerhassett, to one lieutenant Brian Stapleton, whoe leased the same to one Neil O'Higgen, a meere Irishman, for four yeares from May daie, 1627; and said Neil O'Higgen ploweth and graseth the same, being worthe 20*l.* per annum. The $\frac{1}{4}$ of the tate of Aghablene, hath been possessed sithence the date of the letters pattents [to Blenerhassett], by Coll Oge O'Monaghan, a meere Irishman, who hath, and still doth plowe, grase, and depasture the same." On similar terms, James Magrath, Esq., Bryan McMelhan, Rory Maguire, Rory McCollowe Maguire, Cooconaght Cleary, Cooconaght Maguire, Henry O'Moildoyne, and Connor Oge O'Doyle had lands of greater or less extent on this proportion. "All the said parcells are undertakers' lands, and were soe granted to the said Francis Blenerhassett, as an undertaker, upon the condition aforesaid [of

only giving $\frac{1}{4}$ of the proportion to Irish tenants], whereby all the rents and profits of the said severall tates are become forfeited to the Kinge." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh (32) and (33) Car. I). On the 24th of July, 1630, there was a re-grant to Francis Blenerhassett of the middle proportion of Banaghmore, containing 1,260 acres, the advowson of the rectory of Magherculmany, and a free fishery in the lake of Lough Erne. The lands to be erected into a manor, called the manor of Banaghmore, with the same conditions and covenants as inserted in other similar re-grants of Ulster lands. For an account of F. Blenerhassett's dispute with the Bishop of Clogher, see *Morrin's Calendar*, reign of Charles I., p. 404.

(122). *Coole and Tircanada*.—The lands comprised in this precinct were generally of a muirland character, although such servitors as had proportions therein found several patches of good soil. The natives have considerably reclaimed and improved that district during the last two centuries.

(123). *Newporton*.—See p. 334. This proportion is called in an inquisition the manor of *Dromikyn al' Newporton*, consisting of 1,500 acres, and considerably augmented by purchases subsequently to its original grant from the Crown, dated May 16, 1611. Lord Folliott's exchange of certain lands with Thomas Barton has already been noticed, by which the former got five tates and surrendered only two. Folliott also purchased from

a strong Bawne of Lime and Stone, 150 feet long, 120 feet wide, and 12 feet high, with three Flankers; within the Bawne there is a strong House of Lime and Stone, three Stories high, himself with his Lady and Family dwelling in it. Near unto this Bawne he hath made a Town, consisting of eleven Houses, all inhabited with Scottish and English families. He hath also a Water Mill for Corn.

LXIV. 1,000 Acres

Captain Paul Gore (124) hath 1,000 acres, called *Carrick*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, with a House in it, inhabited by an *English Gentleman*. He hath on this Land eight *English Families*.

LXV. 1,000 Acres.

Captain Roger Atkinson (see p. 335) hath 1,000 acres, called *Coole*. Upon this Proportion there is a strong Bawne of Lime and Stone, 60 feet square, with three Flankers. He hath a strong Stone House, in which his Wife, with his Family dwelleth. He hath two Freeholders all resident on the Land. Here are two Water-Mills, one for Corn, and another a Tucking Mill.

LXVI. 1,500 Acres.

Con McShane O'Neale hath 1,500 acres, called *Clabby* (125). Upon this Proportion he hath made a little Bawne of Sodds, and a House within it of Lime and Stone, very strongly built. He hath made three Leaseholders which have each of them 60 acres for 21 years; but all his Tenants do plough after the *Irish Manner*.

LXVII. 2,000 Acres.

Brian Maguire (126) hath 2,000 acres, called *Tempodessell* (127), and 500 acres which were

Shane McGilpatricke McGwyer, gent., two tates called Roch and Killbrossill, mearing on the lands of Sir William Cole, Capt. Roger Atkinson, on the south and south-east; on the parish of Magherenecross on the east; and on Lord Folliott's own lands at all other parts. He also purchased from Francis Gofton, Esq., 3½ tates called Cavan-reagh, Danuchdrige, Adeddoer, and Carea, being parcel of the abbey of Assaroe, in the barony of Lurg, and mearing on the lands of the Bishop of Clogher north-east, and on the lands of Thomas Blenerhassett, Esq., south-west. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (3) Jac. I.) Lord Folliott demised the whole manor of Newpirtion and grange of Killerne to Sir William Cole and Sir Robert Kinge, for his, Folliott's, use during his life, and after his death for the use of Lady Anne Folliott, and after her death for the use of his legitimate offspring. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (4) Jac. I.

(124). *Paul Gore*.—This servitor left two sons. Sir Ralph Gore who succeeded to the property, was ancestor to the earls of Ross. The second son, Arthur, settled at Newtown-Gore, in the county of Mayo, and married a daughter of Sir George St. George of Carrick, in the county of Leitrim. His grandson, also named Arthur, was advanced to the Peerage by the titles of Baron Saunders of Deepa, in the county of Wexford, and Viscount Sudley of Castle-Gore, in the county of Mayo. In

1759, he was created Earl of Arran—deriving the name of his earldom from the county of Galway. The two old family residences of the earls of Arran were Newtown-Gore, in the county of Mayo, and Saunders-Court, in the county of Wexford. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., pp. 110-117.

(125). *Called Clabby*.—See p. 336. On the 3rd of April, 1622, Con McShane O'Neill enfeoffed the trustees under-named in his lands, viz., Laughlen Mcaprior O'Donnelly, Patrick modera O'Donnelly, Shaen Mcaprior O'Donnelly, and Adam Trever of Mullaghnahorne, gent. Con McShane died on the 20th December, 1630; and Arte oge O'Neill, his son and heir, was then of age, and married. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (23) and (42) Car. I.

(126). *Brian Maguire*.—In 1611, Carew referring to the natives of Fermanagh, in his report says:—"Brian Maguire and Con McShane O'Neale have removed to portions assigned them, and built great copelled houses, where they dwell. No other natives of that country have yet removed, nor is any work done."

(127). *Tempodessell*.—See p. 336. For references to this Brian, son of old Cuconnaght, and brother of Sir Hugh, of young Cuconnaght, and of Tirlagh, see p. 336. According to Dr. O'Donovan, this Brian Maguire left one son, named Hugh, who married a lady of the principal family of the O'Reillys, and by her left a son named

his brother's [Tirlagh's], lately deceased. Upon this Proportion there is a large Bawne of Sodds, and a good House of Lime and Stone. He hath made 5 Leaseholders, which have each of them 60 acres for 21 years, and all his Tenants do plough after the *Irish Manner* (128).

The Precinct of *Magheriboy*, allotted to *Scottish Undertakers*.

[In 1611, Carew made the following report of affairs in this barony or precinct of Mageraboy:—
"Sir John Home, Knight, 2,000 acres; has taken possession, returned into Scotland, nothing

Cuconnaght More. The latter married a daughter of Ever Magennis, of Castlewellan, in the county of Down. He, Cuconnaght, "mortgaged a great part of his estate, to raise, arm, and support a regiment of horse for the service of James II. According to the traditions in the family, which appear to be correct, he fought desperately at the pass of Aughrim, where he was killed, and his regiment cut to pieces, after having nearly annihilated the second regiment of British horse. He was struck down by a grape shot, and left dead on the field; but one of his followers, named O'Durnin, is said to have cut off his head with his sword, and to have carried it in a bag to the island of Devenish, where he interred it in the family tomb of the Maguires. The late Bryan Maguire of Tempo, and of Clontarf, Dublin, states, in a pedigree of his family, which he printed in 1811, that the descendants of this O'Durnin were then living in Dublin." This Cuconnaght More's great grandson, Hugh Maguire of Tempo, is described as "one of the most puissant, high-minded, and accomplished gentlemen that ever came of the Maguire family. The editor [Dr. O'Donovan] was acquainted with many persons who knew him intimately and were entertained at his hospitable and sumptuous table at Tempo. He mortgaged Tempo, and left his family in great distress." This hospitable gentleman's grandsons "were reduced to the condition of common sailors on the coal vessels sailing between Dublin and the coasts of Wales. Thus, has the proudest blood of Ireland sunk to one of the most vulgar states of human existence, and commingled with that class amongst whom, a century ago, according to Dean Swift, the true representatives of the ancient Irish nobility were to be found." See the *Four Masters*, vol. vi., pp. 2,366-2,368.

(128). *Irish Manner*.—In other words, ploughing by the tail. See p. 459. A report from Irish commissioners contains the following passage in reference to this custom, and to the discreditable pretences made to suppress it by the Government:—"The barbarous use of Ploughing with Garrons tyed by the Tails was restrained by the Council here. Afterwards the same was permitted, and a mulct imposed of 10s. for every short plough, which forfeiture in Anno 1612, was granted to Sir Wm. Udale, whose patent is still in force. And where it was directed that the Patentee should be compounded with, and the same taken in your [the King's] owne hands, we find nothing done in that kinde; but by a Letter from the Lords of the Council in England, your Majesty requires the Deputy to give warrant to the Patentee to levy the Penalties as before; by which means this barbarous custome of ploughing with Horses tyed by the Tails is still continued in many places, for restraint whereof we find noe Law or statute here in force. And the countrie

hath renewed their complaints that this annual execution of 10s. for every short Plough hath, in many places, hurt and impoverished the country: and by colour thereof, of some have been taken and extorted Money for their Harrowes (as we are informed); and of some of less abilitie, composition made at less rates than the penaltie of 10s. appointed (as was directlie proved). So that the use of this Patent lends more to a private gaine than to a Reformation: In regard whereof, and the due consideration of the now scarcity of Corne, and the Povertie of this People, we conceive it fitt that short Ploughs should be tolerated till the firste of Aprill and no longer; that in the meantime men may furnish themselves with such Ploughs as are in use in England, or learn to use their short Ploughs, setting their garrons three or four Horses affront, which is free from unseemliness and fitter for some mountainous and boggish grounds than the long Plough, as is now begun and practised in the barony of Clankie [Clonkee], in the countie of Cavan, which we rather advise; because we have received credible Information that the Earle of Antrim in the county of Antrim, where he hath divers Baronies, hath banished that barbarous Custome, by holding all his Tennants to the fashion of English plowing; and Sir George Hamilton hath already reformed his Tennants, and so others. And your Maties ayme appearinge by all the Acts to tend to Reformation of the Abuse, and to remove the barbarous Practise Wee offer to your Maties consideration whither it were not fitt, that your Royal Pleasure shall by a Proclamation be published, inhibiting all your subjects here after the first day of Aprill next, from ploughing with Garrons, or Bullocks, tyed by the Tayles, upon paine of your high displeasure, and such as shall offend to be bounde to their good behaviours till they reforme." It is remarkable with what tenacity the Irish, in some districts, clung to this method of ploughing—and under the impression that it was the most humane! So late as the year 1777, when the well-known tourist Young, visited Cavan, he found the practice in full force. "They very commonly" says he, "plough and harrow with their horses drawing by the tail; it is done every season. Nothing can put them beside this, and they insist that, take a horse tired in traces, and put him to work by the tail, he will draw better; quite fresh again. Indignant reader, this is no jest of mine, but cruel, stubborn, barbarous truth! It is so all over Cavan." See Young's *Tour in Ireland*, published in 1780. In Roscommon, the practice existed so recently as the year 1809, and probably much later. Otway's *Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley* contain a letter from a resident in Erris [1845] defending the old custom! See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vi., pp. 216-217.

done, nor any agent present. *Robert Hamylton*, 1,500 acres; has been here to see the land, but has not taken possession, and nothing done. But since our return [to Dublin] he is arrived in Fermanagh (as we are informed), with 18 tenants and artificers for planting; with 60 head of cattle, 10 horses and mares for labour; is felling timber and providing materials for building. *William Fowler*, 1,500 acres; taken possession, returned into Scotland, done nothing. *James Gybb*, 1,000 acres; the like. *Jerhome Lindsey*, 1,000 acres; took possession by attorney, did nothing else. *Alexander Home*, 1,000 acres; the like. *John Downebarr*, 1,000 acres; taken possession, returned into Scotland, and sent over six persons, whereof two freeholders, one leaseholder, one tenant for years, and two tenants at will; some building in hand; eight horses for work brought over, with money to provide materials."

Gatisfeth's account is, if possible, still more discouraging:—"Sir John Hume's man is there receiving his rent and duties, but nothing done.

Mr. Hamleton has come lately, and with him 10 people, with 14 garrons and horses, and is buying cattle daily; is about to set up a plough or two instantly. As yet nothing built. *Mr. Dunbar's* brother is there taking up his duties and rent, but doth nothing else that I see. For all the rest, some of them came and saw the land and went their ways, and what order they took I know not, and what is above written is all that I have seen."]

LXVIII. 1,000 Acres.

Jeremy Lynsey was first Patentee (see p. 304). *Sir William Cole, Knight*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Dromskeagh*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 68 feet square, 13 feet high, with four Flankers, and a stone House or Castle three Stories high, strongly wrought (129). He hath also an excellent Wind Mill. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 11, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

2 having 90 acres jointly.

7 having 60 acres le piece.

1 having a Tenement at Will.

These 13 Families have all taken the Oath of Supremacy, and have 11 Tenants under them, being able to make 34 Men (130).

(129). *Strongly wrought*.—Sir William Cole purchased this manor or proportion from Jeremy or Jerom Lindsay, on the 15th of October, 1612, and soon afterwards commenced extensive buildings thereon. The inquisition now quoted makes mention of these buildings as follows:—"Sir William Cole erected upon the tate called Lurgaveigh al' Learganaffiegh alias Porttdorie, one fort and bawne of lyme and stone, containing 60 foote square, every way, and 10 foote in height, with two flankers of lyme and stone, each containing 16 foot in height; and hath likewise erected, adjoininge thereto, one castle or capital messuage of lyme and stone, containing 66 foote in length, 23 in breadth, and 30 in height, with two flankers of lyme and stone, containing 30 foote in height

and ten foote wide. There is also built and planted upon and within the sayd proportion 22 English-like houses, and therein now dwelling and inhabiting 22 British tenants, with their families."

(130). *Thirty-four men*.—It appears from the inquisition above quoted that neither Sir William Cole nor his tenants had taken this oath of supremacy. The following is the report, in 1629, of the subletting on this property:—"The said Sir Wil' Cole, knight, did not take the said oath, notwithstanding which he, on the 1st of July, in the 11th yeare of his late Majisties raigne [1613], by his [Cole's] deede of feoffment, did enfeoffe *Thomas Sharo* of Eniskillen, gent., of that parcell of lande called Dromskeagh and Cannarlagh, containing two greate tates with

LXIX. 1,500 Acres.

Sir Robert Hamilton was first Patentee. *Malcolme Hamilton* hath 1,000 acres, called *Derrinefogher*. Upon this Proportion there is a strong Castle of Lime and Stone, being 54 feet long, and 20 feet broad; but hath no Bawne unto it, nor any other Defence for the succouring or relieving his Tenants (131). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Birth and Descent,

Freeholders, 3, viz.,

- 1 having 384 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 60 acres (132).

Of all these 14 Tenants, there are seven of them have taken the Oath of Supremacy; and these have

their appurtenances. The said Thomas Shaw did not take the said oath. The said Sir William Cole also, by his deeds of feoffment, bearing date the 20th February [1613], did enfeoffe *Clinton Ogle*, of Kewnunan, in the county of Cavan, gent., his heirs and assigns forever, of that parcel of land called Derrilackagh, containing two great tates, with their appurtenances. The said Clinton Ogle did not take the said oath. The said Sir William Cole likewise, on the 1st of May [1613], did demise and lett to *Richard Orme* of Drommeagh, gent., all that parcell of lande called Drommeagh, containing one great tate, to hold the same for the terme of 61 yeares. The said Richard Orme did not take the said oath. The said Sir Wil^m Cole likewise, at sundrie times and places, by his severall deedes of lease, bearinge date since the 15th of October, 1612, did demise and lett the rest of the severall tates and parcells of lande, to the several lessees named in the said severall leases showed in evidence to the jurors. The said several tenants did not take the said oath." The portions chosen for the Irish on Sir William Cole's estate, were the tates, sessiagh, and parcels, called Lurgveigh al' Learga; Portdorie being one great tate; Dromclane al' Dromclare, one great tate; Callough and Nerry, one great tate; and Clonconilly al' Clonconidie, one and $\frac{1}{2}$ tate. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (4) Car. I.) On the 6th of May, 1629, there was a re-grant to Sir William Cole, his heirs and assigns, for ever, of the small proportion of Dromskeagh, containing 1,000 acres, in the barony of Magheraboy, and other lands containing 120 acres, with liberty of fishing in the lake or river of Lougherne. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Portdorie*, with power to create tenures, and hold 400 acres in demesne, court leet and court baron, waifs and strays, free warren, and liberty to impark 300 acres; subject to the conditions of plantation, and to his Majesty's instructions for re-grants of manors escheated to the Crown by neglect of covenants. Sir William Cole, like most others of his class in Fermanagh, was drawn into the quarrel between Lord Balfour of Glenawley and the Bishop of Clogher, already noticed. "These doings," says the writer of the bishop's life, "encreased the heartburning between them, which Balfour expressed in all publick meetings by uncivill and disdainfull behaviour. The bishop he contemned his uncivility. Neither was he mutch moved by a combination

made against him between Balfour and Sir William Cole, begun and first motioned by Baron Loather in his circuit, and after confirmed by a drunken health att Bellturbett." *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 110.

(131). *His Tenants*.—Robert Hamilton, the original patentee, sold to Archibald Hamilton, gent., on the 1st of December, 1614, the lands of Dromeragh, Dromore, Tullagarine, Monaghin, Feurtagh, Magherenekeragh, Shankill, Drombeggan, Dromlish, Dirrynanamph. Knockmore, Listend, and Leagland; and on the 9th of May, 1615, Robert Hamilton sold the remainder of his proportion to Malcolme Hamilton, Archbishop of Cashell, for a sum of 530*l*. This sale is proof of how much land in Ulster had risen in value even during the five years after the undertakers had taken out their patents, in 1610. At the latter date, a whole proportion of even 1,500 acres occasionally changed hands for the sum of 150*l*.; but in 1615, 530*l*. was paid for a quantity of land amounting to not much over half the middle proportion of Derrinefogher. The buildings on this property are described, in 1630, as consisting of a house 50 feet high, 20 feet wide, and 50 feet in length; the want of a bawn for defence, complained of by Pynnar, in 1620, had been supplied at some time during the following ten years, for in 1630 there was a bawn reported, the walls of which were nine feet high and 300 feet in circumference. These structures stood at the village or town called Castletown. It was found also by the inquisition already quoted, that the chapel of Moyn-cagh, situated in the centre of the parish of Devenish, was a more suitable and commodious place for the parish church than the church of Devenish, situated in the island so called, and in a remote part of the parish. It was found, also, that the most appropriate lands in this proportion for letting yearly to Irish tenants, were parts of the tates called Aghasillas, Aghakeirine, Lestead, Kilroe, Rossenure, Knockbeg, Derrinefogher, Dromorehin, Tullacreney, Kilduff, Dromgormeny, Laglan, Cromscobbe, and Carrenmore. Pynnar reported in 1618-20, that there was not an Irish tenant on any of the lands, but in 1630, the natives had begun to gather in.

(132). *Sixty acres*.—These freeholders, as named in the inquisition, were *Robert Weir*, *Gabriel Coningham*, and *James Somervill*.

Lessees, 11, viz.,

- 3 having 180 acres jointly.
- 3 having 120 acres le piece.
- 2 having 40 acres le piece.
- 2 having 80 acres le piece.
- 1 having 20 acres (133).

divers Undertenants under them, all which are able to make 77 Men, with reasonable Arms. There is good store of Tillage, and not an Irish Family on all the Land.

LXX. 1,000 Acres.

James Gill [Gibb] was the first Patentee. *John Archdale, Esq.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Dromragh* (134). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 60 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers, and a House now in building, it being about the first Story (135). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

- 1 having 140 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 100 acres.
- 2 having 40 acres le piece.
- 1 having 4 acres and a Tenement.

Lessees for years, 5, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 140 acres.

Total, 14 Families, all resident on the Land, who have taken the Oath of Supremacy, being able to make 26 Men armed. Here is

(133). *Twenty acres*.—The leaseholders' names were Daniel Elliott, Gabriel Coningham, junr., Alex. Coningham, Mat. Chambers, David Cathcart, Gilbert Lainge, John Watson, Wm. Crawford, John Hall, George Deinbane, John Greer, Wm. Hall, and Thomas Cranston. Of these, only Gilbert Lainge, Mat. Chambers, Gabriel Coningham, and James and Eliza Somervill took the Oath of Supremacy. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (24) Car. I.) The archbishop did not long retain these lands in Fermanagh, having sold them before 1631. On the 2nd of Dec. in that year, a grant was made to Lord Viscount Clanaboy and Robert Lord Dillon, their heirs and assigns forever, of this proportion of Derrynefogher, which originally was a small one of 1,000 acres, but had expanded into 1,500 acres in 1631. It was to be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The land was created by the re-grant into a manor, to be called the manor of *Castleton*, with power to create tenures, hold court leet and court baron; waifs and strays, park and chase; a fair on Whitsun Monday to be held at Castleton, and a market on every Monday. Subject to the conditions of the plantation, and according to the King's terms for re-grants. Malcolm Hamilton, who owned this proportion for a time, was chancellor of Down, and obtained the bishopric of Cashell on the death of the notorious Myler Magrath in 1622. He appears to have espoused the quarrel of his brother prelate of Clogher, against Balfour, declaring on one occasion there was "no composing of the

business, for Balfour had sworn to him that all the bishop was worth should not save his life."—*Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 119.

(134). *Dromragh*.—This proportion, written *Dromra* in the inquisitions, was sold by James Gibb, the original patentee (see p. 304), to James Hamilton of Keekton, Esq., who, on the 26th of February, 1617, "did give and grant the said manor of Dromra to John Archdalle, in the county of Fermanagh, Esq., his heirs and assigns; by force and in virtue whereof the said John Archdalle is lawfully seized as of fee-simple, forever."

(135). *First Story*.—The inquisition above named mentions that Gibb, the original patentee, had built "on the quarter of Dromra one fort or bawne of lime and stone, containinge 50 foote square, every way, and 12 foote in height." The house, which Pynnar reported in 1620, as raised one story, is not noticed by the inquisition. On the 20th of Sept. in that year the proprietor died, and perhaps the house was never finished, as he had not resided on that proportion. He was styled of *Archdale's-towne*, county Fermanagh. He had been lord of the two small proportions of Tullanagh and Drumra, in the baronies of Lurg and Magheriboy respectively; and also of 340 acres additional in the barony of Lurg, comprising the four tates of Corrabane, the tate of Tullinegoagh, and the tate of Clonkeine. His son, Edward Archdale, who succeeded him, was seventeen years of age in 1620, and unmarried.

- 1 having 80 acres.
- 1 having 20 acres.
- 1 having 40 acres (136).

Cottagers, 3, viz.,

Each of these has a Tenement and 4 acres, for Commons for Cows.

some Tillage.

LXXI. 1,000 Acres.

Alexander Humes was first Patentee (see p. 305). *George Humes* hath 1,000 acres, called *Dromcoose*. Upon this there is a Bawne of 80 feet square, of Lime and Stone, 12 feet high. There is no House in it. I found but very few to appear before me, for the Undertaker was out of the country; but the Land was well planted with *Brittish* Families, and good store of Tillage; and not any *Irish* Family that I could learn of. But I saw

Lessees for life, 3, viz.,

- 1 having 300 acres.
- 2 having 60 acres jointly.

These have taken the Oath of Supremacy, and, as I am informed, the rest of the Tenants have no Estates but promises (137).

LXXII. 1,500 Acres.

William Fuller [Fowler] was first Patentee (see p. 305). *Sir John Humes* hath 1,500 acres, called *Moyglassse*. Upon this Proportion there is nothing built. I find planted on the Land, of *Brittish* Families a good number of Men; but they have no estates but by Promise from one year to another, viz.,

Freeholders, 3, viz.,

- 3 having been nominated for freeholders, but not resident.

Lessees, 12, viz.,

- 2 having 120 acres le piece.
- 1 having 90 acres.
- 9 having 60 acres.

These 15 have Tenants under them, and are said to be able to make 30 men. There is good store of Tillage, and no *Irish* Families thereon, as I am informed (138).

(136). *Forty Acres*.—For John Archdall's tenants, see p. 487. The lands on this proportion of Dromra most suitable for native tenants were Derrinloyfinne, Cornedeever, Rosdagavh, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the quarter of Dromra, Tullinadall, Largamore, Curleagh, Clounlevan, $\frac{1}{4}$ of Dromskewley, Dromlessawleicic, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the quarter of Cavankeille, Carren, Kilvegg, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the half quarter of Dromedowne, Beiteich or Beigh, Dromknew, Gartnekarne, Shranekullagh, Aghloghseilen, Tawnagh, Dunagh, Derricloy, being one half of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Urrish. All the forementioned lands did not exceed (as required that they should not), one fourth of the whole proportion. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Fermanagh, (7) Car. I.) For the re-grant of Dromragh, now included in the manor of Castle-Archdale, see p. 488. The demesne around the family residence of the Archdalls adjoins the village of Lisnarrick, on the western shore of lower Lough Erne, about nine miles north of Enniskillen. "This, from its elevation

and extent of wood," says Mr. Fraser, "is the most conspicuous demesne on the shores of lower Lough Erne. From the summit of the hill, which is crowned by the square, spacious mansion, a comprehensive view is obtained of this splendid lake. There are no parts of Lough Erne more beautiful than that around Castle-Archdall, and reaching from that demesne to Kish." See *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 349, 350.

(137). *But promises*.—The proportion of Dromcoose is mentioned in an Ulster inquisition—Fermanagh, (46) Car. I.—but nothing is therein stated beyond the facts of its being originally granted to Alexander Hume or Home (see p. 305), of its being sold by him to Sir John Home or Hume, on the 20th of June, 1626, and of its descending to Sir George Hume, the son and heir of Sir John, at the death of the latter, in September, 1639.

(138). *I am informed*.—The proportion of Moyglassse is mentioned in an Ulster inquisition—Fermanagh, (46)

LXXIII. 1,000 Acres.

John Dunbar, Esq., hath 1,000 acres, called *Drumcro*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 80 feet long, 45 broad, and 14 feet high, and two Water-Mills; himself with his Wife and Family remaining on the Land. I find planted upon this Land, of *Brittish* Birth,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees, 7, viz.,

1 having 180 acres.

3 having 120 acres.

3 having 160 acres le piece.

The nine Families have divers Undertenants; but all these nine, save one, are estated by Promise; and are able to make 60 Men, with Arms. Here I saw Ploughs going. I saw not one Irish Family on this Land (139).

Car. I.—but nothing is stated beyond the facts of its being originally granted to William Fowler, on the 6th of May, 1611, and of its being sold by him to Sir John Home or Hume, on the 26th of July, 1615. These two proportions thus became the property of Sir John Home or Hume, whose descendants or representatives appear to have had two well-known residences on the shores of Lough Erne, one of which was Castle Hume, and the other Tully Castle, afterwards to be noticed. Upon the death, in 1731, of Sir Gustavus Hume, the castle [castles] and estate passed through the female line into the possession of the Loftus family, whose representative, the Marquis of Ely, is now owner. Sir Adam Loftus, made Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1619, was created Viscount Loftus of Ely, in 1622. The title became extinct in the person of Arthur, the third viscount, whose widow married Nicholas Loftus of Loftus Hall, created Baron and afterwards Viscount Loftus. His son was created Earl of Ely, which title became extinct on the death of the third earl in May, 1783. The sister of the first earl married Sir John Tottenham, and their son Charles, succeeding to the Loftus estates, assumed their name, and was created a baron by the title of Lord Loftus, in 1795; and from him the Marquis of Ely is descended, who is thus only an heir-female of the Loftus family. (See the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 117). Nicholas Loftus, the first Earl of Ely, married (on the 18th of August, 1736), Mary, elder daughter and heir of Sir Gustavus Hume, of Castle Hume, in Fermanagh, leaving by her an only son, the second Earl of Ely, who owned the united estates of his father and mother. The two family mansions of Castle Hume and Ely Lodge stand on the opposite sides of the Lake.

(139). *On this land*.—There is no mention whatever of this undertaker or of his lands in the printed inquisitions of Ulster, so that no change had taken place in the ownership; neither did John Dunbar [afterwards Sir John], require to get a re-grant of his lands in 1629, owing, doubtless, to the circumstance that there had been no breach of covenants found against him. For his descent from the earls of Dunbar, one of whom married a daughter of King Robert Bruce, see p. 306. A curious evidence of his descent existed in Sir John Dunbar's house, and

afterwards in that of Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly, who married Sir John's grand-daughter. This was no other than the sword of Bruce, a family relic, which had been piously preserved for many generations, and whose existence, in Fermanagh, would have been probably unknown, had not William Montgomery, the author of the well-known *Montgomery Manuscripts*, chanced to visit his kinsman's house in the year 1696. Of this visit he has left the following record:—"Our present Hugh aforesaid is married to a beutifull grand-daughter and heiress to Sr. John Dumbarr. His estate, whereof Derrygonnelly is ye chiefe mansion place; besides which he [Hugh Montgomery] hath his father's and his own purchases. I was, in A.D. 1696, three nights in his new house (for the old walls are not rebuilt); it is a pleasant seate; a River running by it within half a muskett shott, and thereon a corn and a tuck mill, in which one may walk dry in slippers; he hath a pretty garden and a plantation of fruit trees; thereto also a pretty little chappell opposite to the house door, about nine score yards from it (to which one may go dry in like maner), built and endowed by Sr. Jo: Dumbarr, aforesaid, for a deacon to read prayers, homily's, or preach in, when the weather is badd. I saw a rarity att that house, to witt, a two-edged sword of excellent metall, which this Hugh never caused to be made but had it (I have forgot what hee told mee thereof), in ye late warr about Enniskillen. I am of ye opinion there is no smith in Ireland can forge soe good a blade, for I saw it severly tryed. The sword is inscribed on ye right hand side of ye blade thus—

<i>Robertus Bruscius,</i>	} 1310, and on	{ <i>pro Christo</i>	} D: ER		
<i>Scotorum</i>				} ye reverse	{ <i>d</i>
<i>Rex.</i>						side,	Patria.

There are some obliterated or worn-out words, supposed to be the cutler's name, the Letters being but by halves and quarters, whereof wee could make nothing." Could not this sword be still found? The Earl of Enniskillen kindly took the trouble of making searches in the houses of certain representatives of the Derrygonnelly Montgomerys, but in vain. It is quite possible, however, that the sword of Bruce may be lying in some old store-room in the county Fermanagh. (See *Montgomery Manuscripts*,

LXXIV. 2,000 Acres.

Sir John Hume hath 2,000 acres, called *Carrynroe*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 100 feet square and 14 feet high, having four Flankers for the Defence. There is also a fair strong Castle, 50 feet long and 21 feet broad. He hath made a Village near unto the Bawne, in which is dwelling 24 Families. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish Natives*,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

- 2 having 120 acres le piece.
- 2 having 100 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 9, viz.,

- 1 having 240 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 6 having 60 acres le piece.
- 1 having 40 acres.

Cottagers, 11, viz.,

- 1 having 30 acres.
- 2 having 6 acres le piece.
- 1 having 5 acres.
- 2 having 4 acres le piece.
- 1 having 3 acres.
- 4 having 2 acres le piece.

Total, 24 Families, all resident on the Land, and most of them have taken the Oath of Supremacy, being able to make 30 Men with Arms (140).

COUNTY OF DONAGALL.

The Precinct of *Boilagh* and *Banagh*, allotted to *Scottish Undertakers* (see pp. 293, 296).

["*Precinct of Boylagh*. Sir Robert Maclellan, Knt., Laird Bombey, chief undertaker of

new edition, pp. 389, 390.) Sir John Dunbar was high sheriff for the county of Fermanagh, during the time of the grand quarrel between Lord Balfour and the Bishop of Clogher (see pp. 475, 476), and was to some extent, in his official capacity, troubled thereby. See *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 119, 120.

(140). *Men with Arms*.—This proportion is mentioned in an Ulster inquisition—Fermanagh, (46) Car. I.—but there is nothing stated beyond the fact of its original grant to Sir John Home, on the 24th of July, 1610. (See p. 303). In Sir John's patent the proportion is called *Ardgorte*; but in Pynnar's time, *Carrynroe*, another denominational name on the estate, had been adopted, because, probably, on the parcel thus designated, the undertaker had erected his buildings. The residence on this proportion was afterwards known as *Tully Castle*, and its ruins at the present day clearly indicate the old structure as described by Pynnar, who, however, says nothing about the beauty of its position. Sir John Hume in building his residence on the point northwest of Inismacsaint [*Inismuighe-Samh*, 'the island of the plain of Sorrel'] could not have selected, perhaps, a more attractive site on all that lovely shore. The views from

the ruins of this castle are described as surpassingly beautiful, from the facts that here Lough Erne spreads out its greatest expanse of water, showing a bewildering number of its islands, and is guarded on each side by curious groupings of its more distant hills. Tully Castle was also a residence of the Hume family prior to the erection of Castle Hume. The occupant of Ely Lodge is owner of the three proportions formerly known as Dromcose, Moyglasse, and Carrynroe. His beauteous mansion is also built on an island, which is connected with the mainland by a bridge. The Home or Hume family occupied Tully Castle in 1641, and on the outbreak of the Irish war of that year, thither crowded for protection all the English and Scottish settlers in the immediate vicinity. An Irish leader, named Rory Maguire, assaulted the castle on the 24th of Dec., which was surrendered to him by Lady Hume. The Irish then pillaged and burned it, and by neither the then owner, nor any of his representatives since, has it ever been even partially restored. It remains from generation to generation an ivy-clad and attractive ruin. Castle Hume was made the family residence, in Fermanagh, after the burning of Tully Castle in 1641.

Rosses, 2,000 acres; took possession in the summer 1610, returned into Scotland; his agent, Andrew Johnson, resident, hath prepared no material for building. *George Murrye*, Laird Broughton, 1,500 acres; took possession, summer 1610, returned into Scotland. His brother came with two or three others; and 30 or 40 cows; no preparation for building. *William Steward*, brother to Gartlesse [Lord Garlies], 1,500 acres; took possession in the summer, 1610, returned into Scotland; six families of British upon his proportion. He is building a mill and other houses; agent, John Stewart, resident; materials provided for building. *Sir Patrick McKee*, Knight, 1,000 acres, not appeared; agent resident; nothing done. *Alexander Cunningham*, of Ponton Elder, 1,000 acres; not appeared; agent resident; making winter provisions; no materials for building. *James McCullogh*, 1,000 acres; not appeared; agent resident; nothing done. *Alexander Downebar*, 1,000 acres; resident in person; nothing done. *Patrick Vans*, 1,000 acres; has not appeared. Six quarters of his land let to English and Scotchmen for four years; nothing done. *George Murrye*, Laird Broughton, undertaker of 1,500 acres, appeared before us here at Dublin, and returned to his land."] *Carew's Report of 1611.*

LXXV. 10,000 Acres.

John Murrey (141), *Esq.*, hath all *Boilagh and Bannagh*, being ten thousand acres (142), planted as followeth:—

(141). *John Murrey*.—John Murray, of Cockpool, was a great favourite of James I., and for several years the principal manager of the King's more private affairs in Scotland. He was created Earl of Annandale in 1624, the title becoming extinct in 1658. It was subsequently revived in the Johnstone family. In 1625, the Earl of Annandale was appointed to the government of the county of Donegal, and the borders and limits thereof, to suppress and punish by fire and sword, malefactors, traitors, rebels, and all who refused to submit to the law. The Earl of Annandale's original grant of the whole territory was made in 1620; but he was obliged to have a re-grant in 1629, paying double the first rent to the King, and a fine of £30 for every thousand acres. The following is the substance of the re-grant:—"Grant to the Earl of Annandale of several proportions of land: one called the great proportion of the *Rosses*, in the barony of *Boylagh and Bannagh*, with a piscary, fishing, and taking of salmon, herring, cod, and all other kinds of fish in, within, or near the said lands, and the advowson of the vicarage of *Templecarne* in the barony aforesaid; the middle proportion of *Boylagh-Eightra*, and the middle proportion called *Downeconnally*, and the small proportion of *Moynargan*, in the precinct of *Boylagh and Bannagh*, with free fishing and taking of salmon, herring, cod, and all other kinds of fish in the creeks and the weirs of *Guilegrush*; the small proportion of *Kilkarkan*, the small proportion of *Cargie*, the small proportion of *Boylagh-oughtra*, and the small proportion of *Mullaghvagh*, in the aforesaid precinct or barony, with free fishing in all the bays, creeks, rivers, or waters of, in, or within the premises, and also in the creeks, bays, or rivers of *Inver*, *Gladdagh*, *Gohera*, *Looris Uly*, *Gibbiagh*, *Tullinge*, *Callabegg* [Killybegs], and the island of *Arran*. To hold forever, as of

the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises are created into the manors of *Billinwell* and *Castlemurray*; fairs at *Downeally* and *Magherimore*.

(142). *Ten thousand acres*.—The names of the several parcels or sub-divisions in this immense territory occupy more than three columns in the printed inquisitions of Ulster. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (30) Car. I.). "And all and every of which the before recited several proportions and lands, doe together conteyne 10,000 acres of land, or thereabout, and doe lye in the said barony or precinct of *Boylagh and Banagh*. The said late King, on the 13th of December, in the 18th yeare of his raigne of England [1620], by his letters patents, did give and graunte all the said proportions, townes, villages, hamletts, quarters, parts and parcellls of land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises unto *John Earl of Annandale*, in the realme of Scotland, by the name of *John Murrye*, *Esq.*, one of the groomes of his said late Majties bedchamber, his heires and assignes, forever." From this grant were reserved the following lands set apart for rectors or incumbents:—"The $\frac{27}{30}$ partes, and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the quarter of *Loughfadla*, conteyninge by estimation 90 acres; also the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of *Cornerarde*, conteyninge by estimation 60 acres; $\frac{27}{30}$ partes of the quarter of *Carnemore*, conteyninge by estimation 60 acres; $\frac{15}{32}$ partes of the quarter of *Dromore*, conteyninge by estimation 60 acres; $\frac{15}{32}$ partes of the quarter of *Dromkenan*, conteyninge 60 acres; $\frac{15}{32}$ partes of the quarter of *Moynargan*, conteyninge by estimation 60 acres; $\frac{15}{32}$ partes of the quarter of *Derrylaghan*, conteyninge 60 acres; and $\frac{15}{16}$ partes of the quarter of *Magherienternum*, conteyninge 120 acres; all said lands (in the barony of *Boylagh and Banagh*, except the foregoing exceptions) to be holden of the said late Kinge, his heyres and successors, as of the castle of Dublin, in

LXXVI. 2,000 Acres.

The *Lady Brombe* [Laird Bomblie], the first Patentee (143). Captain Thomas Dutton (144) hath 2,000 acres, called the *Rosses*. He is but newly came unto it, and hath not his Assurance from Mr. Murrey. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne and a small Castle built long since, being of Lime and Stone, himself with Wife and Family dwelling in it. He hath six English Families, but they do but little as yet, till they have Estates (145).

free and common socage; and yf the said John Murrey should set the premises aforesaid to any meere Irish, or unto any who should not take the oath of supremacy, then the said letters patents should be void." (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (32) Car. I.) The following lands were set apart throughout this vast territory as most suitable districts for the location of Irish tenants:—"Half a balliboe of the $\frac{1}{2}$ parte of Tryankyle, being parcell of the quarter of Dromroske, in the proportion of Boylaghoughtra, baronie of Boylagh and Bannaghe, Co. of Donegal; 3 ballyboes of Castlegory; 2 halves of the $\frac{1}{2}$ partes of BallymacKaul and Co [] dowe, parcells of the quarter of Bonyglyn, in the proportion of Cargie; 2 ballyboes of the quarter of Mureret, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Ballydaffe, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of O'Miskan, in the proportion of Kelleurane [Kilkerhan]; the quarter of Ballylough, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Magheriery, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Cloghboy, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Liskeraghan, the three balliboes of Abbirmillane, Drumeha, and Kilspervan, the quarter of Kilterny, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Ardra, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Corinkard, in the proportion of Monargan [Moynarga]; the quarter of Damrus, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Mullaghveagh, the sessionghes of Macherunane and Carrigboyh, the quarters of Somugh and Dromevyn, the sessiongh of Ballmackilldaffe, the sessiongh of Derrynes, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Duryan, and the sessiongh of Tullard, in the proportion of Mullaveagh; the one half quarter of Castlegowan, the quarter of Ballyristowne, the 2 sessionghs of Straneboagh and Lynagh, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Litterlie, in the proportion of Boylagheightra; the quarter of Kilerumnie, the quarters of Stralinch and Stranderagh, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Mullamackilehir, the quarters of Strathcashellbegab, the quarter of Drombochill, and the 2 sessionghs of Dromsillagh and Soraghan, in the same proportion of Boylagh. The aforesaid lands are sett forth and allowed for the meere Irish, by one Alex. Cuninghame, Esq., agent to the Earle of Annandell, and are $\frac{1}{4}$ parte (to be lett and allowed to the meere Irish) of 10,000 acres in the severall proportions followinge, viz., Boylaghoughtragh, Cargul [Cargie], Duncanelie [or Downcally], Kilgarvan [Kilkerhan], Monargan [Moynarga], Mullaghveagh, Boylagheightragh, and the *Rosses*, all lyinge and beinge in the baronie of Boylagh and Bannagh, in the county of Donegal, and past by his Maties letters patents unto the earle, as undertaker in the province of Ulster." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (18) Car. I.

(143). *First Patentee*.—This was Sir Robert MacLellan, laird of Bomblie, and Earl of Kirkcubright, see p. 296. Some scribe here writes him *Lady Bromblie*, supposing that the contraction *la*; before his name meant *lady*! For his grant of the *Rosses*, see p. 296. This undertaker alienated his proportion to Archibald Acheson, Esq., and on the 12th of October, 1616, Acheson and

MacLellan joined in the surrender, for considerations, of the lands to John Murray, afterwards Lord Annauldale. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (9) Jac. I.

(144). *Thomas Dutton*.—This gentleman, at the time of his death in August, 1633, was styled as "lately of *Rucleagh*, in the county of Longford, knight." (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (22) Car. I.) Sir Thomas Dutton had the character of a discreet and valiant captain, and as such secured for himself several valuable appointments, as well as the honour of knighthood. He had been originally a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and on coming to Ireland was appointed, among other offices, to that of *Scoutmaster*. He had also a grant, in 1627, of the inland forts of Ulster and Connaught. The King, in a letter to Falkland, Oct. 15, 1625, says:—"Upon humble suit made unto us by Sir Thomas Dutton, we do hereby require and authorise you to cause our grant to be made to him in due form of law, without fine, of the castles, bawns, or forts of Moirie Castle, and Charlemount, in our county of Armagh; Cloghowter, in our county of Cavan; Toome, in our county of Antrim; Monaghan, in our county of Monaghan; Iniskyllin, in our county of Fermanagh, and of all other inland forts in either of our provinces of Ulster and Connaught, not formerly granted in fee-farm."

(145). *Have Estates*.—In the meantime, Dutton wisely let his lands to Irish tenants, who could be cleared off at very short notice, but who, whilst permitted to remain, paid higher rents than British settlers would consent to do. Thus, he let five balliboes in the quarter called Mullagh, to *Mulmory Oge McSwyne*; the half quarter of Mullagh, to *Hugh McDonough bane McSwyne* and others; the quarter called Roscatt, to *Mennama O'Boyle*, *James O'Mulcanan*, and others; the balliboe called Inishkeragh, to *Manus O'Boyle*; the balliboe of Inishally, to *Farrell O'Donnell*; the two quarters of Arran, to *Edmond boy O'Boyle*; the quarter of land called Crutt, to *Conchor O'Kerrygan*; the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Crutt to *Tirlagh O'Gallagher*; the balliboe of Moy, to *Neale Oge O'Donnell*; seven balliboes of the aforesaid quarter of Crutt, to *Toole McFarrell O'Gallagher*, and others; the two balliboes of Cloghglasse and Inisheny, the quarter of Maghericappell, and the half quarter of Arlan, to *Cahall duffe O'Dogherty*; "all which quarters, parcells, and balliboes, were let by the saide Captain Dutton, over and above the $\frac{1}{4}$ parte of the said proportion of *Rosses*, and contrary to the conditions of the said Earl of Annandall's letters patents." The above-named tenants are described in every case as "meere Irish, and not of the English or British descent or surname." Dutton held the proportion of the *Rosses* simply by "demise from Harbert Maxwell, agent to the Earl of Annandall," as, in 1626, Sir George Hamilton got a lease of it from the landlord, for a term of eleven years. The

LXXVII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Patrick McKee was first Patentee (146). *John Murrey, Esq.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Cargie*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Clay and Stone rough cast with Lime, being 60 feet square, and 12 feet high, and built upon a Rock. I find divers planted on this land, but there is not one Freeholder, and they who are upon the Land have no Estates, but Mynnets, being in Number 23 Families, and are able to make 40 Men, all of *Brittish* Birth; but these do dwell dispersedly in the Country (147).

LXXVIII. 1,000 Acres.

Patrick Vaus [Vans] was first Patentee (148). *John Murrie* hath 1,000 acres, called *Boilagh-Outra*. This is set to *William Hamilton*, Gentleman, and some others. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, being 70 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers; it hath in it a Castle very strong; there are not any Freeholders; there are 28 Families of *Brittish* Nation (as I am informed by some of the country), that are able to make 50 Men with Arms; but these hold their land but by Promise; I saw but very few of them, for they dwelt far asunder, and had no time to come unto me.

LXXIX. 1,000 Acres.

William Stewart (149), the first Patentee. *John Murrey, Esq.*, hath 1,500 acres, called

most suitable land on this proportion of 2,000 acres to be let to the Irish, were the quarter called Kanereny, the quarter called Killoquyn al' Shragheashell, half the quarter of Gortnesillagh, the half quarter of Dirryan, the two sessiagh of Straneglogh and Shannagh, the half sessiagh of Tullherd, one balliboe of Dromlaghlyne, one balliboe of Magherecashell, and one balliboe of Correagh. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (16) and (32) Car. I.

(146). *First Patentee*.—See McKee's grant from the Crown, p. 297. The lands then granted were soon let in part by Sir Patrick to William Stewart of *Maines*; and afterwards to his brother Patrick Stewart of Raneall. They appear to have held jointly with Sir Robert Gordon, who bought out the proportion from McKee, on the 17th of September, 1615. When, and on what terms, Cargie was transferred to John Murray does not appear. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (9) Jac. I.

(147). *In the Country*.—The condition of affairs on this estate were found to be more unsatisfactory than what generally existed throughout the wide lands granted to the Earl of Annandall. The 23 British settlers in the proportion of Cargie were scattered about and had no leases, but only 'mynnets,' or minutes, meaning letters from the earl or his agents, promising them freeholds or leases, as the case might be. The following are the names of the leading Irish on the estate:—*Owen McDagany*, and others, meere Irish, hold the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Munternize, from Thomas McCollagh, deceased, assignee unto the said earle, and paies per an. 6*l.* ster.; which said quarter lyeth in the small proportion of Cargie. *Owen McCollin*, a meere Irishman, held seven balliboes of the quarter of Dromie, in the aforesaid proportion, from Alexander Morrey, assignee unto the said earle; and same paies per an. 3*l.* sterling. *Owen O'Harraghy*, a meere Irishman, holds one half of $\frac{1}{5}$ of the quarter of Dromchower,

called Dromachillane, from Edward Griffin, assignee to the said late earle, and paies per an. 20*s.* sterling. *Bryan McCollin*, a meere Irishman, held one half of $\frac{1}{5}$ of the quarter of Bonyglen, called BallymacCaule and Corduffe, from John McKeye, assignee to the said earle, and paies per an. 30*s.* sterling. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (17) Car. I.

(148). *First Patentee*.—Patrick Vans's patent was dated 11th Aug., 1610, and he sold his lands of Boylaghoutra, on the 3rd of October following, to Patrick O'Murrey. The latter sold this property to Sir Robert Gordon, on the 3rd of August, 1614. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (9) Jac. I.) This proportion was also extensively occupied by Irish tenants, the principal of whom are mentioned in the following terms:—*Phelley Mc Gillkir*, a meere Irishman, held the parcell of land called Altreme, from Joan Smith, assignee unto the said earle [of Annandale]; and same paies, per annum, 10*s.* sterling, which parcell lyeth in the proportion of Boylaghoughtragh. *Hugh O'Donyne*, a meere Irishman, held $\frac{1}{5}$ of the quarter of Downan, from William Knox, assignee unto the said earle; and the same [O'Donyne] paies per an. 8*l.* sterling. *Edmond O'Boyle*, a meere Irishman, held the quarter of Dromboyerty from John Hamilton, assignee unto the said earle; and same paies per an. 2*l.* sterling. *Dermott Ultagh*, and others, meere Irish, houlde $\frac{1}{5}$ of Aghalacky from Wm. Hamilton, assignee unto the said earle; and same paies per an. 20*s.* sterling. *Phelley McGillkir*, and others, meere Irish, houlde $\frac{1}{5}$ of the quarter of Lettermore, in the proportion of Boylaghoughtragh, from Geo. Kirke, deceased, assignee unto the said earle, and payeth, per an. 5*l.* sterling. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (17) Car. I.

(149). *William Stewart*.—See p. 500. Carew designates this undertaker as "brother of Gartlesse," correctly

Dunconally (150). *James Toodie*, and others, have taken this for certain years. There is on this Land a Bawne of Lime and Stone, and a Castle which is now inhabited. I find planted upon this Land, of *Brittish* Families,

Lessees, 11, viz.,

- 1 having 200 acres.
- 2 having 100 acres jointly.
- 5 having 200 acres jointly.
- 3 having 120 acres le piece.

I am informed by the Country that there are 30 Families upon this Land, being able to make 40 Men with Arms; but I saw but 10 that had any Estates.

LXXX. 1,000 Acres.

Alexander Dunbar, first Patentee (see p. 298). *John Murrey, Esq.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Kilkeran* (151), the which are set to *Rowland Cogwell*, and others, for 15 years. Upon this there is a Bawne and a Castle of Lime and Stone, being inhabited by a *Scottish* Gentleman. There is not one Freeholder, and but two Leaseholders that could show any Assurance; the one hath a Lease for 15 years, and the other for five; and these have under them 10 *Brittish* Familes. There are many *Irish* (152).

Garlies. This Wm. Stewart was brother of Sir Alexander Stewart, created by James I., in 1607, Viscount Garlies, and in 1623, advanced to the earldom of Galloway. These Stewarts were descended, through a long line of ancestors, from that Walter who was appointed dapifer, meat-bearer, or steward of the royal household, by David I. William Stewart, the undertaker in Ulster, married the heiress of Burray, and afterwards resided on that estate. See *Lands of Galloway and their Owners*, pp. 412-425.

(150). *Dunconally*.—This proportion was granted from the Crown, July 23, 1610, to the undertaker mentioned in the preceding note, whose surname is written in an inquisition *Steward and Stewart*. On June 10, 1610, even before the date of his patent, this undertaker had sold his proportion to Sir John Vance of Lancaster, who appears to have lost it by neglecting the leading conditions on which it was granted. See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (9) Jac. I. Among the principal Irish tenants on the estate were the following:—"Neale O'Mighan held the two balliboes of Killmaereddan and Dromeaney, from Andrew Nesbitt since the date of the aforesaid letters patents [13th Dec. 1620] untill May last; which said Andrew was assignee unto the said earle, and said two balliboes lyeth in the proportion of Dowanelie [Dunconally]. Pheltemy McGukir held the 2 balliboes of Straghrying, and the balliboe of O'Multyn, since the date of the aforesaid letters patent, untill May last, and is to possess and enjoy the same for 4 yeares from hollantide, 1631, and houldes the same from Robert Maxwell, assignee to the said earle" [of Annandale]. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (16) Car. I.

(151). *Kilkeran*.—This proportion, the name of which is written also *Kilkerrhan*, and *Kilkarhan*, was granted to Alexander Dunbar, on the 19th September, 1610, and sold by him to Sir Robert Gordon, on the 27th of August, 1615. It is described as containing "all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in or within the severall townes, villages, hamletts, quarters, balliboes, and parcellis of land following, that is to saye, one quarter called Tawnaght,

one quarter called Kilkassey, one quarter called Mackrose, one quarter called Kilkarhan, one quarter called Lagna-siltoge, one quarter called Fentragh, one quarter called Dramanoe, $\frac{3}{4}$ parte of the quarter called Maywhoho, and $\frac{7}{32}$ partes of the quarter called Dirrylaghan, all which containe 1,000 acres of land." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (32) Car. I.

(152). *Many Irish*.—In 1632, the Irish on this proportion were sub-tenants of a lady, whose family had probably been deprived of the land, but who was permitted to hold for a time and to retain a certain number of Irish tenants at will. "Onora ny Galchor, a meere Irishwoman, and her undertenants, being meere Irish, and such as are not of the English or British discent or sirname, held the half quarter of Kynaghan, in the proportion of the Killkeran, from Thomas Catheringham, assignee unto the said earle [of Annandale], since the date of the aforesaid earle's letters patent, untill May last, and she is to possess the same by virtue of a lease from the said Thomas in 1632, for which she paid a fyne untill May next; the same paies per annum 10*l.* sterling. Donnogh O'Mellane, a meere Irishman, held the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Kilkerran aforesaid, from William Hamilton, assignee unto the aforesaid earle, untill May last; the same paies 6*l.* sterl. per annum. Bryan O'Curry, and others, meere Irish, held the half quarter of Luigansilloge, from Pheltemy McGilgirr, who held the same from Sanders Dunbar, assignee to the said earle. Francis Congall, a meere Irishman, held the three and a half balliboes of the quarter of Fyntragh, in the said proportion, from James Hamilton, assignee unto the said earle, from the date of the aforesaid letters patents [13th December, 1620], untill May last; and same paies per annum 3*l.* sterling. Owen Ballagh Congall, a meere Irishman, held the quarter of Dromnanon, in the said proportion, from David Kearnes, since the date of the aforesaid letters patents [13th December, 1620], who, untill May last past was assignee to the said earle, and paid per annum 8*l.* sterling." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (17) Car. I.

LXXXI. 1,000 Acres.

The *Lady* [Laird] *Broughton* was first Patentee (see p. 296). *John Murrey, Esq.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Ballagh-Boilagh-Eightra* (153). Upon this Proportion there is nothing at all built, and all the Land is inhabited with *Irish* (154).

LXXXII. 1,000 Acres.

Alexander Cunningham holdeth 1,000 acres, called *Moynagan* (155), from the aforesaid *John Murrey, Esq.* Upon there is a strong Bawne of Lime and Stone, with two Flankers. It hath very few *Brittish* Tenants, but a great many of the *Irish*, which dwell upon the Land.

LXXXIII. 1,000 Acres.

James McCullogh holdeth 1,000 acres, called *Mullaghvegh* (156). Upon this there is neither Bawne nor Castle, and very few *Brittish* on the Land, for the most thereof is inhabited with *Irish* (157).

(153). *Ballagh-Eightra*.—This proportion and that called the *Rosses* were originally granted to *George Murray*, Laird of *Broughton*, who died at *Lifford*, on the 6th of August, 1613. He left several children who had not been duly legitimised at the time of his death, and all his lands in *Donegal* consequently reverted to the Crown at his death. The names of his children were *John*, *Susan*, *Marian*, *Katherine*, and *Helen*. See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (9) Jac. I.

(154). *With Irish*.—*Bryan mergagh O'Galcher* held the quarter of land of *Letogh*, in the proportion of *Boylagheightra*, from *Alex. Monroe*, assignee unto the said *Earle of Annandall*, since the date of the said letters patents [taken out by the earl on the 13th Dec., 1620] untill May last past, and hath come now growinge upon the same. *Edmond O'Bressan*, and others, meere *Irishmen*, held the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of *Cashellgowlan*, since the date of the aforesaid letters patents, untill May last, from *Edward Griffin*, assignee unto the *Earle of Annandall*, and hath come now growinge upon the same. *Tinge Oge O'Boyle*, a meere *Irishman*, held the quarter of *Mace* for the same time. *Tirlagh O'Conroughan*, a meere *Irishman*, held the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of *Gortnesillogh*, since the date of the said letters patents untill May last. *Bryan mergagh O'Galcher*, and others, meere *Irishmen*, held the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of *Laterlye*, since the date of the aforesaid letters patents, untill May last, from *Alex. Kearney, gent.*, assignee to the said *Earle of Annandall*. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (16) Car. I.

(155). *Moynagan*.—This proportion, which is named *Moynagan* in the *inquisitions*, was sold on the 22nd of Oct., 1615, by the original patentee, *Alexander Cunningham*, to *Sir Robert Gordon*, who appears to have lost it by his neglect in performing the conditions of the patent. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (9) Jac. I.). By the survey of 1609, *Moynagan* contains all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments in or within the several townes, villages, hamletts, quarters, balliboes, or parcellis of land following, that is to saye, one quarter called *Cloghboye*, one quarter called *Magherierogh*, one quarter called *Carroweavally*, one $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter called *Drumurryn*, one quarter called *Kilkashill*, one quarter called *Magher-*

mayle, one quarter called *Tyermoylin*, one quarter called *Moygunma*, $\frac{1}{16}$ partes of the quarter of *Moynagan*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the quarter of *Cournegarde*, all which doe conteyne 1,000 acres. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (32) Car. I.

(156). *Mullaghvegh*.—This proportion, called also *Mullaghveagh*, was sold by the first patentee, *McCulloch*, on the 3rd of Sept., 1612, to *Patrick Nemoch*, a burgesse of *Edinburgh*, who sold the lands to *Sir Robert Gordon*, the latter losing them by non-fulfilment of the conditions specified in the patents and bonds. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (9) Jac. I.). In the survey of 1609, *Mullaghvegh* is called *Mullaghveagh*, and described as containing "all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments in or within the severall townes, villages, hamletts, quarters, balliboes, and parcellis of land followinge, that is to saye, one quarter called *Carnewefadda*, one quarter called *Killoweras*, one quarter called *Mullaghvagh*, one quarter called *Ballycannan*, one quarter called *Drombohell*, one quarter called *Ardtraghe*, one quarter called *Dromnisillaghe*, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of *Shammaghe*, and the $\frac{1}{4}$ of quarter of *Cornecarde*, all of which doe conteyne, in the whole, 1,000 acres." *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (32) Car. I.

(157). *With Irish*.—Only one leader, or principal person among the *Irish* on this proportion is named in the *inquisition* which we have already quoted so frequently, and which has special reference to the grant from the Crown to the *Earl of Annandale*. "*Donnell McGilker*, and others, meere *Irishmen*, held the half quarter of *Ballychanon*, in the proportion of *Mullaveaghe*, from *Wm. Kearnes*, assignee unto the foresaid *Earle*, since the date of the aforesaid letters patents [13th Dec., 1620] untill May last; and same pates per an. 20s. sterlinge." The *inquisition* closes with the following statement:—"All which lands were lett [in the 8 foregoing proportions] unto the aforesaid meere *Irish* (over and above the fourth parte allotted for the *Irish* in every proportion), contrary to the conditions conteyned in the said *Earle of Annandall's* letters patents; by virtue whereof, as well the said lands, as the rents, issues, and profits thereof, are forfeited unto the now *Kinge*, his heirs and successors." *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (16) and (17) Car. I.

The Precinct of *Portlough*, appointed to *Scottish Undertakers* (see pp. 293-295).

[*"Precinct of Portlough. Duke of Lennox*, chief undertaker of 2,000 acres. *Sir Aulant Aula*, Knight, his agent, resident, with some British families; no preparation for building, save some timber trees felled and squared. *Sir Walter Stewart, Knight*, Laird of Mynto, 1,000 acres; hath taken possession in person, the summer 1610; returned into Scotland, has done nothing. *John Crawford*, Laird Kilberry, 1,000 acres; not appeared nor any for him, and nothing done. *Alexander McAula* of Durlinge, 1,000 acres; appeared not; nothing done. *Sir James Cunningham, Knight*, Laird Glangarnoth, 2,000 acres; took possession, but returned into Scotland; his agent, Robert Younge, resident, built one Irish barn of coples; he hath 44 head of cattle, one plough of garrons, and some tillage last harvest. Three families of British resident on his proportion, preparing to build; as yet, no estate passed to them. *John Cunningham* of Crawfield, 1,000 acres; resident with one family of British; is building a bawn, and preparing materials; hath a plow of garrons, and thirty head of cattle. *Cuthbert Cunningham*, 1,000 acres; resident with two families of British; built an Irish house of coples, and prepared materials to re-edify the castle of Coole McEctrean; hath a plow of garrons, and 80 head of cattle in stock. *William Stewart*, Laird Dunduffe, 1,000 acres; his brother was here for him the summer 1610. and returned into Scotland; left a servant to keep stock, being two mares and 30 head of cattle. *James Cunningham* of Horomilne, 1,000 acres; was here the summer 1610, returned into Scotland; left six servants to keep cows; nothing done, nor preparations made for building."] *Carew's Report of 1611.*

LXXXIV. 1,000 Acres.

John Cunningham, Gentleman, hath 1,000 acres, called *Dunboy* (158). Upon this there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 70 feet square, 14 feet high, with two Flankers, which be three Stories high; and in them good Lodging, and a good House in the Bawne, in which himself with his Wife dwelleth. Near adjoining to the Bawne he hath built a Town consisting of 26 Houses, and a good Water Mill, all which is inhabited with *Brittish Tenants* (159). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 100 acres.

Lessees for years, 12, viz.,

2 having 130 acres le piece.

Of these 14 Families, most have taken the Oath of Supremacy; and they are able to make with their Undertenants 50 armed Men. Here

(158). *Dunboy*.—*John Cunningham* was son of *Sir James Cunningham* of *Glengarnock*, in *Ayrshire* (see p. 294). His proportion of *Dunboy* was also known as *Ardrie*, both being denominational names of parcels of land on the estate.

(159). *Tenants*.—The name of this residence was *Castle-Cunningham*, which name was subsequently used to designate the whole estate or manor, consisting of the several parcels of *Dunboy*, *Monegragane*, and *Moyle*,

containing 280 acres; the town and lands of *Moyfadla* and *Playter*, containing 100 acres; $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of the quarter of *Roughan*, containing 100 acres, with the liberty to fish in *Lough Swilly*. The residence of *Castle-Cunningham*, together with the lands of *Monegragane*, *Playter*, *Roughan*, and *Ardrie*, besides others in the adjoining proportion of *Dacastroose*, were afterwards held by the tenure of knight's service, while the remaining lands of the two proportions now mentioned, were held in common socage. See *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (5) Car. II.

- 4 having 90 acres le piece.
 1 having 48 acres.
 2 having 50 acres le piece.
 3 having 100 acres le piece (160).

is great store of Tillage, and not one
 Irish Family on all the Land (161).

LXXXV. 1,000 Acres.

James Cunningham (162) hath 1,000 acres called *Moyegh* (163). Upon this there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 60 feet square, with two Flankers; the Walls are 14 feet high. Within the Bawne there is a good Stone House, three Stories high, himself and his Family dwelling therein (164). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Families,

Freeholders, 2 viz.,

- 1 having 200 acres.
 1 having 66 acres.

Total, 23 Families, who with their

(160). *Le piece*.—On one and the same day, namely, the 1st of November, 1614, John Cunningham, afterwards Sir John, leased several parcels of his lands. James Robbin, Robert Hunter, and John Martin, rented the quarter called Ardrie; William Boyle, the quarter called Moyle; James Patterson, Alexander McKilchany, and John Plowright, the quarter called Monegragane; John Molsed, Robert Allane, John Fyell, Donnell McKilmun, and John Wilson, rented the quarter called Playter or Plaister; Bernard Coningham, James Boyl, John Bryce, William Sare, Donnell Gillaspick, John Fleminge, Donnell McEvene, William McCassack, Alexander Colewell, John Wigton, John Ramsay, Stephen Woolson, Andrew Calwell, and William Coningham, rented the quarter called Moyfadda; Andrew Coningham and Robert Boyl got the quarter called Donboy; and Donnell Connell, the $\frac{5}{16}$ part of Roghan, adjoining Monegragane. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (5) Car. I.

(161). *On all the Land*.—Although Pynnar saw no Irish on this property in 1620, the natives gathered on afterwards. The lands considered most suitable for the occupation of Irish yearly tenants were portions of the quarters called Roughan and Monegragane. (*Ibid*). On the 23rd of May, 1629, there were issued letters patent of denization to John Cunyngham; and also grant to him, his heirs and assigns, for ever, of two several proportions of land in the precinct of Portlough, containing 1,000 each, with a fishery in the water or lake of Lough Swilly. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Castlecunningham*, with power to create tenures and hold 400 acres in demesne, and to impark 300 acres; court leet and baron; a market on every Monday at Newton, and a fair on the feast of St. Luke; subject to the conditions of plantation, and according to the terms for re-grants of lands in Ulster.

(162). *James Cunningham*.—See p. 295. This undertaker, and his nephew, Sir James Cunningham of Glenarnock, were seriously retarded in their progress as planters by Sir Ralph Bingley. A letter from the King to Chichester, dated April 20, 1612, refers to this matter in the following terms:—"Sir James Cunningham,

Knight, and James Cunningham his uncle, British undertakers of the proportions of Dacostosse and Portlough, in the precinct of Portlough, and Moyaghe and Tryane, complain that two quarters of Tubershan and Altaghery, belonging to the said Sir James's proportion, and also two quarters of the lands of Moyaghe and a quarter of the lands of Tryane, belonging to the said uncle's proportion, expressly granted to them by his Majesty's letters patents, are wrongfully detained from them by Sir Ralph Bingley, to the great hinderance of their proceedings, the said lands lying so intermixed with their proportions, and being of so commodious a situation for their building and fortification there that without the enjoyment of them according to the King's grant, they are not able to perfect the intended work of their plantation, which will be a prejudice both to the public service and to their private interest. He [Chichester] is, therefore, required as well for the upholding the King's grant, as in regard that they entered not into this action of expense by their own suit but by his, the King's own election, as being men particularly known to him, to call Sir Ralph Bingley before him, together with the said Sir James Cunningham and James Cunningham, his uncle; and if upon examination, he shall find that the said parcels in the controversy belong to the said Sir James and his uncle, he is to put them forthwith into possession; but if contrarywise, they belong to Sir Ralph Bingley, that then he do compound the matter between the parties; which, if he cannot effect by their mutual consent, then he is to certify the state of the case to his Majesty, that he may receive his pleasure thereupon." The Cunninghams got possession of the lands above named, but Bingley's widow afterwards complained of being wrongfully dealt with in the settlement of the dispute.

(163). *Moyegh*.—This proportion is also designated *Moagh at Ballaghan*, in an inquisition.

(164). *Dwelling therein*.—The inquisition now quoted mentions that there was on this proportion, in 1629, a castle or stone house 52 feet in length, 20 feet wide, and 22 in height; together with a bawn whose walls were 14 feet high and 228 feet in circumference.

Lessees for years, 6, viz.,

- 2 having 100 acres le piece.
- 2 having 200 acres le piece.
- 2 having 240 acres jointly.

Cottagers, 15, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, and 6 acres, besides Commons for Cows (165).

LXXXVI. 1,000 Acres.

Sir James Cunningham (168) hath 2,000 acres, called *Decastrose* (169) and *Portlogh* (170). Upon this Proportion there is no more built than there was three years past; which was a little Bawne of Lime and Stone, and a small House in it, in which the Lady and her Daughters do now dwell (171); but near to the Bawne there is a small village consisting of 12 Houses, inhabited

(165). *For Cotes*.—On the 1st of May, 1613, James Coningham, or Cunningham, sett out a large quantity of his lands to the persons whose names are underwritten, viz., the quarter called Moiaigh, to Alex. Dunne, John Dunne, Donnell McKym, John Dunne, junior, John Younge, Wm. Hendry, Alex. Grynney, and William Stewart; the quarter called Grackhy, to William Valentyne, Hugh Moore, William Moore, and David Kennedy; the quarter called Magherymore, to John Watson, Robert Paterson, William Ekyn, George Blacke, Andrew Smythe, James Gilmore, William Gante [Galt], George Peere [Pery], John McKym, Andrew Browne, William Sutherland, William Rankin, and John Smythe; the quarter called Magherybegg, to John Purveyance, John Harper, Hugh Lokard, Thomas Scott, and John Browne; the quarter called Dryan, to John Roger, William Teyse [Teese], and Donnell McEredy; the quarter called Tryan-Carrickmore, to David Kennedy, and William Valentyne; the quarter called Eredy, to Wm. Arnett, Andrew Arnett, John Alexander, John Hutchine, Peter Stevenson, John Hamilton, Edward Homes, and George Leich. *Ibid*.

(166). *Men armed*.—Pynnar says nothing about the oath of supremacy in connection with this formidable body of armed men; but the inquisition above quoted informs us that they had not taken that oath, and that, therefore, the letters patent, so far at least as the lands let to these settlers, had become null and void. On the 5th of May, 1629, were issued letters patent to James Cunnynggham; and also a re-grant according to the terms already explained, to him, his heirs, and assigns, forever, of the small proportion of Moyegh, containing 1,000 acres, in the barony of Raphoe, with a fishery in the lake or water of Lough Swilly; to be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Fort-Cunningham*, with the usual powers and privileges; a market every Thursday at Magherymore, adjoining the church of Rarmoghy; and two fairs, 26th June and 24th October.

(167). *On all the Land*.—Although Pynnar saw no native tenants in 1620, they were no doubt to be found there, as on the adjoining proportions; and at all events, the lands most suited for their reception had been duly

Undertenants, are able to make 42 men armed (166). He hath good store of Tillage, and I saw not one *Irish Family* on all the Land (167).

set apart, as on other estates. These lands were the quarter called Tryan-Carrickmore, and $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of the quarter called Grackhy. *Ibid*.

(168). *Sir James Cunningham*.—See p. 294. This Scottish knight was never, apparently, out of pecuniary difficulties. On the 26th of February, 1616, there is recorded a deed of bargain and sale, by which he grants and conveys to Sir William Alexander of Menstrey, the manor of Dacotruse and Portlogh, and 2,000 acres thereto belonging, with the water-mill of Cargyn; to hold for ever.

(169). *Decastrose*.—On this proportion, Sir James Cunningham built two water-mills, known as the Cargen mills. The lands most suitable on which to admit Irish tenants were the quarters of Gortlevy, and the $\frac{2}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the quarter of Bohey. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal, (5) Car I.*

(170). *Portlogh*.—See p. 295. Sir James Cunningham, on the 20th January, 1619-20, sold to Alex. Cunningham of Ballesallagh, in the county of Down, the two quarter-lands on this estate of Drumloghrun and Carcomon. The $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Carmon, adjoining Listekeale,—which does not exceed the $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the quarter of Drumloghrun and Carcomon,—was the most suitable locality for Irish tenants. *Ibid*.

(171). *Do now dwell*.—This lady was Katherine Cunningham, a daughter of the Earl of Glencairn, and her family, by Sir James Cunningham of Glengarnock, consisted of two daughters and a son. Sir James had been obliged to sell nearly all his lands to Sir Wm. Alexander of Menstrie and John Cunningham, his brother, afterwards Sir John; the former paying him 400*l.*, and the latter 1,000 marks for their several lots, so that when Sir James died, he left his wife "destitute of jointure and dower, his son and heir, George Cunningham within age, and two daughters unprovided of means of livelihood." Under these trying circumstances, the King interposed, requiring the deputy, the lord chancellor, and the commissioners of plantation to hold an inquisition, for the purpose of ascertaining "whether the said Sir James, Sir John Cunningham, Sir William Alexander, or any other person or persons, have done, or omitted to do, any act contrary to the conditions expressed in the patent of the said lands,

with *Brittish* Tenants. There is a good store of Tillage, and no *Irish* that I saw; and, as I am informed, 40 able men.

LXXXVII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir James Cunningham must answer for this. *Cuthbert Cunningham* (172) hath 1,000 acres called *Dromagh* alias *Coole McTreene*. Upon this Proportion there is nothing built by him; but the

or otherwise, whereby the same, or any part thereof, ought to be forfeited, or come unto us. And upon return of the inquisition, finding a title for us unto the said three proportions [Dacotruse, Portlagh, and Drummeye] and lands, or any part thereof, to make a grant, or grants, by letters patent from us unto the lady Katherine, and her assigns, for and during her natural life, of one full third part, in three equal parts to be divided, of the three proportions aforesaid, and of the Cargyn water-mills, as we shall be found by inquisition to be entitled unto, in lieu of her dower; the remainder thereof to George Cunningham and his heirs; and of the other three parts, the proportion of Dacotruse and water-mills of Cargyn, unto the said Sir William Alexander and Sir Archibald Acheson, upon trust and confidence, and to the intent that they shall receive and take the profits for the payment of the 400*l.* due, which Sir William Alexander is willing to accept of in satisfaction of his interest in the lands and mills to him conveyed. . . . And we do further hereby authorise you to make a grant by our letters patent, to lady Katherine of the guardianship of the body and lands of the said George Cunningham, her son, during his minority, and of all the rents and profits of the proportions of Portlagh and Drummeye, and the mill thereunto erected since the death of Sir James Cunningham, for the better maintenance of herself and her children; and to take order that the lady Katherine may receive speedy satisfaction for all such sums of money as shall appear to be due unto her husband. Westminster, May, 1627." In the year following, another letter from the King to the deputy, adding—"forasmuch as the said lady had not hitherto been able to repair into that kingdom to prosecute her affairs there, being detained on this side by urgent business, and more especially for want of means to support her, the profits of those lands, which are her only supply of livelihood, being kept from her; and in regard also, that the time limited by our letter and instructions of the 16th August, in the third year of our reign, for passing [re-passing] unto the undertakers of Ulster the several proportions, is now expired, so that by our letters of the 5th of June last we have directed a commission and other instructions for passing those lands to several undertakers [which had been forfeited by neglect of covenants]; it is our pleasure that the said lady shall have the benefit of the commission and instructions lately directed as aforesaid." But there was further delay in having this business finally arranged, for the lady Katherine's brother, Lord Kilmaurs, had become security for several sums of money borrowed by her husband, which sums he, Lord Kilmaurs, was obliged to pay. A third royal letter was issued from Windsor, on the 16th of July, 1629, in which the Irish deputy is instructed as follows:—"Whereas, we did lately write our letters unto you, our Deputy, for passing Sir James Cunningham's lands unto his son, or some other feoffees, to his use, and the use of his mother, who is

sister to the said Lord Kilmaures, and who, as we conceive, would be loath to prejudice her said brother, or hinder the payment of his just debt; our pleasure, therefore, is, that you stay the passing of all letters patent of the said lands, or any part thereof, unto any person whatsoever, until such time as the said debt be first paid; or, at least, that you take some speedy course whereby to charge the said lands with the said debt, and also for payment of some small debt due unto Master John Dromond, servitor. To our well-beloved cousin and counsellor the Earl of Monteith."

(172). *Cuthbert Cunningham*.—See p. 295. Cuthbert Cunningham, who was evidently a relative of Sir James, probably his uncle, had disappeared from his proportion on the shore of Loughswilly, either dying or returning to his native Ayrshire; but Sir James was unable to answer for his own undertakings, and much less to become responsible for those of others. He had become in some way, however, the owner or occupier of *Dromagh*, for he resided there, and there died in 1623, his son and heir, George Cunningham, being 9 years of age at the time of his father's death. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (15) Jac. I.) After the arrangement already mentioned, this proportion of *Dromagh*, or *Drumeye*, or *Coole-mcTreene*, or *CoolmcItrian*, or *Colmacatrane*, must have been sold in fragments to suit certain neighbouring undertakers. We find that on the 14th of July, 1630, there was a grant of its lands to Sir William Stewart, Sir John Cunningham, John Hamilton, and James Cunningham, their heirs and assigns forever, as undertakers of the province of Ulster, of the small proportion of *CoolemcItrien*, in the precinct of Portlagh, barony of Raphoe, with all the lands thereunto belonging; also 680 acres in the same barony; and the eighth part of a quarter called *Tullyannon*, lying in the said proportion. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *CoolemcItrien*, with power to create tenures and hold 700 acres in demesne, court leet and court baron, warren, park, and chase, with such conditions and covenants as are inserted in the patents of the undertakers. The old dispute between Sir Ralph Bingley on the one side, and the Cunninghams and Alexander McAula on the other, was revived in 1626. This dispute had reference to two quarters of land called *Tubberslane* and *Attahere* granted to Sir James Cunningham; the site of the dissolved monastery of *Bealleachan*, with two quarters of land called *Dryan* and *Moyagh*, granted to James Cunningham, esquire; and one quarter of land, parcel of the dissolved monastery, called *Mullanehalaske*, granted to Alexander McAula, whose assignee is Alexander Stewart. These several parcels of land had been regularly included in the proportions granted to the undertakers above named, and held by them for a time, until seized by Sir Ralph Bingley as having previously been granted to him on a lease of

Tenants do build after their manner, and it is peopled sufficiently ; the said Sir James must build and answer for both the Proportions, and therefore I have put them both together ; for otherwise they cannot be distinguished. I find planted and estated upon these Proportions, of *Brittish* Birth and Descent,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

- 3 having 200 acres le piece.
- 1 having 140 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 100 acres.

Lessees, for years, 9, viz.,

- 2 having 200 acres le piece.
- 2 having 200 acres jointly,
- 3 having 100 acres le piece.
- 2 having 360 acres jointly.

Cottagers, 15, viz.,

Each has a Tenement, with a Backside, with some Commons for Cattle.

Total, 30 Families, who, with their undertenants, are able to make 80 men, whereof five have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

LXXXVIII. 1,000 Acres.

William Stewart, Laird of *Dunduff*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Coolclaghie* (173). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Clay and Stone 70 feet square, with two Flankers, being three Stories high, with necessary Lodgings in them ; but they are not as yet finished ; also there is a good House in it, in which himself with his Wife dwelleth (174). I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish* Birth,

21 years. It was arranged, in 1614, that the undertakers should hold the lands, and that Bingley should have an equivalent in some other quarter. The latter, however, does not appear to have received any 'consideration' for the property to which he believed himself entitled ; and in 1626, he commenced a suit in the name of Lieut. George Gall or Gale, against Sir John Cunningham, James Cunningham, and Alexander Stewart, for recovery of the said lands. Sir James Cunningham and Alexander McAula had died before this second effort of Bingley to regain possession. James I., who hushed up the original dispute, had also died ; but his son, Charles I., also took up the matter warmly on the part of the undertakers. "In respect we and our Crown," says he, "are entitled unto the lands in question by the great office, which we will not have in any sort to be questioned, and for that the said undertakers have been for divers years settled in the possession of the said lands, we do, therefore, in confirmation of our father's good intention, expressed in his letters [especially in one dated Aug. 7, 1614], hereby require you [deputy Falkland] to take present order for staying of any further proceedings upon the said suit, and of all other suits to be brought against Sir John Cunningham, James Cunningham, and Alexander Stewart, concerning the premises, saving only before you ; and that

you take order that they be no further causelessly molested by the said Sir Ralph Bingley, or any other person or persons whatever, touching the premises or any part thereof. June 7th, 1626." Soon after this date Bingley was slain, but his widow, who was about to marry again in 1628, renewed the claim to have back the "lands from which her husband had been wrongfully dispossessed for the space of twelve years," and for which King James "intended to have given a valuable recompense to Sir Ralph Bingley." Charles I., in writing to the Deputy Falkland on the 7th June, 1628, announces his wishes on the subject as follows—and as we hear no more of the matter, the lady had no doubt her way:—"Forasmuch as the said Sir Ralph Bingley was slain in our service, valiantly fighting for us and his country, we are graciously pleased to afford unto the lady, his widow, all just relief ; and at her humble suit for a speedy determination of this controversy, do hereby require and authorise you to call the Lady Bingley, and the parties now interested and seized of and in the lands and mills, and to examine the controversy ; and finally to determine the same according to justice and equity."

(173). *Coolclaghie*. See p. 294.

(174).—*Dwelleth*.—The inquisition now quoted states, that on this proportion there were the following buildings

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

1 having 200 acres.

1 having 60 acres.

Lessees for years, 8, viz.,

2 having 200 acres le piece.

2 having 100 acres le piece.

3 having 200 acres jointly.

1 having 66 acres (175).

Those ten Families, with their undertenants, are able to make 40 Men with Arms; and these, for the most part, have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

LXXXIX. 1,000 Acres.

Alexander McAuley alias *Stewart* (176) hath 1,000 acres, called *Ballyneagh* (177). Upon this

in 1629, namely, a castle or stone house, 18 feet long, 17 feet wide, and 21 feet in height; a second stone house, 18 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 17 feet in height; and a bawn, the walls of which were 14 feet high, and 360 in circumference.

(175). *Acres*.—On the 10th of June, 1614, William Stewart, laird of Dunduff, sett off several portions of his lands to the persons whose names are hereunder written:—"The quarter called Drumbarnad, to Archibald Thomson, John Coningham al' Huggin, John Hood, James Dunsayer, William Fullerton, and Gilbert Kenneday; the quarter called Moneymore, to John MacKay, John Smyth, Alex. Lokard, Alex. Hunter, James Sayre, Walter Stewart, and William Smelley; the quarter called Kilvarry [Kilbarry], to Thomas Lodge; the quarter called Maneclant, to Hugh O'Dogherty and Con O'Donnell; the quarter called Drumoghilly, to Arthur Stewart, gent.; the quarter called Modowy, to James Maghan, Dermont O'Brallaghan, Shane O'Brallaghan, Killegroome O'Derny, Anthony Stewart, gent., and Toole McVeagany; and the $\frac{1}{2}$ part of the quarter called Drumalls, to Michael McLoughery and Owen Macintire. The natives, who are here named with the British settlers, were placed on the lands called Modowy, and three balliboos of Maneclant. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (9) Car. I.) On the 7th _____, 1629, letters of denization were issued to this William Stewart; and also a re-grant to him, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the small proportion of Cooleaghy, in the precinct of Portlough, containing 1,000 acres. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Mount-Stewart*; with power to create tenures and hold 400 acres in demesne; court baron and court leet, waifs and strays, liberty to impark 300 acres; subject to the conditions of the plantation, and to the King's terms for re-grant.

(176). *Alias Stewart*.—Among the controversies somewhat fiercely waged throughout the Ulster plantation, there was one between this undertaker and his powerful neighbour, Sir Ralph Bingley. In 1611, Carew mentions the cause of this dispute as follows:—"Between Sir Ralph Bingley and Alexander McAuley,—for the quarter of Monaghaglin or Monaghlin, and the quarter of Trien, which lands the said Sir Ralph affirms do belong to the abbey of Balligahan. Admit these are of the abbey,

which could not appear so on the general survey, yet this abbey was formerly passed to Sir Ralph Bingley, in fee, and by him sold to [the earl of] Tirconnell, and by him [the earl] forfeited again, and never since passed to any; so the King may grant it to the undertaker, and to him it must be maintained; and if Sir Ralph have any promise from the Crown, he must be otherwise satisfied, which is to be further considered, for Sir Ralph has been a man of good merit and service in those parts." It would seem that the quarrel here mentioned was not settled until the King himself was appealed to. In April, 1612, a King's letter was addressed to Chichester stating that "Alexander Maccaula of Durling complains that in April, 1611, he obtained his Majesty's letters to Sir Arthur Chichester, and that pursuant thereto he [Chichester] directed a warrant to Sir Ralph Bingley, then high sheriff of the county of Donegal, to put him, the said Alexander Maccaula, into possession of the portion of lands called Balline [Ballyochan, and afterwards Ballylawn], within the precinct of Portlough, according to the tenor of the King's letter, granted to him as a British undertaker. That, nevertheless, the said Sir Ralph Bingley refuses to execute the said warrant, and to give him possession of the quarter of land called Monaghlin, parcel of the said Alexander's proportion, the said quarter being at this present wrongly in the possession of the said Sir Ralph Bingley (as the King is informed), whereby the said Alexander and such people as he carried over hither for the plantation and inhabiting of the said proportion of land are disappointed of the most commodious place for their plantation, to their great loss and hindrance. He [Chichester] is, therefore, to call both parties before him, and if he shall find the right to the said parcels to belong to the said Alexander Maccaula, he is to put him forthwith into possession; but if to Sir Ralph Bingley, then he is to try to compound the matter between them; and if he cannot effect this by their mutual consent he is to certify the state of the cause to him [the King] to learn his pleasure." Maccaula must have got possession of the disputed lands soon after the date of this letter on terms that he failed to observe,—at least to the satisfaction of Lady Bingley, who, after her husband's death, complained that she had been wrongfully dealt with in the matter.

(177). *Ballyneagh*.—The first patentee, Alex. McAula, alias Stewart, sold these lands to Alexander Stewart, probably a kinsman, and John Stewart, son of the pur-

there is built a Bawne of Lime and Stone 70 feet square, with four Flankers, and a Stone House in it (178). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Birth*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

- 1 having 200 acres.
- 1 having 60 acres.

Lessees for years, 9, viz.,

- 3 having 200 acres le piece.
- 2 having 180 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 2 having 60 acres le piece.
- 1 having 40 acres.

Total, 11 Families, who, with their Undertenants, are able to make 30 Men armed; these have taken the Oath of Supremacy. Here is good store of Tillage, and I saw not one Irish Family on the Land.

XC. 1,000 Acres.

The *Laird of Luss* (179) hath 1,000 acres, called *Corkagh* (180). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Clay and Stone, 60 feet square, 10 feet high, with two Flankers, and a poor House

chaser, held the lands in 1629. On the 9th of May, in that year, letters of denization were issued to John Stewart; and also a grant to him, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the small proportion of Ballyveagh, in the precinct of Portlough. To be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The premises to be created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Stewarts-Court*, with the usual privileges and powers enjoyed by manors, and subject to the conditions and requirements of re-grants. Although Pynnar saw not "one Irish family on the lands," in 1620, the native tenants no doubt occupied soon afterwards the lands set apart for them in this proportion—viz., the quarter of Ballyveagh and $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the quarter of Ballyloane. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (8) Car. I.; (13) and (14) Car. II.

(178). *Stone House in it*.—The inquisition above quoted states that in 1620, there stood on this proportion a castle or stone house, surrounded by a wall, forming a bawn, but that the wall was then in a dilapidated condition. John Stewart died on the 1st of March 1642, and was succeeded by his son and heir, also named John, who was 25 years of age at the time of his father's death. He died in 1646, and his son and heir, William Stewart was eight years of age at the time of his father's death. Barbara Stewart, the widow of John and mother of William, was alive in 1662. The family residence of Ballylawn was called *Stewart-Court* in 1640, and subsequently.

(179). *Laird of Luss*.—This was Sir John Colquhoun, the representative of a very old clan or sept, whose 'country' lies on the banks of Loch Lomond, and comprehends Glendouglas, Glenluss, and Glenfruin—a district celebrated for the picturesque beauty of its scenery. It is rich also in historical associations; and the ruins still remaining at Banochar, Inch-Galbraith, and Ross-dhu, are evidences of its early territorial importance. On the 14th of July, 1630, letters patent of denization were issued to Robert Colquhowne, son of Sir John; and a grant to him, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the small proportion of Corkagh, in the precinct of Portlough, barony of Raphoe, containing 1,000 acres. To be held as of the castle of

Dublin, in free and common socage. The lands afe created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Corkagh*, with power to create tenures and hold 400 acres in demesne; court leet and court baron; warren, park, and chase, according to the usual terms.

(180). *Corkagh*.—This proportion was afterwards known as *Corkagh*. In 1662, Humphrey and Robert Galbraith held nearly all its lands in fee, having purchased from Sir John Colquhoun, the laird of Lusa. His son, Sir John Calhowne, purchased back this property on the 1st of May, 1664, consisting of the quarter called Corkagh, the quarter of Lebindish, the quarter of Lesglamerty, the quarter of Ruskey, the quarter of Gortmore, and the towns and lands of Carrickballydowry al' Carrickballyduffe—in all, 700 acres. (See *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (3) Car. II.) The two Galbraiths above named were probably connexions of the Colquhouns. Several brothers came to Ulster at the time of the plantation, and two of them, Humphrey and William, were retained by Spottiswoode, the Bishop of Clogher, as upper servants or agents in the management of his various and apparently very troublesome affairs. Among their numerous duties they seem to have, at times, acted as bailiffs for the bishop, at least during the period of his great quarrel with Lord Balfour already mentioned. (See pp. 475, 476). In the course of this feud, the belligerents adopted the rather provoking tactics of driving off each other's cattle. Indeed, this appears to have been a species of warfare in which the Scottish settlers showed themselves suspiciously expert—their adroitness at such work suggesting the conclusion that some of them at least must have learned the art of 'cattle lifting' before coming to Ulster. An opportunity for the bishop's retainers to do a little business in this line had come, and we shall permit the writer of that prelate's 'Life,' to tell the results of their movements as follows:—"They went to Lissenskea [Lisnaska], the Lord Balfour's towne, where they found three or four horses of Sir John Wimbles [Wemyss, son-in-law to Balfour], which they brought away and prized them at Inniskilling. Some two days

within it, which is thatched. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *British Families*,
Freeholders, 2, viz.,

1 having 300 acres.

1 having 100 acres.

Lessees for years, 3, viz.,

1 having 330 acres.

1 having 300 acres.

1 having 195 acres.

Cottagers, 5, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott,

XCI. 3,000 Acres.

Sir John Stewart, Knight, hath 3,000 acres called Cashell, Ketin, and Littergull (181). Upon this Proportion there is built at *Magevelin*, a very strong Castle of Lime and Stone, with a

Total, 10 Families, who, with their
Undertenants, are able to make 26
Men; whereof, five of the best have
taken the Oath of Supremacy. Here
is good store of Tillage.

after, the 20th of Decembre, the bishop's servants went out again, some five in number, to take a distress for Sir John Wishard's rent, who, as they were passing by the Lord Balfour's town, perceived the Lord Balfour's stood of mares to be pasturing on the bishop's lands, for which Balfour refused to pay rent; they resolved, therefore, to goe no further, so severed a part of the stood, and drove them towards Inniskilling; and were gone near seven miles from the place before Sir John Wimbles, and above three score of the Lord Balfour's tenants and servants overtook them. Sir John, incensed with the indignity he thought done him so lately, he, without any worde, att the very first, thrust William Galbreith through the shoulder with a pyke, then two or three of his company gave him divers other wounds. Humphrey Galbreith, seeing his brother in this case, he called to Sir John to forbear, and he should have all content, to whom Sir John answered—'Devill have my soule if we part so;' whereupon Humphrey grappled [grappled?] with Sir John, and while they were wrestling in a dirty bog, one David Balfour wounded Humphrey in divers places. Humphrey laying his accompt his brother was killed, and himself could not escape, he took holde of a long skeen that was about Sir John Wimbles, and therewith did give him a deadly wound. So they parted; for Sir John's company gathered all about Sir John himself, and pursued the bishop's servants no further. The bishop's men were all sore wounded, and lost much blood, so had much adoe to get home. They did not acquaint the bishop with that was done, neither did he suspect that unhappy accident, till Sir William Cole came to Portora [the bishop's dwelling-place], and affirmed that Sir John was deadly hurt, and therefore required the bishop to enter into a recognisance of a thousand pounds, to make his servants forthcoming att the next assizes." (*Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 113-114.) Although the bishop consented to this proposal, he did so only through fear; and suspecting afterwards that the Galbraiths would make their escape to Scotland, and he would thus forfeit his thousand pounds, he had actually made an arrangement with the sheriff to seize them before the time appointed for their

trial. They eluded this trap; and Humphrey Galbraith, indignant at the bishop's heartlessness, wrote from his hiding place, a long letter, of which the following are the concluding words:—"If, therefore, you love yourselfe, as I know you do better than all the world beside, follow your business, and leave the pursuit of us; which, if you doe, I vow before God, that not only those who are with me, but even the rest shall be present at the day; for so much I dare undertake for them, wheresoever they are." The Galbraiths appeared, were tried for murder, and escaped the doom which the Balfour party had hoped was in store for them; but the bishop had to pay a very heavy fine for the doings of his servants. Afterwards, the Galbraiths were able to buy lands, and to take the rank of county gentry.

(181). *Littergull*.—These three small proportions were granted to Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox (see p. 293); and Sir John Stewart, who held them in Pynnar's time, was either agent or undertenant to Lennox. The second proportion, which Pynnar calls *Ketin*, was better known as Magauelen or Mongavlin. The following is a correct account of this grant, as contained in a King's letter, dated April 11, 1628:—"To Ludovick, Duke of Lenox, his heirs and assigns, were granted, the 23rd July, 1610, the small proportion of Magevelin, containing 1,000 acres of land, and the advowson of the rectory of Taghoyhin; the small proportion of Lettergull, containing 1,000 acres; and the small proportion of Cashell, containing 1,000 acres, together with all castles, messuages, mills, &c., thereunto belonging. On the 6th 1618, were granted to said Duke of Lenox, his heirs and assigns, the quarter of Dromtowlan alias Castlelufe, the half quarter of Lagnevrawe, and three balliboes of the quarter of Galdenogh, together with a market weekly, and two fairs yearly at St. Johnstone. And after the said Ludovick, Duke of Lenox, died without heirs, the lands and premises descended unto Esme, late Duke of Lenox, and Earl of March, as brother and heir of the said Ludovick; and after the said Esme, Duke of Lenox, died, the lands descended to James Duke of Lenox and Earl of March." The King's letter goes on to state that, as the

Flanker at each corner; but as yet there is no Bawne nor Frecholders made; and for want of them he [Sir John] saith the Duke of Lenox shall answer the King. But I saw the land well inhabited and full of people; but what estates they have I know not, neither would he call the Tenants together; but showed me a counterpaine of one Lease, and said that each of the Tenants had the like.

XCII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir John Stewart aforesaid hath 1,000 acres called *Lismolmoghan* (182). Upon this there is neither Castle nor Bawne; but the Land is well inhabited with Brititish Tenants.

The Precinct of *Liffer*, allotted to *English* Undertakers. (See p. 293).

[*"Precinct of Lyffer.* Sir Henry Docwra, Knight, undertaker of 2,000 acres, has by allowance

plantation of the above-named lands had not been duly performed, the deputy and commissioners were to hold an inquisition, and when it would appear that the lands had come again by forfeiture to the Crown, they were to be granted formally to James, Duke of Lenox, "in consideration of his acceptable and good service, and as a mark of our special favour towards him, and for his encouragement, and better enablement to do us further service." On the 24th of January, 1628-29, a grant was accordingly made to James, Duke of Lennox, of the small proportion of Magavelin with the advowson of the vicarage of Tagheylin, the proportion called Lettergull, and the proportion of Cashell, with other lands. To hold forever, as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common socage. The proportions and lands mentioned in the patent are created into two manors, one to be called the manor of *Magavelin*, and the other to be called the manor of *Lismolmoghery*, having the usual powers and privileges of other manors; a market in any convenient place within the quarter called Altaraskin, and two fairs on the Tuesdays next after the feasts of Easter and St. Michael. The first Duke of Lennox got the appointment of admiral, when it was forfeited by the turbulent Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. Of this first duke, whose name was Esme Stewart, Scot of Scotstarvet, says:—"He first married the widow of the Sheriff of Ayr; but having small contentment in her, he quitted her at King James VI.'s going to England, and when, some few years thereafter, she followed him up to London, he sent her back again with small contentment. After that, she dying of displeasure, he married the Countess of Hereford, but had no children by her, and died suddenly in his bed, the first day of King James VI.'s last Parliament, and was thought to have been poisoned." Ludovick the second duke, the same author notices as follows:—"Lewis [Ludovick], son to Esme, succeeded him in the honour and office of admiralty, and survived him scarce a year or two; but it was thought he was poisoned." For a notice of Esme, the third duke, see p. 308. Of James, the fourth duke, to whom the above-mentioned grant was made, Scot remarks:—"Albeit he had the title of Admiral as successor to his progenitors, yet he lost it by the English, their incoming to Scotland, and their apprehending [taking] possession of the whole offices pertaining to the Crown, whereof that was one." See *Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, pp. 117-118.

(182). *Lismolmoghan*.—There is no mention of this proportion in the printed inquisitions, nor of Sir John Stewart, the first patentee. In the grant of all the lands mentioned in the preceding note to James Duke of Lennox, this proportion, here and in other documents called *Lismolmoghan*, was included by the name of *Lismolmoghery*, and evidently consisted of the lands known as Dromtowlan al' Castlelufe, Lagnevrawe, and Galdenough. The absence from the inquisitions of any mention of Sir John Stewart, once the recognised owner of *Lismolmoghan*, or *Lismolmoghery*, is partly explained by the following King's letter, addressed to Falkland, the deputy, on the 27th June, 1628:—"Whereas we have directed you by our letters to make a grant by letters patent unto Sir James Fullerton, and Sir David Murray, of the several proportions of Magevelin, Lettergull, and Cashell, and sundry other lands and hereditaments, in trust and confidence to the only use and behoof of James Duke of Lenox and Earl of March; forasmuch as Sir John Stewart, who hath hitherto held possession of the aforesaid proportions, hath lately, in our realme of Scotland, been convicted of certain capital crimes according to the laws of that our kingdom, for which he remains in prison there, at our mercy for his life; we require you forthwith to give effectual order and warrant that the house and castle of Magevelin be delivered into the possession of Thomas Holmes, agent there for our cousin; and that all the household stuff and utensils therein remaining, and the cattle upon the ground lately belonging to the said Sir John Stewart, be duly inventoried, and put into the hands of the said Holmes, until we may give further direction therein. And, understanding that one William Yong, late servant to Sir John Stewart, is fled into that kingdom, and hath carried with him several evidences, writings, and papers, and some plate, money, and jewels, lately belonging to Sir John, and further that he is in that our kingdom suspected of theft, and become a fugitive, it is our pleasure that you cause speedy and diligent search to be made after the said Yong, and having found him, to cause such things of the nature aforesaid, as can be discovered in his custody, or in any sort embezzled, to be seized on, and the same to be put into the hands of some sufficient person, until upon notice thereof, we shall give direction for the further disposing of the same; and likewise to commit him to prison, and so soon as may be, to cause him to be sent in safe custody to our council of Scotland, there to undergo such trial as shall be thought fit."

of the Council, passed over his portion of land to *William Wylson* of Clarye, in Suffolk, who has letters patent in his own name. The said Wylson had his agent, Chris. Parmenter, resident, who appeared before us. There are some families of English resident, who brought over good store of household stuff, and have stock 21 cows and oxen, 9 mares, one service horse, and some small cattle. *Sir Morris Barkley, Knight*, undertaker of 2,000 acres; has not been here nor any agent for him, nothing done. *Sir Robert Remyngton, Knight*, 2,000 acres; the like. *Sir Thomas Cornwall, Knight*, 2,000 acres; his agent, Edward Littleton, took possession, and is resident; has built nothing, nor provided any materials yet. *Sir William Barnes, Knight*, 1,500 acres; sold his proportion to *Captain Edward Russell*, who is possessed, but has done nothing. *Sir Henry Clare*, 1,500 acres; has an agent resident, named William Browne; nothing done. *Sir Thomas Coache, Knight*, 1,500 acres; is a resident, has built a large timber house adjoining to the Castle of Skarfollis, and is providing materials for re-edifying the Castle. Four families of British upon his land, to whom he intends to pass estates. *Captain Edward Russell*, 1,500 acres; is resident, and his son with him. There are two English houses of timber framed; stock, four horses, six English cows, and a bull; three or four English labourers, but no tenants. *Captain Mansfield*, 1,000 acres; is resident, has nothing done."

"*Town of Lyffer*. A good and strong fort built of lime and stone, with bulwarks, a parapet, and a large ditch of good depth cast about it on the river side, with a storehouse for victuals and munition, a gatehouse with a drawbridge. This fort was built by Sir Richard Hansard, towards which the King allowed him 200*l.* English. There is another small fort in the town rampiered and ditched, about which are certain houses built of good timber after the English manner, which serve for the use of a gaoler, and to keep the prisoners. Sir Richard Hansard, Knight, being appointed by the now Lord Deputy to be at Lyffer with his Company in 1607, found but one house in that town. Upon view of the town we found it [1611] well furnished with inhabitants of English, and Scottish, and Irish, who live by several trades, brought thither by Sir Richard, who built 21 houses for tenants who are to give entertainment to passengers. Thirty-seven houses were built by others.

"*Town of Donegall*. We found a fair bawn built, with flankers, a parapet, and a walk on the top 15 foot high. Within the bawn is a strong house of stone, built by Captain Bassill Brooke, towards which the King gave him 250*l.* English. Many families of English, Scottish, and Irish are inhabiting in the town, who built them good copled houses after the manner of the Pale. About two miles from thence Captain Paul Goare [Gore] has erected a fair stone house out of the ruins of O'Boyle's old castle upon the sea side, which he has by direction of the Lords of the Council delivered up to Laird Broughton, undertaker of those lands; he demands some consideration for his charges, which we think him worthy of." *Carew's Report* in 1611].

XCIH. 1,500 Acres.

Peter Benson hath 1,500 acres called *Shraghmicar* (183). Upon this there is a Bawne of

(183). *Shraghmicar*.—This name is written *Shraghmirlar* in the survey. See p. 271.

Lime and Stone 100 feet square, 13 feet high, with four Flankers; there is in it a good House of Lime and Stone, in which himself, with his Wife and Family, are dwelling (184); he hath also a Water Mill. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

5 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 19, viz.,

1 having 200 acres.

1 having 120 acres.

4 having 40 acres le piece.

3 having 25 acres le piece.

1 having 150 acres.

4 having 11 acres le piece.

5 having 160 acres jointly (185).

These 24 Families, with their Undertenants, are able to make 68 men with Arms, and have taken the Oath of Supremacy. He hath made a village consisting of 10 Houses, and not one Irish family on the Lands.

XCIV. 2,000 Acres.

William Wilson, Esq., hath 2,000 acres called *Aghagalla*. Upon this proportion there is a large Bawne and a Castle standing on a high Mount, all which is thoroughly finished, himself with his Wife and Family dwelling therein. He hath made a Village consisting of 10 Houses well built (186). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of the *Brittish Nation*,

(184). *Are dwelling*.—The inquisition now quoted describes the chief buildings on this proportion, in 1630, as consisting of a castle or stone house 28 feet long, 14 feet wide, and 14 feet in height; and a bawn whose walls were 9 feet high and 560 in circumference.

(185). *Acres jointly*.—On the 1st of May, 1616, Peter Benson, the proprietor, let several portions of his lands as follows, viz., the quarter of Tevickmoy to Sir Ralph Bingley, Robert Kilpatterick, James Kilpatterick, and Archibald McMathe; the quarter of Dummoyle to James Maxwell, James Tate, Robert Kilpatterick, John Ewart, and Thomas Watson; the quarter of Tireculin, to George Newton; the quarter of Garwery to Ludovic Stubbins, Toole McDevitt, and George Hilton; the quarter of Shraghmirlar to George Bailie, Richard Röper, and James Read; the quarter called Teadanmore, to Henry Preston, Thomas Preston, Donnell McKecege, and Chas. Atkinson; the $\frac{1}{11}$ of the quarter of Newna to Sir Richard Hansard, Richard Babington, and Edward Cattherall; and the $\frac{2}{11}$ parts of Knockgarran to John Kilpatterick and Archibald McMathe. These tenants, although all, with perhaps one exception, were British settlers, only got leases of their several holdings for one year, probably until some more permanent arrangement could be made. The quarter of Teadanmore, and the $\frac{9}{11}$ parts of the quarter of Newna, were considered the most suitable lands on this proportion to let to Irish tenants. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (10) Car. I.). The following information relative to a part of these lands was found by inquisition, January, 1617:—"There is a gort of land belonging to the viccar of Shraghmirlar, which said gort lieth as followeth, that is to saie, it [the gort] beginnith from the middle causie of stone, lieinge betweene the church and the towne of Shraghmirlar, and soe runne along a little ditche

by a bogge side, inclosinge a forte, and soe crossinge a small brooke runninge up and over a moesse or turfe pit, and soe downe to a stoune ford, and from thence directlie to a blacke thorne which standeth by the Kinge's high waie, leadinge from Shraghmirlar aforesaid to Castleffynne, and soe along to a little brooke, and soe directlie up to the cawsie wher the first boundes beganne, contayninge by estimation 20 acres of goode arrable lande, more or lesse, besids heath and bogge; all which gort was lattie in the tenure and occupation of Peter Benson of Shraghmirlar aforesaid, or of his assignes." (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (8) Jac. I.) On the 11th of July, 1629, a re-grant was made to Peter Benson, his heirs and assigns for ever, of the middle proportion of *Shraghmirlar*, containing 1,500 acres, in the precinct of Lifer, barony of Raphoe; to be held in free and common socage. The premises to be erected into the manor of *Shraghmirlar*, with power to create tenures, hold 600 acres in demesne, court baron and leet, waifs and strays; pursuant to the usual condition of plantation.

(186). *Well built*.—This undertaker was remarkable for the energy with which he prosecuted his objects as a planter. The date of his death is not mentioned in any printed inquisition. In 1635, his son, Sir John Wilson, was in possession not only of the proportion called *Aghagalla*, but of another known as *Convoigh*, together with additional parcels in the same district. These lands were created the manor of *Wilsonsfert*, for which the landlord paid to the Crown the yearly rent of 31*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* Sir John Wilson died on the 16th of _____, 1636, leaving a daughter, Anne, aged two years. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (24) Car. I.). Anne died in August, 1639, and the property was next owned by her uncle, Andrew Wilson, brother of Sir John, who was of full age at the

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

6 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for 3 Lives, 14, viz.,

4 having 200 acres jointly.

4 having 56 acres le piece.

2 having 200 acres jointly.

3 having 200 acres jointly.

1 having 66 acres jointly.

These 20 Families have 50 Families under them, which do dwell many of them together, and are able to make 106 men. Here is great store of Tillage, and not an Irish Family.

XCV. 2,000 Acres.

Sir Thomas Cornwall was first Patentee. (See p. 273). *Thomas Davis* holdeth from his brother, *Robert Davis*, 2,000 acres called *Corlackin* (187). Upon this proportion there is a Bawne of Stone and Clay, rough cast with Lime, having two Flankers, and a Stone House in it. He hath planted and estated upon this Land, of *English* and other *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

1 having 220 acres.

1 having 120 acres.

2 having 160 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 28, viz.,

5 having 100 acres le piece.

6 having 75 acres le piece.

These 32 Families are dwelling on the Land, and have taken the Oath of Supremacy. They have divers Undertakers under them, all which

time of Anne's death, and married. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (28) Car. I.) In 1629, this Sir John Wilson, of Killenure, county of Donegal, was nominated by Sir Frederick Hamilton, to be raised to the dignity of a baronet, pursuant to the authority given by a King's letter. Sir Frederick Hamilton, youngest brother of James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorne, got the power of nominating two baronets from the King, no doubt in payment of wages due by the latter. Hamilton, who was a knowing gentleman, would probably receive at least 2,000*l.* from the two persons nominated, for the honour thus conferred. On the 24th of February, 1629, a re-grant was made to Sir John Wilson, knight and baronet, his heirs and assigns, forever, of two several proportions, namely, the small proportions of Aghagalla and Convoigh, in the precinct of Liffer, barony of Raphoe, and other lands amounting to 926 acres, in the same precinct; to be held in free and common socage. All the lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Wilsonsforte*, with the usual privileges and powers; two fairs at the quarter land of Convoigh, on the 6th of May and 15th of October.

(187). *Corlackin*.—This proportion is not mentioned specially in any printed inquisition as passing from the possession of Sir Thomas Cornwall into that of Robert Davis, nor are we told anything of the latter, or of his brother, Thomas Davis. There are a few references to the estate, which lead to the conclusion that several Irish tenants were permitted to occupy considerable

quantities of its lands; and, curiously enough, in one of these references it is affirmed that Robert Davis derived his claim from the Crown, and not by purchase from the first patentee, Sir Thomas Cornwall. "*Shane O'Doghertie*, a meere Irishman," it is stated, "held by demise and graunte from George Newton, assignee unto one Robert Davis, one tryan [the third part of a quarter] of the quarter of Corlackey, passed by letters patents unto the foresaid Mr. Davis, his heirs and assigns, as an undertaker in the province of Ulster, and he [*Shane O'Doghertie*] is to enjoy the same untill All Saints next, and paies per an. 20*s.* sterlinge. *Tirlagh ballagh McNulty*, a meere Irishman, held by demise and graunte, from said George Newton, the tryan of land called Alt [], and is to enjoy the same untill All Saints next, and paies per an. 40*s.* *Owen Ballagh O'Galchor* held by demise and graunte from Peter Payne, assignee unto the said Mr. Davis, the tryan of Cashell, and same paies per an. 20*s.* sterlinge. *Bryan O'Carrulane*, a meere Irishman, held by demise and graunt from said Peter Payne, assignee as aforesaid, the tryan of [Lure?], and same paies per an. 20*s.* sterlinge." (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (17) Car. I.; see also (14) Car. I.) On the 16th of December, 1630, a re-grant was made to Robert Davis, of the great proportion of Corlackie, containing 2,000 acres, in the precinct of Liffer, barony of Raphoe. The lands were held in free and common socage. The premises created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Corlackie*, with the usual privileges and powers, and subject to the usual conditions.

- 2 having 40 acres le piece.
- 4 having 30 acres le piece.
- 4 having 20 acres le piece.
- 1 having 25 acres.
- 2 having 16 acres le piece.
- 4 having 11 acres le piece.

are able to make 54 men armed,
and dwell together in Villages, some
consisting of 12 Houses, others less.

XCVI. 1,000 Acres.

Captain Mansfield (188) hath 1,000 acres called *Killenagurdon*. Upon this Proportion the Bawne is finished, and a good Stone House three Stories high is ready to be slated, himself with his Family there dwelling; and near to this place he hath made a Village, consisting of 9 Houses, and standing on a Passage very commodious for the King's service, and the good of the country. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *British Families*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

- 1 having 260 acres.
- 1 having 200 acres.

(188). *Mansfield*.—See p. 272. In 1611, this undertaker had more than one dispute on his hands, his antagonists being Sir John Davys and Captain Russell, both neighbouring planters. The land was the cause of their controversies, and Carew endeavours to explain the circumstances, though not very intelligibly, as follows:—"1. Killnaguerdan, containing one quarter belonging to Captain Mansfield, of which there are 100 sessocks [sessiaghies] held by the Bishop of Derry, —as is said in the country,—for two sessocks given in exchange by a former bishop to the then lord of that barony, to build Castleinn upon. The said Captain Mansfield desires that he may have two sessocks, or the two sessocks whereon Castleinn stands. This is found by the surveys [of 1608 and 1609], to be a quarter, and must be so accepted by the patentee, which may be further examined by the commissioners. 2. Muckall, containing one quarter, now occupied by Sir John Davys, who says it is granted to him by his letters patent of a great proportion in the county of Tirone. I find no mention of this in Sir John Davy's differences, and, therefore, I think Captain Mansfield doth but fear reports. 3. Carricknebanna Con, one quarter challenged and occupied by Captain Russell, alleging he had it granted unto him by the name of Carricknemanno, and that it is so called by the country, notwithstanding that Captain Mansfield hath a *non obstante* in his patent for misnaming and misrecital, and that the said patent was passed before Captain Russell's, and that the said land joins on other of Captain Mansfield's. Captain Mansfield is the first patentee, and must hold possession; and if upon examination, to be taken by Sir Richard Hansard and some other neighbour to be trusted and authorised by you, it may appear that Captain Russell hath no other quarter by or near that name, then, if he want so much, you may be pleased to abate him so much rent, so as the King shall be at no loss, being paid for but one quarter if there be more. 4. Loughtecarrolan, containing one quarter, whereof Captain

Russell has possessed himself of six sessocks, alleging he has a quarter called Mulleneferry; of which six sessocks four carried that name, but it is to be proved by the country that they are parcel of this quarter of Loughtecarrolan, belonging to Captain Mansfield. Loughtecarrolan is found to be one quarter, and so passed to Captain Mansfield; and Mullaferry another quarter, and so passed to Captain Russell; and lie not near one another; and, therefore, each must hold their several quarters without being encumbered with the Irish rumours blown up on purpose to kindle contention; and indeed Russell seems to cavil, for he challenges Mullferry where his quarter's name is *Mullaferry*, which I doubt not he has besides, for I hear his proportion is very great." We have no information of this undertaker in the printed inquisitions, or of his proportion, beyond the facts that he [Ralph Mansfield] died on the 10th of November, 1634, and was succeeded by his son and heir, John Mansfield, who was of age at the time of his father's death, and married. At that time the name *Killenagurdon*, as used by Pynnar, had been transformed into *Killynagurdon*. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal, Car. I.*) On the 15th July, 1631, a grant was made to Mansfield, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the small proportion of Kilnaguerdan, in the precinct of Liffer, barony of Raphoe. To be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Killnaguerdan*: with the usual powers and privileges; and subject to the usual conditions. This estate [now Killygordon] lies in the vale of the Finn, between Stranorlar and Strabane. The present village of Killygordon is about three miles eastward from the former place. Francis Mansfield, Esq., of Ardrummon House, is the present representative of the first patentee, and is in possession of the original patent from James I. to Captain Mansfield. The present owner is descended maternally from the noble house of Montgomery of Eglinton. See Lodge's *Peerage*, 1754, vol. i., p. 367; vol. ii., pp. 10, 197.

Lessees for years, 16, viz.,

- 3 having 140 acres jointly.
- 1 having 220 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 124 acres.
- 2 having 60 acres le piece.
- 3 having 62 acres le piece.
- 2 having 40 acres le piece.
- 1 having 6 acres.
- 2 having 10 acres le piece.

In Toto, 18 Families dwelling on the Land, being able to make, with their Undertenants, 46 Men with Arms; and nine of the principall of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

XCVII. 1,500 Acres.

Captain Russell (189) was first Patentee. *Sir John Kingsmill, Knight*, hath 1,500 acres called *Acarine* (190). Upon this proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone 100 feet square, with two Flankers, the which are two Stories high, with good Lodgings in them, and a very strong stone House three stories high; himself with his Wife and Family dwelling therein (191). Near to the Bawne is built a Village consisting of 30 Houses, being all inhabited with *English* Families. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Birth,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

- 1 having 200 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 110 acres.
- 2 having 100 acres le piece (192).

In toto, 13 Families who have divers Undertenants, and do make

(189). *Captain Russell*.—See pp. 272, 468. Whilst *Russell* held these lands he had a litigation with *George Montgomery*, as Bishop of Derry, the cause of which is explained by *Carew*, in 1611, as follows:—"Between the Bishop of Derry and *Captain Russell* for *Castlefinn*. The surveyor must be spoken to withal, before anything be concluded therein. The piece whereon this [the castle] stands was formerly church lands; and it now appears that *Sir William Barnes*, by whom *Captain Russell* claims, has his full proportion besides, and supposes the castle to stand on a piece of his land, which it does not, as I am informed; so the castle being not granted to the bishop I think it is to be disposed of by the King."

(190). *Acarine*.—*Russell* sold this middle proportion to *Sir John Kingsmill*, on the 3rd of July, 16—; and on the 1st of June, 1614, the latter disposed of a large quantity of the lands of *Acharyn* or *Acarine* to *William Wilson*. *Sir John Kingsmill* at the time of these several transactions, was styled of *Castlefynne*, county of *Donegal*. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, *Donegal*, (11) Car. I.

191. *Dwelling therein*.—In 1630, these buildings were described as consisting of a castle or stone house, 45 feet in length, 36 feet wide, and 32½ feet in height; another house adjoining the castle 50 feet in length, 17 feet wide, and 15 feet in height; and a bawn, the walls of which were 12 feet high and 276 feet in circumference, with flankers each 13 feet square, and 12 high. *Ibid.*

192. *Le piece*.—The only tenants mentioned as occupying lands on *Kingsmill's* part of *Acharyn*, in 1636, were *Sir John Vaughan* and *Thomas Perkins, Esq.*, who held between them the quarter called *Monyn*. The landlord's estate was then known as the manor of *Acharin* and *Manister*, because it comprehended lands originally parcels in both these proportions. *Sir John* also let lands on his property to a few Irish tenants, the chief of whom were *Ferrall McDonnell* and *Neal McDonnell O'Gallagher*. Soon after *William Wilson* purchased a fragment of *Acharyn* from *Sir John Kingsmill*, he [*Wilson*] let the quarters of *Cavanonagh* and *Mullanefenyne* to *Hugh Oge Mc.Arte O'Gallagher*, as a yearly tenant; and the ⅓ parts of the quarter of *Agharin* to *Edward Oge McFergnandem O'Gallagher* and *Hugh McCormack*. (*Ibid.*) On the 28th of May, 1631, a re-grant was made to *Sir John Kingsmill* on the new conditions, viz., of paying double rent and a fine of 30*l.* for every 1,000 acres. This re-grant conveyed to him 1,198 acres, and 568 acres, in the precinct of *Liffer*, barony of *Raphoe*; to be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Castlefyn*, with the usual manorial powers and privileges, and subject to the usual conditions of plantation. A market every Monday, and two fairs at *Castlefyn*, one on Tuesday and Wednesday after the feast of Pentecost, and the other on *St. Martin's Day*, in winter, to continue two days.

Lessees for three Lives, 5, viz.,
1 having 400 acres.
4 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 3, viz.,
2 having 40 acres le piece.
1 having 10 acres.

the Number of 36 Men armed,
being all resident on the Land.

XCVIII. 2,000 Acres.

Sir Robert Remington the first Patentee. *Sir Ralph Bingley* hath 2,000 acres, called *Tonafocies* (193). Upon this Proportion there is built a strong Castle, with four large Towers;

(193). *Tonafocies*.—This proportion, originally granted to Sir Robert Remington (see p. 273), and called *Tawnaforis* in the survey, is not mentioned specially in any printed inquisition, except as being extensively occupied by Irish tenants in 1630, and previously. Pynnar represents plantation affairs as in a prosperous condition in 1620, over this property, but says nothing of Irish tenants; whereas, the inquisitions of 1631 and 1632 make mention of the latter, but say nothing in reference to British settlers thereon. In the interval, Sir Ralph Bingley died, and his lady had re-married with a Robert Harrington, Esq. An inquisition held at Lifford, on the 19th of April, 1631, found that "the trian of lands of Cashelnigore, lying within the great proportion of Tawnaforis, in the precinct of Lifford, by letters pattent passed to Robert Harrington, Esq., and dame Anne Bingley his wife, was heretofore granted to Edward Carter deceased, and part thereof is possessed by meere Irish (by the permission or licence of Owney [Una] Carter, wydow, late the wife of the said Edward), whose doe plowe and grease [graze] thereon, and are to hold the same till the feast day of All Saints next [Nov. 1]. The same parte soe by them possessed, is now worthe to be lett per an. 40s. sterl. The $\frac{1}{4}$ of the lower tryan of Creggan is possessed by Edmund duffe O'Linchy, whose ploweth, pastureth, and graseth the same, and soe is to doe till the feast day aforesaid; the same is worth 40s. per an. The half tryan of Dromboe, being parcell of the lower half of the tryan of Creggan, is possessed by Hugh Oge O'Devyr and his tenants, being meere Irishmen, whose ploweth, graseth, and pastureth thereon, and soe is to doe till the feast day aforesaid, yet without any allowance [permission] of the said Robert Harrington or Dame Anne his wife, the same is worthe 4l. sterl. per an. The $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the lower tryan of Dromboe, parcell of the said quarter of Creggan, is possessed by Owyn Modder McConnell, and other meere Irish tenants, whose plowe, pasture, and grase the same, as aforesaid; the same is worthe per an. 20s. sterl. Four balliboes of the quarter of Callan are possessed by Donnell O'Devyr, a meere Irishman, and his tenants, whose plowe, pasture and grase thereon; the same is worthe per an. 4l. sterlinge." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (14) Car. I). In another inquisition we have the following notices relating to the Irish occupancy of lands in the proportion of Tawnaforis:—"Donnell O'Devyr [or O'Devyr, see preceding paragraph], a meere Irishman, held by demise and graunt from the assignee [Owney Carter] of the said Mr. Harrington, 4 balliboes of

the quarter of Callan, lying in the proportion of Tawnaforis, ever since the date of the letters pattents passed unto the said Mr. Harrington, of the said proportion, untill May last, and hath come nowe growinge upon the same, and paies per an. 4l. sterling. Hugh Mergagh O'Donnell, a meere Irishman, and his Irish undertenants, did hold by demise and graunt from Lieut. John Dutton [or Dutton], deceased, assignee unto Sir Ralph Bingley, deceased, and now held by demise from Edward Torleton, Esq., assignee unto Robert Harrington, Esq., in ryght of his wife, the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Capragh, called Monachan, ever since the foresaid letters patents untill May last, and hath come nowe growinge upon the same, which said $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter is worthe and paies per an. 3l. 10s. sterl. Bryan O'Donnell, a meere Irishman, held one tryan of the quarter of Creggan, by demise and graunt from Thomas Ewartt, and same paies per an. 20s. Toole boy O'Donnell, a meere Irishman, held by demise and graunt from Robert Harrington, Esq., $\frac{1}{2}$ a tryan of the quarter of Cashelnigore, ever since the date of the foresaid letters pattents untill May last, and enjoyeth the same as yet, and paies per an. 10s. sterling." All these lands were let to the Irish over and above the one fourth part of this estate allotted, as in all other cases, for natives; and because of this violation of the terms in the original patent from the Crown, not only the lands thus let, but the rents and profits that had arisen therefrom, became forfeited to the King. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (17) Car. I). For a list of all the Irish occupants of Tawnaforis in 1630, see *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (12) Car. I. On the 9th of July, 1628, there was a grant of Tawnaforis, 2,000 acres, and Lurga, 1,000 acres, in trust for lady Anne Bingley, according to the instructions for re-grants, viz., the grantee to pay a double rent and a fine of 30l. for every 1,000 acres. The Trustees in this case were John Earl of Bridgewater, William Ravenscroft, Edward Orwell, and Henry Skipwith. The re-grant conveyed also the advowson of the rectory of Donaghmore, with a free fishery in the water of Loughswilly. To be held in free and common socage, on the usual conditions of plantation. Soon after this date, Lady Bingley became Dame Anne Harrington, wife of Robert Harrington; and on the 12th of May, 1630, the lands of Tawnaforis was granted to her second husband and herself, or the longer liver of them. The proportion of Tawnaforis to be called the manor of Orwell.

it is now three Stories high ; the Roof is framed, but all standeth at a Staie through the controversy that is between him and Sir Robert Remington's heirs ; yet I found planted and estated upon this land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

2 having 200 acres le piece.

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 67 acres.

Lessees for three Lives, 6, viz.,

1 having 300 acres.

1 having 200 acres.

4 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 11, viz.,

3 having 360 acres jointly.

4 having 100 acres le piece.

2 having 200 acres jointly.

2 having 200 acres jointly.

In Toto, 21 Families, who, with divers other Undertenants, are able to make 60 Men with Arms, and many of them do dwell together, and have taken the Oath of Supremacy. The Castle is seated upon the river of *Finn*, where is a Ford, and the only passage into the Country, and in a most principal Place for the King's Service.

XCIX. 2,000 Acres.

Sir Maurice Bartley was the first Patentee. *Sir Ralph Bingley, Knight*, hath 2,000 acres, called *Drummore* and *Lurgagh* (194). Upon this Proportion the Bawne being of Brick, and the House of Stone, are now thoroughly finished, and himself and Family dwelling therein (195). It is well seated for service, and within a Mile of the Place he hath made a Village, in which there are six Houses and a Mill already built ; and there is more in building, in a Place which is a continual passage. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish Families*, which have taken the Oath of Supremacy,

Freeholders, 7, viz.,

4 having 120 acres le piece.

1 having 67 acres.

1 having 60 acres.

1 having 200 acres.

Lessees for years, 12, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

4 having 67 acres le piece.

3 having 100 acres le piece.

3 having 40 acres le piece (196).

In Toto, 29 Families, which, with their Undertenants, are able to make 64 Men at Arms.

(194). *Drummore and Lurgagh*.—These two small proportions were originally granted to Sir Maurice Berkeley (see p. 273), and some time afterwards sold by him to Sir Ralph Bingley. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (12) Car. I.

(195). *Dwelling therein*.—The chief buildings on these two proportions combined, are described, in 1630, as consisting of a castle or stone house 54 feet in length, 15

feet wide, and 14 feet in height ; with a bawn, whose walls were 8 feet high, and 396 feet in circumference. *Ibid*.

(196). *Le piece*.—It was found by the inquisition now quoted that Sir Maurice Berkeley had planted on his lands certain British settlers named respectively *Nick. Apthwillyn, Geo. Cartwright, William Ridgett, John Sheppard, Robert Torkington, Abraham Gorvell, and*

Cottagers, 10, viz.,

Each of these has a House and six acres, and Commons for the greasing of a few Cows.

C. 1,500 Acres.

Sir Thomas Coach, Knight, hath 1,500 acres, called *Lismongan* (197). Upon this Proportion he hath a Trench cast up with a Hedge upon it, invironed with a small Brook, in which there is a House of Cagework, wherein himself with his Lady and Family are dwelling. There is Brick and Lime, with all other Materials, ready for the building of a Bawne and a House. The Place is very convenient for the King's service, and the good of the Country. He hath six good Houses near unto him inhabited with English Families, and this had long since been done, but that he was grievously troubled with sickness. I find planted and estated, of *Brittish* Families which took the Oath of Supremacy,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

2 having 200 acres le piece.

1 having 200 acres.

1 having 70 acres.

Tristram Emery,—none of whom had taken the oath of supremacy. Sir Maurice also let lands to the Irish tenants undernamed, viz., Farrell McHugh O'Gallogher, Dowalta McOwyn O'Gallagher, Turlagh boy O'Gallogher, Owyn McOwyn McAdegana O'Gallagher and Turlagh meiragh O'Gallogher. Afterwards other Irish tenants were introduced in the time of Robert Harrington (see above) but it appears by inquisition that the $\frac{1}{4}$ of the property had been already occupied by natives, and that Harrington had acted illegally in bringing in others. The Irish thus regarded by the law as superabundant, or rather as intruders, are noticed, as follows:—"The half quarter of land called Arnekillen, lying within the proportion of Dromore and Lurga, or one of them, is possessed by Dowaltagh O'Brillagan and others, beinge all meere Irishmen, whose doe plowe, pasture, and grase, and the same is worthe 4*l.* sterl. by the yeare. That part of the tryan of land called Clancarne, parcell of the quarter of Castletownus, is possessed by Phelomy McCormack and his tenants, beinge meere Irishmen, whose plowe, pasture, and grase the same, without the allowance of the said Robert Harrington; the same is worthe by the year 3*l.* sterl. More than half 2 balliboes of the quarter of Lurga is possessed by Neal McBryan and Morris McGilbride, beinge meere Irishmen, whose plowe, pasture, and grase; and the same is worth by the yeare 3*l.* sterl. Two balliboes of the quarter of Listellane were heretofore granted by Sir Ralph Bingley, Knt., deceased, to Lieutenant Edward Cartwright for a term whereof certain years are yet to come; and the same are possessed by Donnell O'Harkan and others, beinge meere Irishmen, whose hold the same by lease for four years; the same are worthe 3*l.* sterling." (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (14) Car. I.; see also (17) Car. I.) The

two proportions above named were granted, in 1630, to Lady Bingley and her second husband, Robert Harrington, Esq. The lands of these proportions were erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Burleigh*, with liberty of free fishing in Loughswillie; a market and two fairs to be held at Ballyboley, one on the feast of St. Gregory, and the other on the feast of St. Luke, (197). *Lismongan*.—(See p. 274). This undertaker had a controversy with the Bishop of Raphoe—not on any doctrinal questions, but on the subject of debateable lands to which they both laid claim. Carew mentions the cause of contention, as follows:—"Between the Bishop of Raphoe and Sir Thomas Coach, for Bonany, containing one quarter [128 acres], and the sixth of the sixteenth part of the quarter of Crew. The land is in Sir Thomas's possession by the deputy's warrant. The bishop has the full quantity contained in his patent besides this quarter, which I know, for at London we had much debate about the castle called Skarfollie, standing upon this quarter, and also for this quarter. The bishop was there satisfied to desist from claiming; and besides this lies in the barony of Rafoe, and the termon of which he now and then supposed this to be parcel, lies in Kilmacrenan; so this is to be maintained to the undertaker." There is no mention in any of the inquisitions, relating to the county of Donegal, of Sir Thomas Coach as being the owner of a proportion called *Lismongan*. It was found by inquisition at Lifford on the 7th of October, 1624, that *Sir Thomas Coach* was the owner of a middle proportion called *Frikeanagh*, that he died on the 3rd of May, 1620, and that his son Henry succeeded him. His son was 12 years of age at the time of his father's death. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (15) Jac. 1.

Lessees for years, 9, viz.,
 5 having 120 acres le piece.
 1 having 70 acres.
 3 having 66 acres le piece.

In Toto, 19 Families, able to
 make 56 Men with Arms.

Cottagers, 6, viz.,

Each of these has a Tenement and a Garden Plott, with
 four acres and Commons for some Cattle.

CI. 1,500 Acres.

Sir William Barns was first Patentee. *Sir John Kingsmill, Knight*, and *Mr. Wilson* have 1,500 acres, called *Monester* (198). Upon this Proportion the Bawne and House are strongly finished; divers other Houses built near unto the Bawne, inhabited with *English Families*. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Nation*,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.
 3 having 100 acres le piece.
 1 having 96 acres.

In Toto, 17 Families, who, with
 their Undertenants, are able to
 make 46 men with Arms; and 11
 of these have taken the Oath of
 Supremacy.

Lessees for years, 6, viz.,

1 having 144 acres.
 2 having 120 acres le piece.
 1 having 40 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 5, viz.,

Each having a House and Garden Plott, with Commons
 for four Cows and other Cattle.

The Precinct of *Killmacrenan* (199), allotted to Servitors and Natives.

[“*Precinct of Killmacrennan* [including Doe and Fawnett]. Captain William Stewart has built upon the proportion of 1,000 acres allotted him as a servitor, a fort or bawn of lime and stone, with two flankers. Under one is a room either for a munition house or a prison, and upon that a court of guard, and above that an open ‘feight,’ and in the outmost part thereof a centinel house, one curtain 16 foot high, and two others 12 foot high, and the other 8 foot high, whereupon he intends to erect a stone house. Has built three houses English fashion, and is in hand for more,

(198). Called *Monester*.—The survey has this name *Manister*, and defines it as comprising Carnonen, one quarter; Argirie, one quarter; Monyn, one quarter; Manister, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Ballyarrall, one quarter; Levally-caslane, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Magherrereagh, one quarter; Drombane, one quarter; and $\frac{3}{22}$ parts of the quarter of Altagilla. Sir Wm. Barnes sold this proportion in part to William Wilson, and partly to Sir John Kingsmill. The estate of the latter was known as the manor of Achyrin and Manister. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (11) Car. I.; see also p. 272). The lands of Achyrin, or

Acharine, and Manister were purchased by William Wilson, and included in the manor of *Wilsonsforte*.

(199). *Killmacrenan*.—As already observed, the baronies to which natives, who had got portions of land, were compelled to retire, had few or no attractions of soil, however picturesque they may have appeared. In this respect Killmacrennan was no exception to the general rule, for with the exception of a little patch of good soil on the shores of Lough Swilly, the whole region was one of mountains and muirlands.

which will serve for tenants. The rest of the servitors have done nothing by reason of the wildness of the land, being the worst in all the country, insomuch that the natives are unwilling to come to dwell upon it until they be forced to remove. Servitors are providing materials, and purpose to perform their covenants by the time prescribed. Tyrlagh O'Boyle, with tenants and followers, removed to the proportion assigned unto him in the said barony. McSwyne Bannagh will remove to his proportion, but in the mean time he and his followers have bought grazing of Alexander Kernes, general agent for the Scottish undertakers in the precinct of Boylagh and Bannagh. Said natives have performed no works, but are providing materials; none others removed to portions assigned." *Carew's Report in 1611*].

CII. 1,000 Acres.

Captain Craiford was the first Patentee. *Sir George Marburie* (200) hath 1,000 acres, called *Letterkenny*. Upon this there is built a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 60 feet square, with two Flankers 12 feet high, and standeth waste. Near adjoining to this Bawne there is built a Township, wherein there is 40 Houses, wherein he dwelleth, and all these Houses are inhabited with *Brittish* Tenants, being able to make 50 Men. It is a great Market Town, and standeth very well for the King's service.

CIII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir John Kingsmill, Knt., hath 1,000 acres, called *Ballymally* (201). Here is a Bawne built of Stone and Clay, and standeth waste, and not one *English* Man on the Land.

CIV. 1,000 Acres.

Sir William Stewart, Knt., hath 1,000 acres called *Gortavaghie* (202). Here is a Bawne of Stone and Clay, roughcast over with Lime, 80 feet long, 70 feet broad, and 14 feet high; a good Stone House within it, which is inhabited with a *Scottish* Gentleman and his Family. He hath 8 *Brittish* Families upon the Land, which do use Tillage and Husbandry, being able to make 20 Men with arms.

CV. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Basill Brooke, Knt., hath 1,000 acres, called *Edonecarne* (203). Upon this there is a

(200). *Sir George Marburie*.—This knight's surname is written *Mullerry* and *Malburye* in the inquisitions. The proportion originally named by the survey *Ballyrean* and *Letterkenny*, was granted to Captain Patrick Crawford, who was slain at the siege of the castle of Danyveg, in Isla, on the 30th of November, 1616. Crawford's widow married Sir George Marburie, or Malbury, the latter soon afterwards obtaining a patent for the estate of Letterkenny in right of his wife. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (15) Jac. I.) Malbury is mentioned as one of Sir Richard Hansard's executors. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (3) Car. I.

(201). *Ballymally*.—This name was oftener written *Ballyvolley*, and the proportion was eventually known as the manor of *Kingstowne*. It comprised the towns and lands of Ballyvolley, Broghrill, Gortnavara, Archimore,

Letteragh, $\frac{1}{2}$ of Castleshanaghan, Igheros, Glistran, and Arrybegg, with privilege of fishing in Loughswilly. Sir John Kingsmill died on the 17th of June, 1644; and was succeeded in the estates by John Kingsmill, his nephew, *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (6) Car. II.

(202). *Gortavaghie*.—For an account of this Sir William Stewart and his several grants, as an undertaker of lands, see pp. 322, 323.

(203). *Edonecarne*.—See p. 324. The owner of this proportion is styled simply Basil Brookes, late of Donegall, in an inquisition held at Lifford in April, 1640. He died on the 25th of July, 1633, and was succeeded in the estate by his son Henry, who was of age, and married, at the time of his father's death. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Donegal*, (29) Car. I.

Bawne of Lime and Stone, and in it a House in building, in the which there dwelleth an *English* Man.

CVI. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Thomas Chichester, hath 1,000 acres, called *Radonnell*. Upon this there was a Bawne built of Clay and Straw, with some Stone among it, but now it is fallen down and lyeth waste (204).

CVII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir John Vaughan was first Patentee. *John Wray, Esq.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Carnegill* (205). Upon this there is a good strong Bawne of Lime and Stone, 40 feet long, with four Flankers, in which there is good Lodgings, being two Stories high; also a Stone House of the length of the Bawne, being two Stories high; this is inhabited with an *English* Gentleman and his Family, who hath some English tenants under him, and this standeth in a good place for the King's service.

CVIII. 1,000 Acres.

Arthur Terrie hath 1,000 acres called *Moyris* (206). Upon this there is a good Bawne of Lime and Stone, with two Flankers, and a good House in it, being inhabited with an *English* Gentleman, his Wife and Family. He hath six *English* Families besides, the which in all are able to make 10 men armed.

CIX. 1,000 Acres

Captain Henry Harte hath 1,000 acres called *Ballynas* (207), and 256 acres of Concealments. Upon this there is a Stone Fort and House in it, all of Lime and Stone, in which there is an *English* Family.

CX. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Richard Hansard was first Patentee. *Sir William Stewart, Knt.*, hath 1,000 acres called *Ramaltou* (208). Upon this there is built a large and strong Bawne, 80 feet square, 16 feet high, with four Flankers, and a fair, strong Castle of the same Materials, being

(204). *Lyeth waste*.—*Sir Thomas Chichester* was brother of *Sir Arthur*, and in addition to this proportion of *Radonnell*, he held a considerable estate in *Inishowen* under the latter. *Sir Thomas Chichester's* residence in *Inishowen* was *Birte* or *Burt* castle, which had previously been the principal abode of *Sir Cahir O'Dogherty*. In it *Sir Thomas Chichester* died, on the 20th of August, 1616, and was succeeded by his son *Charles*, who was of age, and unmarried, at the time of his father's death. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (11) Jac. I.; (15) Car. I.

(205). *Carnegill*.—This proportion is called *Cornagilly* in the survey, and originally owned by *Sir John Vaughan*, who sold it to *John Wraye*. The latter died on the 25th March (which was New Year's Day), 1620, and was succeeded by his son *Henry Wraye*, then in the 14th year of his age. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (15) Jac. I.

(206). *Moyris*.—There is no mention of this proportion under this name in any printed inquisition. *Arthur Tirry*, who appears to have been a partner of *Peter Ben-*

son in the purchase of *Sir Henry Clare's* proportion (see p. 271), is styled "of the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, county of Surrey, cooper." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (10) Car. I.) Probably *Moyris* was the quarter of *Morris* afterwards held by *Patrick Campbell* of *Magheryhubber*, who died in 1661, and who may have purchased from *Tirry*. See (9) Car. II.

(207). *Ballynas*.—*Henry Harte* is styled of *Muffe*, in an inquisition taken at *Lifford* on the 29th of June, 1661. He is stated also therein to have sold to *Wybrant Olpharts* or *Olphert*, for the sum of 300*l.* the several quarters of land called *Inishbofin*, *Magheryroutragh*, *Ballenias*, *Balleconnell*, *Drumnelumny*, *Ardbegg*, *Ardmore*, and *Gortecarke*, in the barony of *Kilmacrenan*. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (2) and (4) Car. II.

(208). *Ramaltou*.—See p. 324. There is no mention in the printed inquisitions relating to the county of *Donegal* of the transfer of this proportion from *Hansard* to *Stewart*. The latter had at least half a dozen proportions in his possession.

three Stories high. He hath made a large Town consisting of 45 Houses, in which there are 57 families all *British*, some of which have estates for years. He hath also begun a Church of Lime and Stone, which is built to the setting on of the Roofe. There is also a Water-Mill for Corn: This is a Market Town, and standeth very well for the good of the Country, and the King's Service.

CXI. 1,000 Acres.

Sir John Vaughan, Knt., hath 1,000 acres (209). Upon this there is built a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 60 feet square, 12 feet high, with four Flankers; within the same there is a Stone House inhabited with an *English Gentleman* and his Family.

CXII. 1,000 Acres.

Captain Paul Gore (210) hath 1,000 acres. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone 60 feet square, with two Flankers, 12 feet high, and a Timber Cagework within it, which is inhabited with an *English Gentleman* and his Family.

CXIII. 172 Acres.

Lieutenant Perkins hath but 172 acres called *Facker*. He never had more; therefore is not bound to build (211).

CXIV. 400 Acres.

Lieutenant Ellis was first Patentee. *Nathaniel Rowley* (212) hath 400 acres, called *Lough-nemuck*; but upon this there is nothing built.

CXV. 528 Acres.

Lieutenant Browne. *Nathaniel Rowley* hath 528 acres, called *Cranrasse*, and upon this there is nothing built (213).

CXVI. 108 Acres.

Lieutenant Gale (214). *William Lynn* (215) hath 108 acres called *Caroreagh*, and 240 acres

(209). 1,000 acres.—The only lands mentioned in the printed inquisitions as held by Sir John Vaughan were portions on the estates of Sir John Kingsmill and Sir Arthur Chichester. See (11) Jac. I., and (11) Car. I.

(210). *Paul Gore*.—See p. 335. His residence, not named by Pynnar, was Magheribegg, or Machrebeg, and his estate consisted of lands that had belonged to an ancient religious house, so called, in the vicinity of the town of Donegal. His son, Ralph Gore, died in 1642, and was succeeded by Wm. Gore, son of the latter. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (8) Car. II.) On the 9th of January, 1629, a re-grant was made to Sir Ralph Gore, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the lands of Drommenagh, and six other quarters and a half of land, containing 960 acres. To be held 'in free and common socage; on the conditions of plantation, and according to the King's instructions for the renewal of the grants of the undertakers.

(211). *To build*.—This small holding by Lieutenant Thomas Perkins was part of the quarter of Monyn in the proportion of Manister. Perkins was one of the executors to Sir Richard Hansard's will. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (3) and (11) Car. I.

(212). *Rowley*.—There is no mention of Nathaniel Rowley in the printed inquisitions relating to Donegal,

but *Edward Rowley* is mentioned as a landowner in this barony of Kilmacrenan. He died in 1641, and is styled as late of Ballymaestoker; besides the quarter of land so called, he held those of Crancrosse, Ballymacgrahie, Magherinard, Tannenoghill, Leggenmacduffe, two parts of Feananorsin and Turblesing. His son and heir, Sir John Rowley, succeeded, and was 27 years of age at the time of his father's death. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (11) Car. II.

(213). *Nothing built*.—See preceding note.

(214). *Lieut. Gale*.—See p. 326. This officer held the quarter of land called Downymore with the balliboe of Legetiduffe, containing 6 acres, and reputed parcel of the former. He died in 1628, leaving two daughters, Eliza and Margaret, the one four years of age, and the other two years of age, at the time of their father's death. In 1642, Eliza was 18 years old, and had married William Hamilton; and her sister Margaret was then 16 years old, and had married Francis Hamilton. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (7) Car. II.

(215). *William Lynn*.—This settler is stated, in an inquisition, of 1635, to be the holder of 240 acres called Largavracke. He died in 1633, and was succeeded by

called *Laurgaurack*, but upon both these there is nothing built.

CXVII. 500 Acres.

Sir Richard Bingley was the first Patentee. *Captain Sanford* hath 500 acres, called *Castledoe* (216). Upon this there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 40 feet square, 16 feet high, and a Castle within it that is very strong; himself and his Wife and Family dwelling therein, with four other *Eng'ish* Families on the Land.

CXVIII. 2,000 Acres.

Sir Mulmorie McSwyne (217) hath 2,000 acres, called *Moyntmellon*. Upon this he hath built a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, and a good Stone House, in which he dwelleth with his Family; he hath made no estate to any of his Tenants; and doth plough after the *Irish* manner.

CXIX. 2,000 Acres.

McSwyne Banagh (218) hath 2,000 acres, called *Leanagh* and *Corragh*. And he also hath built a Bawne of Lime and Stone, and a good Stone House, in which he dwelleth with his Family. He hath made no Estate to any of his Tenants, and doth plough after the *Irish* Manner.

CXX. 2,000 Acres.

Tirlagh Roe O'Boyle (219) hath 2,000 acres, called *Caroghbleagh* and *Clomas*. He hath built a good Bawne and a House of Lime and Stone, in which he, with his Family dwelleth. He hath made no estates, and all his Tenants do plough after the *Irish* Manner.

CXXI. 2,000 Acres.

Donnell McSwyne Farne (220) hath 2,000 acres, called *Roindoberg* and *Caroocomony*. He

his nephew, also named William Lynn, who was eleven years of age at the time of his uncle's death. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (21) Car. I.

(216). *Castledoe*.—See pp. 66, 326. The officer who held these lands is called *Toby Stampford* in 1635. His 500 acres adjoining Doe castle were Kildarrough, one quarter; Ballymore, one quarter; and Cloomnasse, one quarter. He died on the 7th of May, 1637, leaving five sisters as co-heiresses. Their christian names were Joan, Anne, Lettice, Maria, and Maudlin [Magdalen]. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (27) Car. I.

(217). *McSwyne*.—An inquisition taken at Rathmullen on the 19th of July, 1621, states that on the 22nd of August preceding, Sir Mulmurry McSweney, and his undertenants were in the tenure, possession, and occupation of the lands mentioned in his grant (see p. 327), but that the King was then [1621] in full possession, a fact which implied some serious change in the condition of Sir Mulmorie's affairs. This conclusion is somewhat strengthened by the fact that Captain Henry Harte laid claim to the following parcels of this Irish chief's estate, viz., the quarters called Ennerweymore and Dorooreile. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Donegal, (12) Jac. I.) On the 26th of Aug., 1630, there was a re-grant to Sir Mulmurry McSwyne, his heirs and assigns, forever, of 2,000 acres of land in the barony of Kilmacrenan. To be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Donnefenoghee* with

power to create tenures, hold court leet and court baron; a weekly market every Monday at *Donnefenoghee*, and two fairs, one on St. Matthew's Day and the other on Whitsun Monday. Subject to the condition of plantation, and according to the terms for renewing grants to undertakers.

(218). *McSwyne Banagh*.—Carew mentions a dispute which had sprung up, in 1611, between this Irish undertaker and Captain Ellies or Ellis, about the quarter called Carrownaran, passed to the latter by patent, but claimed by McSwyne as belonging to himself. "I have examined the books," such are the terms of Carew's report, "and find that McSwyne has his full proportion. His patent is not passed, and besides he had at first refused this quarter, so Captain Ellis is to hold it." There is no mention of this chief of his sept, or of his lands, in the printed inquisitions relating to the county of Donegal, circumstances implying, probably, that no change of ownership had taken place in the interval since Pynnar's visit.

(219). *Tirlagh Roe O'Boyle*.—This youthful representative of a very old and once influential family, had not received the cognomen of *Roe* or 'Red-haired' when he was first referred to, at the time of the distribution of the lands (see pp. 228, 328), being then a mere child. There is no information respecting himself or his lands in the printed inquisitions.

(220). *McSwyne Farne*.—Correctly, McSwyne *Faned*, often written Fawnett. Of the family represented by

hath built a good Bawne, and a House, all of Lime and Stone, in which, with his Family, he dwelleth. His Tenants have no estates but from three years to three years, and these do plough after the *Irish* Manner.

CXXII. 896 Acres.

Walter McLaughlin McSwyne hath 896 acres, called *Bellycany* and *Ragh* (221). He hath built a fair Bawne, and a good strong House, all of Lime and Stone, himself dwelling in it with his Family, being a Justice of the Peace in the County, and conformable to his Majesty's Laws, serving the King and Country upon all occasions, and one that hath ever been a true subject since the first taking in of *Loughfoyle*.

COUNTY OF TYRONE.

The Precinct of *Strabane*, allotted to *Scottish* Undertakers.

[*"Precinct of Strabane.* The Earl of Abercorne, chief undertaker, has taken possession, resident with lady and family, and built for the present near the town of Strabane some large timber houses, with a court 116 foot in length and 87 foot in breadth, the grounsells of oaken timber, and the rest of allor [alder] and birch, which is well thatched with heath and finished. Has built a great brew house without his court 46 foot long and 25 foot wide. His followers and tenants have, since May last, built 28 houses of fair coples; and before May, his tenants, who are all Scottishmen, the number of 32 houses of like goodness. Is preparing materials for building a fair castle and a bawn, which he means to put in hand for the next spring. There are 120 cows in stock for his own use. *Sir Thomas Boyde, Knight*, has a proportion of land, is resident with his wife and family; is providing material for building. *Sir George Hamilton, Knight*, a proportion of land, resident with his wife and family. Has built a good house of timber for the present, 62 foot long and thirty foot wide. He brought over some families of Scots, who have built them a bawn and good timber houses, 80 cows and 16 garrons among them. *Sir John Dumonde* [Drummond] *Knight*, 1,000 acres; appeared in person, took possession, and has one Scottishman, 2 garrons and a mare. *James Clapham*, 1,000 acres; resident, prepares to people his land, competent store of arms in readiness. *James Hayge*, 1,500 acres; has not appeared, nor any for him; nothing done. *Sir Claude Hamylton, Knight*, 2,000 acres; has not appeared, nor any for him; nothing done. *George Hamilton*, 1,000 acres; has taken possession, is resident, making provisions for building." *Carew's Report* in 1611].

CXXIII. 1,000 Acres.

The *Earl of Abercorne* holdeth 1,000 acres, called *Strabane*. Upon this there is built a very strong and fair Castle, but no Bawne, and a School House of Lime and Stone. There is also a

this chief, and the district whence he derived his distinctive name of *Fanad*, see pp. 102, 203, 327. There is nothing recorded of him in the printed inquisitions—a fact which implied that no change in the interval since Pynnar's visit, had taken place.

(221). *And Ragh.*—The absence of any notice in the inquisitions of this Irish planter, or his lands, implies stability on his part; in other words, that no change had occurred from the time of Pynnar's visit, either in the ownership or possession of the lands assigned to him.

Church in building, the walls whereof are about five feet high, but hath been at a stay ever since the late Earl dyed (222). There is also about this Castle a Town built, consisting of 80 Houses, whereof a great many of them are of Lime and Stone, very well and strongly built; there are many other good Timber Houses; in these Houses there are 120 Families, which are able to make 200 Men, every one having Arms for his Defence; also, there are three Water Mills for Corn on this Proportion. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *British* Tenants,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

5 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for lives, 6, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

2 having 60 acres le piece.

3 having 40 acres le piece.

Townsmen, 53, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, with some small Quantities of Land.

These are most Merchants and Tradesmen, and some Cottagers, in toto, 65 Families, consisting of 180 Men (223).

(222). *Earl dyed*.—See p. 288. On the 7th of May, 1611, the King wrote to Chichester "requiring him to take out of all the Companies in Ulster, in his Majesty's pay, and out of all the wards there, the number of 25 footmen to attend the Earl of Abercorn for his aid in the plantation." This kingly care for Abercorn appears to have rendered him too exacting of deference from others who owed him nothing, and were his equals in rank. We find him, for example, complaining to the King that old Lord Audley, his neighbour in the adjoining barony of Omey, had spoken slightly on some occasion of the Scottish nation! Davys thought it necessary to notice this affair in a letter to the Earl of Somerset, from which we make the following extract:—"Part of this barren land [Audley's proportion in Omey] borders the barony of Strabane, where the Earl of Abercorn is the principal undertaker, by occasion whereof there grew a controversy touching a small piece of land. Some ill intelligence was carried between these noblemen by servants or undertenants, as it ever falls out when there is a difference between such persons of quality. Among other things it was reported that Lord Audley had let fall some unfit speeches against the Scottish nation in general, and this was not only told the Earl, but also the King, and the King was pleased to let the Lord Deputy and himself [Davys] to know as much. My lord [Audley] being afterwards advertised that the King takes notice thereof, and being grieved that such a report should be made of him, has written this enclosed letter to him [Davys], wherein he makes protestation of his innocence in that behalf, and desires that the same might be made known to some of his honourable friends in England, who might acquaint the King therewith, otherwise he would have come over to England, and cast himself at the King's feet, and never left until the King was assured of his innocence." Audley's letter, enclosed, is a rambling account of his own loyalty and

high-breeding; and also of his having been in danger of his life from the Scotchmen of Strabane, although he had as many Scotch as English on his own lands.

(223). *Men*.—These numbers of freeholders, leaseholds, and settlers generally imply the presence of a prosperous Scottish colony in and around the town of Strabane. There is no list of these settlers recorded in the printed inquisitions relating to the county of Tyrone. The first change or movement among the representatives of this branch of the Hamiltons occurred in 1650, when Lord Strabane espoused the cause of the Irish in Ulster. The following account of his doing so, and of the results, is given in an inquisition taken at Strabane, on the 9th of August, 1658:—"The said James Hamilton, lord baron Strabane, being seised of the premises, did, the 20th of July, 1650, at Charlemont, in the Co. of Ardmagh, within the said dominion of Ireland, enter into rebellion with Sir Phelim O'Neale, one of the chief heads of the rebels in the rebellion of Ireland; and at the said time and place, the said Sir Phelim, together with divers other rebels held the fort of Chalemount; and the said fort and garrison being afterwards, that is to say, the 6th of Aug., 1650, taken by the army and forces of the commonwealth of England, the said James Hamilton, lord baron of Strabane, with other rebels unknown, in his company, then fled to the woods and bogs of Mountereling [Munsterlony], in the county of Tyrone, and was, the said day, taken prisoner by a party of the commonwealth's army, whereby all and singular the said manors, townes, lands, &c., were forfeited to the commonwealth of England. Afterwards, that is to say, the 13th of Aug., 1650, the said lord baron Strabane accepted and took a protection from Sir Charles Coote, being commander-in-chief of the army of the commonwealth aforesaid; and after he took and accepted of the said protection, he did, upon the last day of Dec., 1650, breake the said protection, and went again and

CXXIV. 2,000 Acres.

The *Earl of Abercorne* hath 2,000 acres called *Dunnalong* (224). Here is neither Castle nor Bawne; but upon some places of the Land there are three or four good Houses built of Lime and Stone by the Tenants. I find planted and estated here, these Tenants being *Brittish*,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

- 1 having 260 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 4 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 14, viz.,

- 2 having 120 acres le piece.
- 6 having 180 acres jointly.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 2 having 60 acres le piece.
- 3 having 60 acres jointly.

In toto, 20 Families, who, with their Tenants, are able to make 106 men with arms (225).

CXXV. 1,500 Acres.

Sir Thomas Boide (226) was the first Patentee. The *Earl of Abercorne* hath 1,500 acres, called *Shean*. Upon this there is a large Bawne of Lime and Stone, 80 feet square, with four Flankers, but as yet is not thoroughly finished. There is also a large strong Castle begun, and they tell me it shall be finished this summer. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 3, viz.,

- 3 having 120 acres le piece.

joined himself with the said Sir Phelim O'Neale, being then in rebellion, and was in the county of Tyrone at [Kinard], called by the name of Drummurogh, which hee, the said Phelim O'Neale had, then and there acting and advising, and countenancing of the said rebellion with said Sir Phelim and many other rebells. On the 1st of July, 1649, the said James Hamilton did accept and take a commission from one of the said rebells to raise and arme a troope of horse, for and on behalf of the said rebells. The said lord baron of Strabane was, the 1st of Aug., 1650, a papist, and a roman catholic papist recusant, and on the 16th of June, 1655, at Ballyfatten, near Strabane, he died a roman catholic and papist recusant. All the aforesaid lands [now the Baronscourt estate] by reason of the said James Hamilton, his acting and assisting in the said rebellion are forfeited, and doe belong unto his highness the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, and his successors." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (1) *Tempore Interregni*). Subsequently, at the time of the Revolution, the then representative of this family espoused the cause of James II., and suffered forfeiture for a time. An inquisition, taken at Strabane, on the 16th of August, 1693, enumerates all the parcels of land on the Baronscourt estate, lately in possession of Claud Hamilton Earl of Abercorn, and mentions the

following tenants as having holdings in the town of Strabane, viz., Anne Newburgh, William Henderson, James and Patrick Hamilton, Oliver McCasland, Samuel Lawes, Robert Robinson, John Anderson, Andrew Parke, Walter McFarland, John Love, James McGee, and Thomas Holmes. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (1) Cul. and Mary.

(224). *Dunnalong*.—See p. 289.

(225). *With arms*.—There is no record in the printed inquisitions of the names of these settlers.

(226). *Boide*.—See p. 290. An inquisition enumerates the parcels of which this proportion was made up, but it neither records the names of settlers thereon, nor the date at which Sir Thomas Boyd disposed of his interest to the Earl of Abercorn. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (5) Jac. I.) A neighbouring undertaker, named Captain John Leigh, claimed a part of Sir Thomas Boyd's proportion as lands belonging to the abbey of Omey, of which Leigh had previously got a grant from the Crown. Carew mentions that the lands thus claimed comprised three balliboes named Toyfinne, Fallart, and Glangaffe. Boyd was permitted, however, to retain the portions in dispute, as the commissioners required to make an arrangement with Leigh on the subject.

Lessees for years, 10, viz.,

- 2 having 240 acres.
- 2 having 120 acres le piece.
- 4 having 60 acres le piece.
- 2 having 30 acres le piece.

In toto, 13 Families, who, with their Undertenants, are able to make 100 armed Men.

CXXVI. 1,500 Acres.

Sir George Hamilton (227) Knt., hath 1,500 acres, called *Largie* and *Cloghognall*. Upon this is no more done upon the Bawne and House than was done when *Sir Josias Modely* [Bodley] did last survey it; but he [Hamilton] hath made a Village in which he hath built of *Irish* coupled Houses 30; and this standeth in a road, and in a convenient place. I find planted and Estaticd on this Land, of *Brittish* Birth and Descent,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

- 1 having 102 acres.
- 3 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 11, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres.
- 10 having 60 acres le piece.

These 27 Tenants are able to make 50 Men armed.

Townsmen, 12, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, with some small quantities of Land to feed their Cows.

CXXVII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir George Hamilton, Knt., hath 1,000 acres called *Derrie-woone* (228). Upon this

(227). *George Hamilton*.—See pp. 290, 291. There is no mention of this knight or his lands in the Tyrone Inquisitions. Although a brother to the Earl of Abercorn, he appears to have been a much more dangerous man in the King's Ulster plantation than old Lord Audley. Even before the date of Davys's letter (as quoted in a preceding note), the King had instructed Chichester to remove this *Sir George Hamilton* out of the kingdom because he was a recusant and a papist! *Sir George's* grandson, General Richard Hamilton, afterwards led the army of James II. against the northern Protestants, at Derry, in 1689.

(228). *Derrie-woone*.—The following fragmentary piece of information relating in part to this proportion is found by an Inquisition held at Port Iland, Tyrone, on the 2nd September, 1630:—"Balliola, being one balliboe of land, doth lye betwixte the balliboe called Killenan, on the south syde, and Fallasloye on the north. The two balliboës called Cavan-ychoal and Foyfyn, lyeinge together, are bounded by the balliboës called Gortecrome on the north and west syde, and the balliboe called Barran and Tircarmen on the east and south syde. The 7 balliboës of land and 2 sessiogh's commonly called Dirreowen-Ruskye, Dromlegagh, Townmagra, Latterbye, and Enagh-Renan, with the 2 sessiogh's of Caste and Clonte, being

two partes of the balliboe of Cloghognall, as all the said lands are meared and bounded, with the quarter of Kilmartyn on the south east syde, Tinnerdart on the north-east, the river of Ferragh on the south-west, the 2 balliboës of Rosse and Clogher on the north syde, and Largyebegg on the north-east syde. All the said parcell's of land, conteyninge 10 balliboës and 2 sessiogh's aforesaid are parte of the middle proportion of Cloghognall and the small proportion of Dirreowene. The 10 balliboës and 2 sessiogh's aforesaid, are not above $\frac{1}{4}$ of Cloghognall and Dirreowene, and are most fit to be sett to the Irishe, and the setting of the same to the Irishe is not disadvantageous to the British freeholders or leaseholders of the said proportions. There are noe concealed lands within the said 2 proportions or eyther of them. Clogher al' Balleclogher, within the proportion of Dirrwoone, is the fittest and most convenient place within the said proportions to keepe one weekly markett at; and the said markett may be upon thursdays, weekly, without prejudice or hinderance to any of the neighbouring marketts. One fair may be most conveniently houlden yerely at the said Clogher al' Balleclogher, upon the 25 aprill; and other faire at Ballemagorry, in the proportion of Cloghognall, the 21st Oct., yerely, without damage to any of the neighbouring faires." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (10) Car. I.

Proportion there is built a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, 60 feet square, 14 feet high, with four Flankers, whereof two of them have very good Lodgings in them; and near unto the Bawne there is a Village, wherein are 10 Houses inhabited with *Brittains*. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 14, viz.,

4 having 60 acres le piece.

5 having 40 acres le piece.

1 having 30 acres.

4 having 15 acres le piece.

Total, 16 Families, who, with their Undertenants, are able to make 43 Men with Arms.

CXXVIII. 2.000 Acres.

Sir Claude Hamilton, Knt., deceased, left this land in charge with *Sir George Hamilton*. Upon this there are 2,000 acres, called *Eden* and *Killiny* (229), and there is built a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, 70 feet square, 14 feet high, and a good Castle in it, both strong and beautiful. There is built near unto the Bawne, 6 small Houses, and divers others on the Land, all which he inhabited with *Brittish* Families. I find planted and estated by promise upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

4 having 120 acres le piece.

2 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 14, viz.,

5 having 60 acres le piece.

9 having 30 acres le piece.

These 20 Families, with their Undertenants, are able to make 50 Men. Yet these have no estates, for that the Children are under Age.

(229). *And Killiny*.—See p. 289. An inquisition held at Augher, on 4th May, 1631, gives the following account of affairs on the two proportions above named:—"Sir Wm. Hamilton, late of Munterlony, in the Co. of Tyrone, knt., houldeth the small proportion of Killeny and the small proportion of Tedan [called Eden by Pynnar], in the barony of Strabane, in free and common socage, by letters pattents. The said Sir William, contrary to the intent of the said letters hath, since the date of the same, demised the several balliboes and parcels of land hereunder mentioned, unto the meere Irish, and such as are not allowed by the said letters pattents over and above the fourth parte of each of the said proportions of Killeny and Tedan, viz.:—Bryen Roe McConmoy, houldeth the balliboe of land called Treamaddan, for the term of 2 yeares, from Andrew Hayes, who houldeth the same from Sir William. Morris O'Ternan houldeth the balliboe of Litterbrett and Dongrath from the said Sir William till the feast of All Saints next, and doth plough, pasture, and grasse upon the same. Shane Roe O'Devin houldeth the $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe of Nonehicanon, in the said proportions for one of them], from James Hamilton, who houldeth the same from the said Sir William, and doth plough, pasture, and grass the same till hallowtide next. Bryen McCrener

and Rory O'Quyn hould the balliboe of Aghnacree, from the said James Hamilton, in manner as aforesaid. Patrick groome O'Devin houlds the balliboe of Leath in the said proportions, from Thomas Petticrieve, who houldeth the same from the said Sir William, and ploughs, pastures, and grasses the same. The said Patrick houldeth $\frac{1}{2}$ the balliboe of Loughes, in manner as aforesaid. Owen modder McConmoy houldeth the balliboe of Gorten from the said Sir William, and also the balliboe of Leanamoor, in manner as aforesaid. All the aforesaid balliboes doe lie within the proportions of Killeny and Tedan, in the county of Tyrone, and have been granted to the meer Irish, who have ploughed, pastured, and grassed upon the said lands, contrary to the conditions in the letters pattents aforesaid, for which cause the said balliboes are become forfeited." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (31) Car. I.) On the 20th of November, 1629, there was a grant to Sir William Hamilton, his heirs and assigns, for ever, of the two small proportions of Killenny and Teadane [Eden], in the barony of Strabane, containing 2,000 acres; to be held in free and common socage. The lands are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Ellistowne*, with the usual manorial rights and powers; subject to the regulations for the renewal of grants to undertakers in Ulster.

CXXIX. 1,500 Acres.

James Haige was first Patentee. *Sir George Hamilton* and *Sir William Stewart, Knights*, have jointly 1,500 acres, called *Terremurrearteth* alias *Mounterlony* (230). Upon this there is nothing at all built; but the Lord *Abercorne* and *Sir George Hamilton* are bound in a Bond of 1,000*l.* to *Sir William Stewart* to perform the building this Summer; I saw no *Brittish* Tenants on that Land; but I am told there are 8 *Brittish* Families.

CXXX. 2,000 Acres.

James Chapman was the first Patentee (231). *Sir Robert Newcomen, Knt.*, hath 2,000 acres, called *Newtowne* and *Lislapp*. He is but newly come unto it, and he hath rebuilt the Castle which

(230). *Mounterlony*.—This middle proportion, on its surrender by Haige, the first patentee, was granted from the Crown to *Sir William Stewart*, the 7th of June, 1613. On the 1st of June, 1615, *Sir William* let or set the whole proportion for a short term to an Irish tenant named *John Flemynge*. Soon afterwards the following Irish were admitted, viz., *Art oge McKory* and *Gilduffe McKory*, to the balliboe of Allagh; *Hugh O'Quin* rented the balliboe of Tagheieghan; *Donnogh McKilduffe McGunshenan*, the balliboes called *Corboyran*, *Corrig*, and *Killin*; *Patrick molder McKerny*, the balliboes of *Feigharry* and *Ballygilla*; *Brian oge McGunshenan*, the balliboe called *Racolt*; *Turlough O'Donnelly* and *Neal Carrogh McHugh*, the balliboe called *Cloughfineightra* and *Cloughfynowtra*; *Donnell boy O'Donnell*, the balliboe called *Dromenekelly*; *Connor O'Gormont* and *Hugh O'Gormont*, the balliboe called *Raleagh*; *Hugh O'Quin* and *Owen O'Colly*, the balliboes called *Terenemurietagh*, *Tirescurre*, *Quillin* and *Lislapp*, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ balliboe called *Eskerdowny*. *Sir Henry Titchborne* also held lands on this proportion; and the lands of *Aallagh*, *Tagheieghan*, *Feigharry*, and *Ballygilla* were considered the most suitable to let off to Irish tenants. (*Inquiries of Ulster*, Tyrone, (4) Car. I.) On the 18th February, 1629, there was a grant to *Sir Henry Titchborne*, his heirs and assigns, forever, as an undertaker of the province of Ulster, of the lands of *Cloughfynoughtra*, *Cloughfynowtra*, and other lands in the barony of *Strabane*; to be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Mountfull*, with the usual manorial powers; subject to the regulations for renewal of grants to undertakers in Ulster.

(231). *First Patentee*.—This patentee's name was at first written *Clephane*, and sometimes *Clapham* (see p. 289), but in 1620 *Pynnar* transformed it into *Chapman*. *Clephane* was specially recommended to *Chichester* by the King, who stated that he had been an old and faithful servant, and requested the deputy to give him an advantageous place for settling on as an undertaker in Ulster. *Clephane*, accordingly, could hardly have been more favourably located than on the 2,000 acres of *Newtowne* and *Lislapp* (see pp. 289, 290). Among the troubles by which this undertaker was beset, his conflict with *Captain John Leigh* may be mentioned. *Carew* refers to it in 1611, as follows:—"Between Mr. *Clapham* and *Captain John Leigh*, concerning the lands of *Castle Moyle*, *Butreagh*, *Gregaghie*, *Doonteige*, *Tullamucke*, and *Straylinull*, all

adjoining the castle of *Newtowne*. *Captain Leigh* claims these lands and part of the abbey of *Oway*; he holds the abbey by patent, in which there is only mentioned the site of the abbey and one and a half balliboes lying near, supposed at that time to be all the lands of the abbey, and a small rent reserved accordingly, which land he enjoyed. There is no mention of these for abbey lands in the two last general surveys; but since, a private inquisition before a deputy escheator has found these for abbey lands. The office [of inquisition] by direction from the Lords in England is taken from the file, upon some composition made by *Captain Leigh* with the commissioners in England, whereof you may be further certified from thence." There is no evidence in the inquisitions as to the transfer of these proportions from one owner to another, except that *Sir William Stewart* had possession at and before the year 1628. *Pynnar's* account implies that *Sir Robert Newcomen* had done some work, as a planter, previously to 1620, but the names of British settlers are not given. It is curious that *Clephane*, who was regarded as so 'faithful' by the King, should act so contrary to his royal master's wishes when he became an undertaker, for the first and almost the only act which *Clephane* appears to have done was the letting his entire lands to Irish tenants, for terms varying from five to ten years. This simple process saved him a world of trouble, which the introduction of British settlers incurred, and gave him the largest and quickest returns from his lands in the shape of rents. It was found by inquisition taken at *Newtown* [now *Newtonstewart*] on the 9th of January, 1628, that "the said *James Claphane*, afterwards, that is to say, the 1st of June, 1612, at *Newtowne* aforesaid, did demise the said proportions unto the meere Irish." The following is a list of the Irish tenants, which is the more interesting as recording the names of some families which made up the celebrated and once powerful clan known as the *Siut Arte*:—*Turlough Oge O'Quin*, *Thomas Oge McCawall*, *Rory O'Feghane*, *Patrick O'Croscon*, *Owyn O'Neile*, *Cormack O'Cullenon*, *Patrick O'Crigan*, *Cunonnagh McThomas* [O'Crigan], *Patrick McAnaly*, *Averkagh McNamee*, *Henry Murohy*, *Rory Oge O'Feghin*, *Henry O'Neile*, *Murtagh* and *Turlagh O'Quin*, *Donnogh O'Gormely*, *Phellomy O'Mulcrew*, *Gilduff McKinry*, *Neil O'Gormery*, *Turlagh McHugh*, *Bryan O'Neile*, *Bryan McHenry Oge O'Neile*, *William O'Skheagh*, *Teag O'Skheagh*, *Patrick O'Murragh*, *Henry Murragh O'Neile*, *Phillomy O'Mellon*, *Turlough Oge O'Quyn*, *Owyn O'Neile*,

is now four Stories high, ready to have the roof set up ; and two sides of the Wall of the Bawne are finished, being 16 feet high, the other two sides are going up apace. There is a good Towne in building before the Castle, wherein are already 14 Houses, all inhabited with English and Scottish Tenants. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Families,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

3 having 120 acres le piece.

1 having 60 acres.

Lessees for years, 9, viz.,

2 having 180 acres le piece.

2 having 120 acres le piece.

4 having 60 acres le piece.

1 having 21 acres.

Cottagers, 12, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, and some Commons for greasing of Cows.

Total, 25 Families, able to make
48 Men with Arms.

CXXXI. 1,000 Acres.

Sir John Drommond (232), *Knt.*, hath 1000 acres, called *Ballymagnegh*. Upon this there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, 100 feet square, with four Flankers ; and in it a Timber House of

Hugh Groome McAly, Manus O'Cullenan, James McGormley, Neal McDwalta, Mullagh O'Brogan, Philomy O'Mulveagh, Shane and Donnell O'Doolan. The inquisition concludes as follows:—"All the said lessees, on the 10th August, 1620, at Newtowne, aforesaid, were in full lyfe and liveinge ; and they did not take the oathe according to the statute of the late Queen Elizabeth in that behalf enacted. . . . The said Sir William Stewart is tenant of the said two proportions of Newtowne and Lislapp. The towne lands of Dunteag, Tullemuck, Greagaghy, Lisraereagh, Barrigh, Kalkilkarne, Gortnecreagh, Litterbannagher, and the two sessiaghs of Leglan, and the severall mountaines belonging to the said severall townelands, knowne by the names of Slewtryn and Gallagher a' Escheeve, are the most fitt and convenient of all the aforesaid lands of Newtowne and Lislapp, to be graunted and lett to the inhabitants and meere natives of this cuntry, for the fourth part of the same." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (5) Car. I.) On the 26th of July, 1629, letters patent of denization were issued to Sir William Stewart, knight and baronet, and also a grant unto him of four several proportions, namely, the two small proportions of Ballyneconoly and Ballyravill, in the barony of Clogher, and the two small proportions of Newtown and Lislapp in the barony of Strabane, each proportion containing by estimation 1,000 acres ; and other lands amounting to 140 acres lying in the barony of Strabane. The two proportions of Ballyneconoly and Ballyravell are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Mount-Stewart* ; and the other two proportions, namely, Newtown and Lislapp, into a manor, to be called the manor of *New Stewardstown* [Newtownstewart] ; with power to create tenures, and other manorial rights ; to

be held in free and common socage, subject to the conditions of plantation, and according to the instructions for renewing of grants to undertakers. The house built by Sir William Stewart on this manor was known as *Newtown*, and formed the principal family residence. Sir William's grandson, William Montgomery, who passed a few years of his boyhood there, has left the following curious account of his hurried departure thence, at the time of the outbreak in 1641:—"I was kept at School in Newtown Stewart house . . . and had a pike and muskett made to my size ; and on the 23rd of October, 1641, was in the Garden performing the postures of my Arms ; my grandfather Sir William Stewart's foot company, himself viewing his soldiers and their Arms, and exercising them ; when about four houres afternoon (to our amazement), a man half stript came with a letter, signifying the Insurrections, Murthers, and burnings on all sides, committed by the Irish. The messengers, one after another, came sweating and out of breath from divers quarters, with like consternation and baste as Job's escaped servants did to tell him of his losses ; and they related the cruell Massacres of divers Persons . . . Sir William, leaving a guard in his said house, went next morning with his Lady and Family to Strabane, and thence to Londonderry, ten miles further." See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, pp. 407, 408.

(232). *Sir John Drommond*.—See p. 291. It was found by inquisition at Newtowne, held on the 9th of January, 1625, that Sir John Drummond had let his lands on the 1st of June, 1622, to the following tenants, several of whom were meere Irish, viz., Hugh O'Quin, Neal O'Sloddan, Gilduff O'Donnelly, Shane O'Sloddan, Owen O'Sloddan, Owen McKauny, John Grime, John

Cage work, himself and Family dwelling therein. He hath made a small Village a quarter of a mile off, wherein are 10 Houses, and a Water-Mill for Corn; there are many Tenants on the Land, but they have no estates at all: Insomuch that they knowing I was in the country, they came and complained unto me, and said that for these many years they could never get anything from him but Promises; and therefore the most part of them are leaving the Land. I desired the Lady to show me their counterpaines, but her Answer was that her Knight was in Scotland, and that she could not come unto them [the counterpaines]: But upon examination I found there were 30 Men of *Brittons* on the Land.

The Precinct of the *Omev*, appointed to English Undertakers.

[“*Precinct of Omev*. The *Lord Audley*, 3,000 acres; has not appeared, nor any for him; nothing done. *Sir Marvin Audley, Knight*, 2,000 acres; the like. *Sir Ferdinando Audley, Knight*, 2,000 acres; the like. *Sir John Davys, Knight*, the King's Attorney General, 2,000 acres; possession taken by his agent, William Bradley, resident, who is preparing materials for building a stone house or castle with a bawn, which materials will be ready before Allhallowtide next; at this instant the walls of the castle are 22 foot high, and in breadth between the walls 19 foot, and in length 36 foot. Already four fee farmers, one leaseholder, and a carpenter, with their families, are ready to be estated on portions, which they could not receive until now, for that five quarters of the best of the said lands were in controversy, and some of it not yet cleared. The said Sir John intends to finish his works next Spring, and to plant and people his lands according to the articles.

“The Lord Audley and Mr. Blunte came out of England since our return from the North [to Dublin], and went to see their proportions.

“*The Fort of the Omye*. Here is a good fort fairly walled with lime and stone, about 30 foot high above the ground with a parapet, the river on one side and a large deep ditch about the rest, within which is built a fair house of timber after the English manner. All begun by Captain Ormond [Edmond] Leigh, and finished by his brothers, John and Daniel Leigh, at their own charges upon the lands of the Abbeye of Omye, at which place are many families of English and Irish, who have built them good dwelling-houses, which is a safety and comfort for passengers between Donganon and the Liffey. The fort is a place of good import upon all occasions of service, and fit to be maintained.” *Carew's Report in 1611*].

McGowan, William Reade, William Sharpe, Patrick Smythe, John Crosby, William Crosby, William Munteeth, Rory O'Neale, Conogher O'Quin, John Wood, Thomas Gryme, Patrick Drom, Shane duffe O'Kernan, Thomas Beane, John McAulay, and Neal McGunshenan. It thus appeared that Sir John Drummond carried out his promises, at least to some extent, soon after Pynnar made his report. Sir John, who was styled of the *Rosses*, in the parish of Capprey, barony of Strabane, died on the 14th of May, 1625; and having left no children, his brother, Malcolm Drummond, succeeded to the property.

The latter was 35 years of age at the date of his brother's death, and married. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (2) and (3) Car. I.) On the 29th of May, 1629 letters patent of denization were issued to Malcolm Dromand, and also a grant to him, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the small proportion of Ballymagoiegh, in the barony of Strabane. The premises to be held in free and common socage. To be created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Castle Dromand*, with all manorial rights; subject to the condition of plantation, and to the King's demands for renewing of grants to undertakers.

CXXXII. 3,000 Acres.

This is the Countess her Jointure. The *Earl of Castlehaven* (233), hath 3,000 acres, called *Faugh* and *Rarone*. Upon this there is no building at all, either of Bawne or Castle, neither Freeholders. I find planted upon this Land some few *English* Families, but they have no Estates; for since the old Earl died, the Tenants (as they tell me) cannot have their Leases made good unto them, unless they will bring treble the Rent which they paid; and yet they must but have half the land which they enjoyed in the late Earl's time.

Lessees for years, 8, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres.
- 6 having 60 acres le piece.
- 1 having 30 acres.

Cottagers, 3, viz.,

Each of these has a small piece of Land to keep their Cows.

All these Tenants do dwell dispersedly upon their Land, and cannot dwell together in a Village, because they are bound every one to dwell upon his own Land, which, if they do not, the lease is void. These 11 Tenants can make no more men, and all the rest of the Land is inhabited with *Irish* (234).

(233). *Castlehaven*.—George Audley, the old or first Earl of Castlehaven, had died on the 7th of April, 1616, and his eldest son, James, now reigned in his stead. Indifferent, or comparatively useless, as the former had been in the matter of planting, his son appears, from Pynnar's reports, as still more negligent of his duties. The old earl died at a place called Dromquin, in the county of Tyrone; and his countess re-married with Sir Pierce Crosby. The countess and her second husband let out her jointure lands in Tyrone to Sir Terence Dempsey and Maurice Crosbie, these jointure-lands containing 3,000 acres of arable land, 3,000 acres of meadow land, 3,000 acres of pasture land, with 2,000 acres of wood, 200 of furze, brambles, &c., 200 of morass or bog, and 100 houses and gardens. The original grant to old Lord Castlehaven and his lady was supposed to contain only 3,000 arable acres in all! (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (48) Car. I. The jointure lands of the countess comprised two proportions—one called the Fewes, containing 2,000 acres, and the other Ballytaken, containing 1,000 acres. These lands, like so many others, were exposed to forfeiture, in 1632, because of their being let too generally to Irish tenants. "Sir Pierce Crosby," it was then found "houldeth the great proportion of the two Fewes and Ballytaken, within the barony of Omagh, containyng 3,000 acres, graunted to him by letters pattents [as husband of the countess dowager of Castlehaven], from our lord the King, that now is, in free and common socage; and hath, since the date of the said letters pattents, and contrary to the conditions therein mentioned, devised severall balliboes of lands hereunder mentioned, unto the meere Irish, viz., Donnell and Neell O'Donnelly houldeth the balliboe called Roscam, and doth plough, pasture, and grease on the

same. Teag O'Donnelly houldeth Berhagh, being one balliboe from Francis Lowcas, gent., whose houldeth the same from the said Sir Pierce. Patrick McCawell houldeth Aghnegarry, being one balliboe. Edward groom O'Donnelly houldeth the balliboe called Cloghfinn, excepting only the fourth parte thereof, and doth pasture the same. Phelim O'Donnelly houldeth the balliboe called Cavanreagh. Neel Roe O'Donnelly houldeth Tonregue, being one balliboe. John McNemee houldeth Eskermore, being one balliboe. Cormack O'Roerty houldeth Tatekerron, and Neel O'Teag houldeth Lisboy, in manner as aforesaid. Edmund Magher houldeth Ballmenagh, being one balliboe. All the said balliboes are within the said proportions of the Fewes and Ballitaken, and are become forfeited to the use of our said lord the King." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (30) Car. I.

(234). *With Irish*.—On the 1st of May, 1614, the second Earl of Castlehaven let his lands extensively to Irish tenants, whose names were as follow, viz., Tirlagh modder O'Donnelly, Bryan O'Donnelly, Neal grome O'Donnelly, Neal O'Donnelly, Neal McGillpatrick O'Donnelly, Hugh McTirlagh oge O'Donnelly, Bryan McCann, Teige McCaell, Patrick McCawell, Art McCann, Edmund McDonnell boy O'Donnelly, Donnell boy O'Donnelly, Neal grome O'Donnelly, Tirlagh oge McCawell, Hugh boy O'Neale, Neal Garave McCowell, Bryan McGillsenane, Bryan and Phelim O'Donnelly. The Irish above named held generally extensive lands, and had each a number of sub-tenants. Indeed, the natives appear to have been favourably treated on this property, which, perhaps, may be accounted for by the fact that their landlord was at one with them in the matter of religious belief. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (48) Car. I.

CXXXIII. 2,000 Acres.

The Earl hath more 2,000 acres, called *Brede* (235). Upon this there is nothing built.

CXXXIV. 2,000 Acres.

The Earl hath more 2,000 acres, called *Fentonagh* (236). Upon this likewise there is nothing built.

CXXXV. 2,000 Acres.

The Earl hath more 2,000 acres, called *Edergoole* (237) and *Carneurackan*. Upon this there was a large House begun, but now it is pulled down, and made but half so great; being

(235). *Called Brede*.—It would appear that the proportion of Brade, originally passed to Sir Mervin Tuchet, had become the property of Captain James Mervyn, probably a cousin of the first patentee, at some date during the interval between 1620 and 1632. It was found by inquisition at Newtowne, on the 29th May, in the year last named, that "Hugh O'Flanagan, Tirlagh O'Donnelly, and others, mere Irish, held by demise from Edmond Mawne and others, assignees unto Captain James Mervyn, Esq., undertaker of the great proportion of Brade, and severall other proportions in the baronie of Omagh, ever since the date of the letters patents, the balliboe of land called Sanmullagh. Tirlagh McCloskie, a meere Irishman, held by demise from Robert Anthony, assignee unto the said Captain Mervyn, the balliboe of land called Killusonane, ever since the date of his letters patents. Bryen O'Neale and others, meere Irish, held by demise from William Doe, assignee unto the said James Mervyn, the balliboe of land called Mullaviny, ever since the date of the letters patents. Laughlin O'Keilie, a meere Irishman, held the balliboe of land called Kiltawny, from Gervise Walker, ever since the date of the said letters patents. Artt boy Maglosky, a meere Irishman, held by demise from Charles Bastard, assignee unto Captain James Mervyn, the balliboe called Dromgrane. All said lands were lett to the meere Irish, over and above the fourth parte allotted unto them." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (35) Car. I.

(236). *Fentonagh*.—The first patentee was Sir Ferdinando Tuchet (see p. 270). This proportion was granted under the name of *Fenagh* to Sir Piers Crosby, on the 1st of September, 1630. The lands erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Fenagh*, with the usual rights; and subject to the terms for renewal of grants to the undertakers of Ulster.

(237). *Edergoole*.—Several parcels of this proportion (which originally belonged to Ed. Blunte) were soon afterwards owned by James Spottiswoode, Bishop of Clogher, and we have the following reference to certain parcels of these lands leased for a specific purpose by that prelate:—"By virtue of a lease made by James late Bishopp of Clogher, for the tearme of 60 yeares, unto Archibald Hamilton and dame Anne, his wife, for the use of James Weymes, Elizabeth Weymes, and Anne Weymes, children to Sir John Weymes, which lease beares date the 14th July, 1634, the said Archibald Hamilton hath holden, and his assignes doe still hold the balliboes, townes, or parcels of land called Cranye, Edergoold, Kildrum, Mullanacrosse, Shanmullough, and

Drumconys, in the barony of Omev. The said lease and reversion thereof doth of right belong unto the children of Sir John Weymes aforementioned." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (2) *Tempore Interregni*). By the foregoing fragmentary paragraph hangs a curious story. Although the Galbraiths, —agents for the Bishop of Clogher, —were pardoned for the slaying of Sir John Wemyss, the sheriff of Fermanagh, in a riot commenced by the latter (see pp. 511, 512), yet the bishop himself did not escape *scot free*. Sir John Wemyss had left his wife and three children altogether without means; but as the lady was a daughter of Lord Balfour, she was soon able to enlist the sympathies of several influential friends, who moved the King to interpose on her behalf. The arbitrators in this affair were Lord Dupline, the Scottish chancellor, Lord Adam Loftus, the Irish chancellor, and Lord Conway, the Secretary of State. Their decision was made on the 17th June, 1628, which decision was, in substance, "that the Bishop of Clogher, in whose cause and by whose servant the said Sir John Wemyss was slain, should pay unto the lady 100*l.*, and make her a lease of fifty or sixty years, of lands to the clear value of 50*l.* per annum; or in default of such a lease, by a certain time should pay her 600*l.*" The bishop on being required to furnish the lady with a "list of such lands as were worth 50 pounds by the year, made her divers offers of lands both in the county of Monaghan and Fermanagh, but none of them would be accepted. At last, after eight week's attendance these lords ordered her to accept of some lands in the county of Tyrone offered her by the bishop, providing they were found in value worth 50*l.* per annum, for tryall whereof a commission was sent forth out of the High Court of Chancerie, and directed to Lord Cawfield, Sir Andrew Stewart, Sir Henry Titchbourne, who called the tenants of the lands before them at Agher, and examined them upon oath of the value of the lands, which they found to be better than 50*l.* yearly." After the matter was supposed to be settled, the bishop was obliged to surrender to Lady Wemyss two additional townlands, and to give a lease for 60 years, the whole lands being worth 70*l.* per annum, and soon afterwards let at upwards of 100*l.* yearly. But the lady was not done with the bishop even yet. "One Captain Mervin [a cousin of the second Earl of Castlehaven], carousing with the Lord Balfour, gave out that two of the townlands leased by the bishop of Clogher to his [Balfour's] daughter was his [Mervin's] heritage. Upon this report the lady ran to the Lord Chancellor, and had one other letter missive to the Bishop." When the latter went to Dublin in obedience

three Stories high, and finished. The Agent for the Earl showed me the Rent-Roll of all the Tenants that are on these three Proportions; but their estates are so weak and uncertain, that they are all leaving the Land. These were in Number 64; and each of these hold 60 acres, which they term a Townland. The rest of the Land is let to 20 *Irish* Gentlemen, as appeareth by the Rent-Roll, which is contrary to the Articles of Plantation; and these *Irish* Gentlemen have under them, as I was informed by the Tenants and Gentlemen in the Country, about 3,000 souls of all sorts.

CXXXVI. 2,000 Acres.

Sir John Davis, Knt., hath 2,000 acres, called *Gavelagh* and *Clonaghmore* (238) alias *Castle Dirge* and *Castle Curlews*. Upon this Proportion there are built two strong and fair Castles of Lyme and Stone, but no Bawne to them. Here I find planted and estated, of *British* Nation,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

3 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 12, viz.,

3 having 60 acres le piece.

2 having 60 acres jointly.

These 16 Families are resident upon the Land, with some Tenants under them, which in all are able to make 30 Men. The rest of the

to this summons, the chancellor "was very brief with him, and accused him of ill dealing that would lett lands to the lady which were questionable." The bishop maintained that the lands in question had been held by the bishopric for 27 years; "but soon after Captain Mervin brought down a commission to enquire what lands belonged to the Earle of Castlehaven's proportions in the barony of Oneigh [Omagh], and so handled the business with the Irishes and natives that they swore home for both these townlands he claimed from the bishop, and many more townlands claimed by him of others. . . . Then there was no remedy but either to reduce the captain's office [inquisition] or buy his pretended right; so the bishop bought Mervin's right of these lands and annexed them to the bishopric forever, and leased them to the lady, for which the captain had fourscore pounds." See the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 140-44. The lands were Edergoole and the others above named.

(238). *Clonaghmore*.—See p. 271. The proportion here called *Gavelagh* by Pynnar appears in an inquisition as *Gorveltagh*, and the first patentee, Sir John Davys, is therein stated to have died in 1626. His daughter Lucy, married to Ferdinand Lord Hastings, afterwards Earl of Huntington, inherited these two proportions in Tyrone. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (16) Car I.) Captain John Leigh claimed from this proportion the following lands as belonging to the abbey of Omev, of which he had previously obtained a Crown grant, viz., Lissalahard, Leytrim, Labonell, Lysseline, Ardvarran, Culnacrinagh, Mallure Island, Grenan, Cloghe, Ballinlaghtre, Lurganie, and the half balliboe of Cuilbuike. This difficulty was

arranged by Leigh's surrender of the lands in dispute. Carew reported another claimant against this proportion as follows:—"Between Sir John Davys and the Archbishop of Cashell [Myler Magrath] for the land called Nurebolreogh. This lies in Tirone, and is severed from Termon McGrath by the river Derge, and must be maintained to the undertaker [Davys], and if the bishop have any challenge let him pursue it by suit, for the general officers and surveys find it for the King as temporal, and the bishop has nothing but two quarters of termon land belonging to the priory of Lough Derge, which he enjoys." Referring to this religious establishment, it may be mentioned that, in 1632, by an order from the Lords Justices, the abbey, the priory, and all other buildings on the island in Lough Derg, were demolished. The executors of this order were James Balfour, Lord Glenawley, and Sir William Stewart,—two men ruthlessly bent on the use of any means by which the native population could be insulted. In imitation of other national commissioners, these two worthies prepared a report of their proceedings, in which they detailed certain circumstances connected with their visit to the island, recommending, at the same time, such ulterior measures as they believed to be necessary for its utter extinction as a rendezvous for religious pilgrims. The commissioners state that, among their exploits on the island, they had expelled the abbot and forty friars therefrom, and strongly urge the necessity of having done with the relic then known as St. Patrick's bed, by flinging it into the Lake. It is believed at the present day that about 15,000 pilgrims annually visit Lough Derg for religious purposes. See *Handbook of South-Western Donegal*, pp. 90-97.

- 2 having 60 acres jointly.
 3 having 30 acres le piece.
 2 having 60 acres jointly.

Land is inhabited with *Irish*, which
 are in a great Number (239).

The Precinct of *Clogher*, allotted to *English* Undertakers. (See p. 264).

[“*Precinct of Clogher.* Sir Thomas Ridgway, vice-treasurer and treasurer at Wars in Ireland, undertaker for 2,000 acres, has appeared in person. His agent is Emanuel Ley, resident this twelvemonth, who is to be made a freeholder under him. Sir Thomas brought from London and Devonshire, the 4th May, 1610, 12 carpenters, mostly with wives and families, who have since been resident, employed in felling timber, brought by Patrick McKenna of the Trugh [Trough], county Monaghan, none being in any part of the barony of Clogher, or else where nearer him, viz., 700 trees, 400 boards and planks, besides a quantity of stone, timber for tenements, with timber ready for the setting up of a water-mill. He is erecting a wardable castle and houses, to be finished about the next Spring. Ten masons work upon the castle, and two smiths. One Mr. Farefax, Mr. Laughton, Robert Williams, Henry Holland, and three of said carpenters are to be made

(239). *Great number.*—This state of affairs existed in Davys' time, which was remarkable, seeing that he, in obedience to the wishes of the King, was professedly zealous to have the Irish inhabitants removed from the proportions of all English and Scottish undertakers. He no doubt found, however, as so many others did, that the Irish were the least troublesome and the most liberal rent-payers to be found. We have no record in the Tyrone inquisitions of the names of British tenants in Davys's property; but we meet with certain notices after these lands had passed from his family, in which the names of several of his Irish tenants are preserved. Thus, it was found by an inquisition held at Dungannon, on the 4th of May, 1631, that “Sir William Undale late of Clonnoghmoor [Clonaghmore], in the county of Tyrone, Knight, and Sir John Stanhope, Knight, houldeth the small proportions of Clannaghmoor and Garvelagh, in the barony of Omagh, containing 2,000 acres, graunted unto the said Sir William and Sir John, by letters patents from the now King, in free and common socage; and hath since the date of the said letters pattents contrary to the conditions therein mentioned, demised, graunted, and sett the severall balliboes and parcells of land hereunder mentioned, being within the said proportions of Clonaghmore and Garvelagh, unto the meere Irish, viz., Bryan McRory and Fergus O'Gallagher houldeth Ardnarvy, al' Edinreagh, being one balliboe, from William Bastard, who houldeth the same from Sir John Daveese, and doe pleugh, pasture, and graise upon the same. Bryan Roddy O'Neel houldeth Creeduff, being one balliboe; James McCoork houldeth Corigchackin, being one balliboe. Patrick O'Tivanny and Donnagh McGerrett houlde Carnegarvagh and Aghnemellagh, being two balliboes. Art bane McHugh holds three parts of the sessiogh of Lectonycan. Bryan Roddy O'Neel houldeth the third parte of Lectonican and the ½ sessiogh of Lysleharde. Philomy duffe O'Neel houldeth the ½ of Lyshelein. Brian Ballagh McBryen and Arte

McArte houldeth the balliboe of Drumress from said William Bastarde who houldeth the same from the said Sir John Daveese. Philemy duffe O'Neel and Rory O'Cooltan houldeth the half towne of Drumbarsy from the said William Bastarde in manner aforesaid. The aforesaid balliboes are within the proportions aforesaid, and are ploughed, pastured, and grazed upon by the afore-named persons, being meere Irish contrary to the conditions in the said letters pattents, for which cause the rents and profits of the said balliboes are become forfeited.” *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (32) Car. I. Lord Hastings, the son-in-law of Sir John Davys, continued to let lands to the Irish, so long as he held the property in Tyrone. “Patrick O'Sovraghan and others, meere Irish, held by demise from one Lawrence Netterfield, Esq., assignee unto the right hon. the lo. Hastings, the balliboe called Cookeragh, in the proportion of Clonaghmore. Bryan Oge O'Neale, a meere Irishman, held by demise from Nicholas Combe, assignee unto the said lo. Hastings, the balliboe called Cloghoge, ever since the date of the said letters pattents. All said lands were lett by the said undertakers and assignees unto the meere Irish, over and above the fourth part allotted for them, contrary to the conditions, by virtue whereof, the said lands and rents, issues, and profitts, are become forfeited unto the King, and his successors, in right of the Crowne of Ireland.” (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (35) Car. I. Hastings soon disposed of these lands, as, on the 16th April, 1630, there was a grant thereof to William Unedale and Sir John Stanhope, their heirs and assigns, forever, of the small proportions of Clonaghmore [Clonaghmore], 1,000 acres, in the barony of Omagh, a free and common socage. The lands a the manor of *Hastin*, powers; subject to the King's terms for ren.

freeholders. Other families are resident wherewith he will perform all things answerable to his covenants.

Edward Kingswell 2,000; has appeared at Dublin and taken possession personally; returned into England to bring over his wife and family; has freeholders, tenants, and workmen; his agent, William Roules, has money imprested for providing materials to set forward all necessary works. *Sir Francis Willoughby, Knight*, 2,000 acres; has taken possession personally; Wm. Roules and Emanuel Ley, in his absence, employed in providing materials for buildings; 200 trees felled and squared. *George Ridgway*, 1,000 acres; took possession in person; his agent is resident since March last; some materials ready in place. Intends to go forward with building his bawn. Some freeholders and tenants to inhabit, but no work done. *William Parsons*, the King's surveyor, 1,000 acres; took possession personally; his brother, Fenton Parsons, his agent, resident since March last; has provided materials for building; has two carpenters and a mason, and expects four Englishmen with their families to come over shortly; no work done. *William Clegge*, 2,000 acres; has not appeared nor any for him. It is reported that he passed his land to Sir Anthony Cope, whose son came to see the same and returned into England; nothing done. But by letter he desires to be excused, promising to go on thoroughly with his plantation next Spring. *Captain Walter Ednye*, 1,500 acres; took possession personally; his son-in-law resident since March last. Provision made for building a house, the foundation laid. Six families of English in the kingdom that will come to plant and settle in next Spring. *William Turven*, 1,000 acres; took possession in person; his brother resident since March last; has provided materials for building. Agreed with four families to come out of England the next Spring to plant, who promised to bring other five families. Intends to go shortly in hand with building a bawn and a house, but nothing done yet." *Carew's Report of 1611*].

CXXXVII. 2,000 Acres.

The *Lord Ridgwaie* hath 2,000 acres, called *Portclare* and *Ballykillygirie* (240). Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, 14 feet square, with four Flankers, a Castle three

(240). *Ballykillygirie*.—In the survey this name is written *Ballykingir*. Sir Thomas Ridgeway, afterwards Earl of Londonderry, the first patentee, sold this proportion, on the 19th of August, 1622, at Agher to Sir James Erskine. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (8) Car. I.) There is no account in the printed inquisitions of the subletting on this property by Ridgeway or others; nor the buildings thereon. Pynnar's notice implies that there were several British settlers, in 1620, before the lands passed into Sir James Erskine's possession. (See also *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (47) Car. I. and (19) Car. II.) The above-mentioned transaction between Ridgeway and Erskine was nominally a sale by the former of these lands to the latter, but it was strictly an exchange of the Portclare and Ballykingir estate for the title and dignity of an earldom of which Erskine had the disposal. (See p. 476). On the 12th of July, 1640, there was a re-grant to Sir James Erskine, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the great proportions of Portclare and Ballykillygir, containing 2,000 acres and the small proportion of Bally-

mckell, containing 1,000 acres, and other lands containing 450 acres lying in the barony of Clogher. To be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor to be called the manor of *Favor Royall*, with the usual manorial powers, and held according to the conditions of plantation, and the instructions for renewing the grants of undertakers. The owner, Sir James Erskine, died in 1636. His two eldest sons, Henry and John, died without issue. His third son, Archibald, married first, Beatrix Spottiswoode, daughter of the Bishop of Clogher, and secondly, Letitia, daughter of Sir Paul Gore. He left one son, Thomas, who died without issue, under the age of eighteen: and two daughters, viz., Mary, who married William Richardson, Esq., and Anne, who became the wife of John Moutray, gent. The Moutrays own the Royall Favour estate at the present day, and the Richardsons still hold the lands known as the Agher estate. (See *Spottiswoode Miscellany*). The feud between Sir James Erskine and the Bishop of Clogher (see p. 476), only ceased with the death of the former, al-

Stories high, and an House besides ; all, with the Bawne, being of Lyme and Stone. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 60 acres.

Lessees for Lives, 9, viz.,

1 having 200 acres.

1 having 180 acres.

2 having 120 acres le piece.

4 having 60 acres le piece.

1 having 40 acres.

Lessees for years, 9, viz.,

2 having 86 acres le piece.

7 having 60 acres le piece.

These 20 Families, with their Undertenants, are able to make 56 men with Arms.

The said *Lord Ridgwaie* hath 315 acres at the *Agher* (241), for the which he is to build a Town, and hath performed, viz.,

There are made 15 Houses, whereof two of them are of Lyme and Stone, the rest are all Cage work and Couples. Each of these has to their House that be principal Burgesses two acres of Land, and to them that are single Burgesses one acre, besides Commons for Cattle ; the whole number of Burgesses must be 20.

CXXXVIII. 1,000 Acres.

George Ridgwaie, Gentleman, hath 1,000 acres, called *Thomas Court* (242). Here is a

though his son had married the bishop's daughter. When the Deputy Wentworth, on one occasion, informed the bishop that evil reports had reached Dublin respecting church dilapidations throughout the see of Clogher, that meek prelate "answered that he knew so much himself, and was not ashamed of it, yea, that he gloried in it, *male audire ex malis*. He acknowledged that he was hated of divers of his countrymen, and namely, of the Lord Balfour and Sir James Areskine, and divers other of his countrymen had sold themselves to work all wickedness, and were great oppressors of their neighbours, that for his zeal to the church and free schools, and his relief to his power of them that was wronged, was therefore hated of them, and for this cause they had stirred up some ambitious men, such as were greedie of preferment [among others Henry Leslie, Dean of Down, afterwards Bishop of Down and Connor, and eventually transferred to Meath], to detract him, and if they could, find cause to invade his estate ; but now he rejoiced that his Majesty had set such a governor [Wentworth] over them all, who would ere long know himself [the Bishop of Clogher] better, and his adversaries too, and what everie one was in their place. Soon after this the Lord Balfour was complained of by most of his neighbours, and there came so many and so dangerous complaints against him, that he shunned his tryall, and got

him over to England to seek his pardon, where, after he had made away all his estate to make friends, he died. Sir James Areskine, also perceiving he prevailed nothing by clamping [quarrelling] with the Bishop of Clogher, desired to be reconciled to the bishop, and soon after died at Dublin, where the Bishop of Clogher was requested by his sone and other friends to make his funerall sermon, and did accordingly. The Dean of Down [Leslie] was by this time preferred to be Bishop of Down, and one day in the castle of Dublin, after some private discourse, prayed the Bishop of Clogher, that now being brothers, the law of *amnestia* might take place between them." Both Sir James Erskine and Dean Leslie had endeavoured to fasten the crime of simony on the Bishop of Clogher, the latter averring that Leslie longed to get into the see of Clogher, in the event of his [Spottiswoode's] removal or ejection therefrom. Thus, these Scottishmen hated and persecuted one another. See the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 149.

(241). *Agher*.—See p. 475 ; see also *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (8) and (47) Car. I. ; and (19) Car. II.

(242). *Thomas-Court*.—This proportion was known in the survey as *Ballymackell*, and was named Thomas-Court by George Ridgeway, in honour of his brother Sir Thomas Ridgeway, above-mentioned. George Ridgeway

Bawne of Lyme and Stone, 80 feet square, having four Flankers, but no House in it. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholder, 1, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

Lessees for 3 Lives, 6 viz.,

5 having 120 acres le piece.

1 having 60 acres.

Lessees for years, 4, viz.,

1 having 60 acres.

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 40 acres.

1 having 30 acres.

In toto, 11 Families, able to make 26 Men with Arms.

CXXXIX. 1,000 Acres.

William Turvin was the first Patentee. *Sir Gerrard Lowther, Knight*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Moyenner* and *Ballegalin* (243). Upon this there is a Bawne of Clay and Stone, with two Flankers, being 8 feet high (244). This is let to one *Mr. Pringle*, who is dwelling on the Land in

sold this property at Agher, on the 19th August, 1622, to Sir James Erskine, who purchased Sir Thomas Ridgeway's proportion of Portclare and Ballykirgir at the same time and place. George Ridgeway who was styled of *Ballitahan*, died on the 15th of March, 1623, and his brother, Sir Thomas, Earl of Londonderry, was his heir, and was 40 years of age at the date now mentioned. It would thus appear that the latter had not misspent his youth, so far at least as a prosperous military career could testify. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (7) Jac. I.; (8) Car. I.) Sir James Erskine, who was styled of *Agher*, in the county of Tyrone, died on the 2nd of February, 1635, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Archibald, a clergyman, who thus owned the proportions purchased by his father from the two Ridgeways, together with the 300 acres adjoining Agher. Archibald Erskine sold these 300 acres on the 1st of January, 1639, for the sum of 200*l.*, to Wm. Madden, gent. At Erskine's death, his entire estate, which was known by the designation of *Favour Royall*, was inherited by his only child Mary, who married a gentleman named William Richardson. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (47) Car. I.; (10, 17, 19) Car. II.) The editor of the *Spottiswoode Miscellany* affirms that Sir James Erskine died on the 5th of March, 1636,—which would be 1635 old style, for the year did not then end until the 24th of March. The inquisition above quoted states that he died on the 2nd of February.

(243). *Ballegalin*.—See p. 267. This proportion, known better by its first name of *Moyenner*, had been extensively let out to Irish tenants by its first owner, Turvin, and continued to be so occupied, no doubt, in Pynnar's time, although the latter makes no reference to the subject. The following are the names of Turvin's principal Irish tenants, viz., Turlough McRowrye, Teige O'Lappan, Phillomy McBryan, Naboesa McGerr, Eugene modder McGerr, Murtogh O'Quyn, and Cormac O'Lappan.

(244). *Feet high*.—The inquisition now quoted mentions that, in 1628, there stood at Tatecosker a bawn whose wall was 16 feet high and 312 feet in circuit. At this date the property belonged to Archibald Hambleton. On the 24th of March, 1628, there was a surrender of this proportion by Archibald Hamilton, which he had probably purchased from Sir Gerard Lowther; and on the same date a re-grant of the estate to him, to be held in free and common socage. The lands are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Moyenner*, with the usual manorial powers; a market every Thursday at Killmorgan, and two fairs, to be held respectively on the 20th of May and 24th August. To be held according to the conditions of plantation, and the instructions of 1626 for renewing grants of undertakers. This Archibald Hamilton was son of Sir Claude Hamilton of Cochonogh, in Scotland. He succeeded Myler Magrath as archbishop of Cashel and bishop of Emly, and married dame Anne Balfour, the daughter of Lord Balfour, and widow of Sir John Wemyss, whose untimely death near Lisnaskea, has been already mentioned. On the outbreak of 1641, this archbishop Hamilton was plundered, and obliged to escape for his life. He died at Stockholm in the year 1659. His second son, Hugh Hamilton, lived at Ballygawley, or Ballygally, in Tyrone, and was created, on the 2nd of March, 1660, Baron Hamilton of Glenawly, in the county of Fermanagh. He married Susanna, the youngest daughter of Sir William Balfour of Mountwhany and Pitcullo, in Fifeshire. Soon after his death, in 1679, his widow married Henry Mervyn of Trelick, or Trillick, in Tyrone. Baron Hamilton left one son, lord William, who died without issue, and several daughters, the youngest of whom, Arabella-Susanna, became the wife of Sir John Magill of Gill-hall, in the county of Down. See Lodge, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 300.

a poor Cabbin ; but what Tenants he hath I know not, for he refused to show them unto me ; but he brought after me a List of just 20 Tenants ; but I know not whether they have any estates, for the List doth not make any Mention what they hold. As I passed over the Land I saw divers ploughing ; and this is all I can say of him.

CXL. 1,500 Acres.

Captain Edney was the first Patentee. The *Lord Burleigh* hath 1,500 acres, called *Loughmaguife* (245). Upon this there is a Bawne of 140 feet long, and 60 feet wide, with three Flankers, 14 feet high. There is a House within the Bawne, and a Castle began ; all which is of Lyme and Stone, being built to the second Storie. This is inhabited with a *Scottish* Gentleman. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *British* Tenants,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres.
- 2 having 200 acres le piece.
- 1 having 67 acres.
- 1 having 50 acres.

Lessees for years, 10, viz.,

- 2 having 60 acres le piece.
- 3 having 200 acres jointly.
- 1 having 100 acres.
- 4 having 66 acres le piece.

Cottagers in Fee, 4,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, and greasing on the Commons for Cows and Garrons.

Total, 19 Families, who, with their under Tenants, are able to make 60 Men with Arms.

(245). *Loughmaguife*.—See p. 266. Pynnar must have been mistaken in representing James Balfour, Lord Burleigh, as being owner of this proportion. The mistake may have arisen from the fact that an Alexander and James Balfoure had got a lease of the two balliboes called Mullenveall and Shraduffe, from James Hamilton, who appears to have owned, for a time, the one half of this proportion ; but there is no evidence, so far as we can find, that Lord Burleigh ever owned these lands. The two original patentees of this proportion, called in the survey *Ballyloughmaguife*, appear to have let the lands freely to the Irish, and evidently without much reference to the conditions on this point, so explicitly put forward in their letters patent. Thus, we find that Walter and Thomas Edney, on the 20th January, 1613, at *Ballyloughmaguife*, let the whole proportion so called by the year, to Donnell O'Neel, Con boy O'Neel, Hugh O'Neel, and Art oge O'Neel, being meere Irishmen. The Edneys afterwards distributed the several parcels of their lands to the natives hereunder named, viz., Art Oge McHugh Roe McMoghan, Art O'Hagan, Turlough O'Hagan, Bryan McPhilip O'Hulaghan, Hugh mynagh McGilpatricke, Turlough grome O'Quyn McCacoell, Laughlyn O'Quyn, Donnell O'Neile, Patrick O'Donnis, Dirrumick O'Hagan, Donnell O'Hagan, Cuconnaght Maguire, Patrick O'Donnelly,

Gillygrome Mynagh, Con McTurlagh O'Neil. James Hamilton who, for a time, held the half of the proportion, let it off unto Alexander and James Balfoure. These tenants sublet their two balliboes of Mullenveall and Shraduffe to the following Irish, viz., Rosse boy McCabe, Thomas Lea McMahan, Rory McNeil McMahan, Phillip McHugh McMahan, Thomas O'Hulaghan, Cormack Roe O'Hulaghan, Teig modder O'Quyn, Art McHugh Roe McMahan. In 1828, Sir Henry Titchborne held this whole proportion, but had it generally let to natives. The balliboes called Cullentragh, Aghekemcon, Ballynelurgan, Lisralise, and Loughermore, were considered most fit for the occupancy of Irish tenants, and were not over the $\frac{1}{4}$ of the proportion allowed to them by law. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (6) Car. I.) Edney, the first patentee, probably sold his proportion finally to Sir Henry Titchbourne, as on the 7th of July, 1629, a re-grant was made to the latter, his heirs and assignes, forever, of the middle proportion of Ballyloughmaguife, containing 1,500 acres, in the barony of Clogher, and the lands of Glansawiske, containing 240 acres, in the barony of Strabane ; to be held in free and common socage. All the premises are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Blessingbourne*, with the usual manorial rights ; a tan-house at

CXLI. 2,000.

Sir Francis Willoughby, the first Patentee. *John Leigh* (246) *Esq.*, hath 2,000 acres, called *Fentonagh* (247). Upon this there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, with two Flankers; and a good large Stone House within it, in which he dwelleth. Near unto this Bawne there is a small Village consisting of 8 Houses. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 8, viz.,

3 having 120 acres le piece.

Ballinelurgan; a weekly market there every Saturday, and two fairs to be held respectively on the Thursday before Whit Sunday, and St. Martin's Day, to continue three days. To be held on the conditions of plantation, and according to the King's instructions of 1626 for the renewing of grants to undertakers.

(246). *John Leigh*.—See p. 265. John, Edmond, and Daniel Leigh, three brothers, came to Ulster under the auspices of Sir Henry Bagenall. Edmond died in 1608. Among the lands granted to the two remaining brothers were those that had belonged to the abbey of Omey, which were not known as such by the surveyors of 1608 and 1609. Hence the allotment of these lands to undertakers. The Leighs stated, in a memorial, that "some parcels of their lands had, by the oversight of the King's surveyors, been included in the grants to undertakers, which, however, they [the Leighs] were willing to resign, rather than disturb the said undertakers." The King was so pleased with this profession of readiness to suffer loss in the great plantation cause, that he ordered Chichester to re-grant to the Leighs all their other lands on their own terms. The undertakers who had thus got portions of the lands belonging to the Leighs were Sir John Davys, Sir Thomas Boyd, Mr. Clephane, George Hamilton, and the bishop of Derry.

(247). *Fentonagh*.—John Leigh, who purchased from Sir F. Willoughby, died on the 10th of December, 1631, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Arthur Leigh, son of his brother, Sir Daniel. Although Pynnar's report of this proportion, as above, implies a large number of British freeholders and leaseholders thereon, we have no list of their names in the printed inquisitions. Some information, however, is supplied relative to certain Irish tenants, who were admitted contrary to the law that no undertaker must appropriate more than one-fourth of his proportion to such tenants, under pain of forfeiting the parts thus occupied. The following was found by inquisition held at Newtowne, on the 29th of May, 1632:—Edmond McHugh O'Neale, a meere Irishman, held by demise from John Leigh, deceased, the balliboe called Logetegill, ever since the date of certaine letters pattents graunted unto the said John, of the manor and proportion of Fentonagh, in the barony of Clogher, as an undertaker in the province of Ulster. Phillip McCosker, a meere Irishman, held by demise from said John Leigh, the balliboe of Dungoran, ever since the date of the said letters pattents. Owen O'Corran, carpenter, and Donnogh O'Corran, and others, meere Irish, held by

demise from the said John Leigh, the balliboe of land called Mullane, ever since the date of the said letters pattents. Phillip McCosker held the balliboe called Tatmoyle as aforesaid. Tirlagh McBryan Carogh O'Neale, a meere Irishman, held from one Robert Bennett and his wyfe, assignees of the said John Leigh, the balliboe called Aghafada as aforesaid, Owen modder McCarrell, a meere Irishman, held by demise from the said John Leigh, the towne or balliboe called Tonaghbane as aforesaid. Phillip McCosker held by demise from said John, the towne or balliboe called Cariglasse as aforesaid. All and everie, the aforesaid townes and balliboes, are lyeing and being within the said proportion of Fentonagh, and were let and demised by the said John Leigh and his assignes, unto the said meere Irish, in manner aforesaid, over and above the fourth parte allotted for the meere Irish, in the said Mr. John Leigh his letters pattents, contrary to the condition in said letters pattents. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (35) Car. I.) This proportion, and others in the same barony became the property of a Captain James Mervin, who was cousin-german to the two Tuchets, Sir Mervyn and Sir Ferdinando, who appear to have disposed of their lands in Clogher to a connexion named Sir Henry Mervin. On the 29th of August, 1626, Sir Henry Mervin and Lady Christian, his wife, granted and conveyed to James, their son and heir, the proportions of land called Fentenagh, Eddergould, the Broad [Brade], and Carunrackan, which were lately divided into three lordships or manors, called Stowye, Tuchett, and Arleston. To hold forever. On the 1st of July, 1630, there was a re-grant to James Mervin, his heirs and assigns forever, of four proportions, viz., the great proportion of Brade, containing 2,000 acres; the great proportion of Fentonaghe, containing 2,000 acres; and the two small proportions of Edergoole and Carranvracken, containing 1,000 acres each; also, 1,440 acres in the barony of Omey. To be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into three several manors, to be called *Stoy*, *Tuchet*, and *Arleston*. The usual manorial powers; a market every Tuesday at Trelicke in the manor of Stoy, and a fair on the 3rd of May; a market every Saturday at the town of Tuchet, and a fair on the 25th of November; a market at the town of Omagh in the manor of Arleston, on every Wednesday, and two fairs on St. James's Day and Michaelmas Day, to continue for two days. Subject to the conditions of plantation, and according to the instructions of the King for renewing the grants of undertakers, For Mervin's controversy with the bishop of Clogher, see *supra*.

- 2 having 60 acres le piece.
- 2 having 45 acres le piece.
- 1 having 60 acres.

Lessees for years, 12, viz.,

- 4 having 100 acres le piece.
- 2 having 60 acres le piece.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 3 having 66 acres le piece.
- 2 having 40 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 21,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, and most of them two acres, besides Commons for Cattle.

Total, 41 Families, able to make 48 Men, which have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

CXLII. 2,000 Acres.

Edward Kingsmill, the first Patentee. *Sir William Stewart, Knt.*, hath 2,000 acres, called *Ballenecoole* and *Balleranally* (248). Upon this Proportion there is a large Strong Castle in building, all of Lyme and Stone, which is now three Stories high, and when it is finished will be the fairest Castle in the whole precinct. He is making a Bawne 240 feet in length, and 120 in breadth, with four Flankers, being of Clay and Stone (249). He hath made a Village, where are now 9 Houses, and more are in building; there is good store of Tillage, and and all the Irish put from the Land (250). I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

- 1 having 180 acres.
- 2 having 120 acres le piece.

(248). *Balleranally*.—See p. 268. These names are *Ballinacooly* and *Ballyranill* in an inquisition. The grant to Edward Kinswell or Kingswell, the first patentee, is dated Oct. 28, 1613; and the sale of the two proportions was made to Sir William Stewart on the 10th May, 1616. These proportions are described as "adjoining together, betwixt the church land of Clougher on the east and south-east; the corporation land of Ogher [Agher] and the church land of Clougher on the south and southwest; the proportion of Ballyloughmagniff and the county of Fermanagh upon the west and north-west; and the watercourse called Lynnyloury and the proportion of Fentonagh on the north." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (49) Car. I.

(249). *Clay and Stone*.—There is the following account of these buildings in the inquisitions now quoted:—"Since the time of makinge the letters pattents there is one castle or stone house erected on the proportion of Ballyranill, which conteyneth in length 66 foote, in breadth 40 foote, and in height 38 foote, by the measure of the standard of England. There is from the said castle, at either end thereof, erected a stone building, which conteyneth in length 80 foote, in breadth 20 foote, and in

height 28 foote, by the measure aforesaid. There is, since the same time, a bawne or stone wall erected round about the castle and other buildinge, which is 12 foote in height, and in circuit 780 foote.

(250). *From the land*.—Although this arrangement was carried generally out, there are a few Irish names on the list of tenants mentioned in the succeeding note. The Irish, in fact, were found to be all but 'irrepressible.' On these proportions, however, as on others, there were certain lands set apart as suitable for the Irish; but which certain zealous anti-Irish undertakers, like Sir William Stewart, planted with British tenants, when such could be got. "Of the said proportions of Ballyranill and Ballineconoly, the balliboes of Shawntawnny, Cleighlearn, Sianson, Carricknegatt, Ballynemurly, Killnegneden, Ballynecollagh, Aghesse, Ballynenessa, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of Killany, with the mountains of Ballyranuagh, Ballynecoologh, and Mountstewart, are the most fit parts to be let to natives." (*Ibid.*) Sir William Stewart and others who adopted a harsh policy towards the natives, paid a heavy penalty, in most instances, at the outbreak of 1641.

2 having 130 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 9, viz.,

1 having 160 acres.

2 having 60 acres le piece.

4 having 60 acres le piece.

1 having 20 acres.

1 having 40 acres (251).

Cottagers, 8, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, with a Commons for their Cattle.

Total, 22 Families, who, with their under Tenants, are able to make 64 Men armed.

CXLIII. 2,000 Acres.

Sir Anthony Cope was the first Patentee. *Sir William Cope, Knt.*, hath 2,000 acres, called *Derribard* (252). Upon this there is a Bawne of Clay and Stone, pointed with Lyme, being 80 feet square, with two Flankers, and a little House within it uncovered, all lying waste, and not any one *English* man at all dwelling on the Land, but all inhabited with *Irish*.

CXLIV. 1,000 Acres.

William Parsons, Esq., hath 1,000 acres, called *Ballenedogh* (253). Upon this there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, being 60 feet square and 13 feet high, with two Flankers. There is in

(251). *Acres*.—*Sir William Stewart* let off his lands in the above-named two proportions, as follows:—On the 1st of June, 1616, to *Harbert Maxwell*, for a term of 21 years, the balliboes called *Mullaghveney*, *Froluske*, and the $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of the townland of *Killany*; on the 1st of Nov., 1622, to *David Barkley, Esq.*, for a term of 19 years, three balliboes; and on the 1st of May, 1620, to *Robert Murdough*, for a term of five years, one balliboe. Between the years 1617 and 1627, *Sir William* set lands to the tenants undernamed, for terms varying from 7 to 19 years, viz., *Michael McCullogh*, *John Wilson*, *John McKilmurry*, *David McKearne*, *John Montgomery*, *Robert Murduff*, *Phillomy O'Neale*, *William Meens*, *John Karns*, *Shane Mule McGerr*, *William Morne*, *Roger Meen*, *Alex. Maxwell*, *Alex. McKittrick*, *John Meene*, *Jane Demster*, *Andrew McCrery*, *John Wright* and *Wm. Morrow*. The only freeholder mentioned in 1628-1630 was *David Berekley* or *Barklay*, who was afterwards knighted, and obtained extensive lands from *Sir William Stewart*. *Ibid.*

(252). *Derribard*.—See p. 268. *Pynnar* is mistaken in supposing that *Sir Wm. Cope* here held more than 1,500 acres. *Sir Anthony Cope* died on 22nd Nov., 1617, and his son *Sir William*, who was then 40 years of age, and married, entered into possession of these lands, consisting of 1,000 acres called *Killany*, and 500 acres called *Derribarde*. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (7) Jac. I.) The only other notice of these lands, from the same source, is the following which implies that, previously to the year 1631, the property had passed away from the *Cope* family:—"Richard Cooper, late of *Derribarde*, in the county

of Tyrone, houldeth the middle proportion of land called *Derribarde* and *Killany*, in the barony of *Clogher*, containing 1,500 acres, granted to him by letters pattenents. The said *Richard Cooper*, contrary to the intent and effect of the said letters, hath sett severall balliboes, within the said proportion unto the meere *Irish*, viz., *Turlough groome McGawell*, held the balliboe called *Rovagh* and *Graghraynn*; *Donnell Dow McArte* held the balliboe called *Gracholynn*; *Bryen McCawell* did hould the towne and balliboe called *Lysnely*; and *Bryan O'Neel* and *Gilgroome O'Connogher* held the balliboes called *Lysnareese*, *Derryward*, and *Garvullagh*. All the said severall balliboes and parcells become forfeit. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (33), Car. I.

(253). *Ballenedogh*.—Of affairs on this proportion, there is no information further than a list of the severall parcels thereon. *Sir Wm. Parsons* died about the 1st of January, 1658, and his son, *Sir Richard*, succeeded, being then only two years of age. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (1) Car. II.) On the 28th of July, 1629, he surrendered this proportion, which he had named the manor of *Cecill*, with the appurtenances, in the barony of *Clogher*, and all lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, reputed to be parcel thereof. On the 29th of July, 1629, there was a re-grant to *Sir William Parsons*, his heirs and assigns, forever, of 1,680 acres in the barony of *Clogher*, comprising the manor of *Cecill*. To be held in free and common socage; with the usual manorial rights and powers; pursuant to the conditions of plantation, and according to the instructions for re-grants to undertakers.

it a large Stone House, two Stories and a half high, in which his Brother, with his Wife Family, dwelleth. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for three lives, 1, viz.,

1 having 180 acres.

Lessees for years, 8, viz.,

2 having 180 le piece.

2 having 120 le piece.

4 having 60 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 4, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, with Commons for greasing their Cattle.

In total, 15 Families, who, their under Tenants, are able to make 38 Men armed, having taken the Oath of Supremacy, and 1 of them dwelling in a Village consisting of 9 Houses.

The Precinct of *Mountjoy*, allotted to *Scottish* Undertakers. (See pp. 285-288).

[“*The Precinct of Mountjoy*. The *Lord Uchelrie* [Ochiltree], 3,000 acres; being stayed contrary winds in Scotland, arrived in Ireland (at the time of our being in Armagh, upon return home), accompanied with 33 followers, gent. [gentlemen] of sort [rank], a minister, s tenants, freeholders, and artificers, unto whom he hath passed estates; and hath built for present use three houses of oak timber, one of 50 foot long and 22 wide, and two of 40 foot 1 within an old fort, about which he is building a bawn. He has sundry men at work providing materials, and there are in readiness 240 great trees felled, and some squared; and is preparing stone, brick, and lime for building a castle, which he means to finish next Spring. There are ploughs going upon his demesne, with some 50 cows, and three score young heifers landed. *Island Magy* [Magee], in *Clandeboy*, which are coming to his proportion, and some 12 work mares; and he intends to begin residence upon his land the next Spring, as he informeth *Sir Robert Hepburne, Knight*, 1,500 acres; sowed oats and barley the last year upon his land, reaped this harvest 40 hogsheads of corn; is resident; hath 140 cows, young and old, in stock and 8 mares. Hath 7 householders, being in number 20 persons; is building a stone house 100 foot long and 20 wide, already a story high, and before the end of this season he intends to build it three stories high, and to cover it, and the next Spring to add another story to it; good store of timber felled and squared, and providing materials to finish the work. The *Laird Lochno*, 1,000 acres; being diseased himself, as we were informed, had his agent here, Robert O’Rourke, hath some timber felled, and is preparing materials for building against next Spring. *Bernard Lendsey* and *Robert Lendsey*, 1,000 acres apiece, have taken possession personally in the Summer 1610, returned into Scotland; agent, Robert Cowties, resident; a timber house is built on *Robert Lendsey’s* portion, who hath three householders, being in number 12 persons. Hath eight mares and eight cows with their calves, and five oxen, with swine and other small cattle, and a competent portion of arms. *Robert Stewart* of *Haulton*, 1,000 acres; has appeared in person, having brought

some people. Timber felled, and providing materials for building. *Robert Stewart* of Robstone 1,000 acres; has appeared in person, with tenants and cattle; timber felled and squared, and is preparing materials for building.

"*The Castle of Mountjoy*, upon Lough Chichester, beside the old fort, wherein are many inhabitants both English and Irish, together with Sir Francis Roe's foot Company. Here is a fair Castle of stone and brick, covered with slate and tile, begun in the late Queen's time, and finished by his Majesty. It is compassed about by a good strong rampier [rampart] of Earth, well ditched and flanked with bulworks. In this castle Sir Francis Roe, the constable, and his family dwell." Carew's Report in 1611].

CXLV. 1,800 Acres.

Sir Robert Heyborne (254), *Knight*, hath 1,800 acres, called *O'Carragan*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Clay and Stone, rough cast with Lyme, the Walls not above 7 feet high, and a small House within it, being of Lime and Stone; also near adjoining to the Bawne there are 10 little Houses standing together, inhabited with Brittish Families. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

1 having 660 acres.

2 having 240 acres le piece.

3 having 180 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 3, viz.,

1 having 180 acres.

1 having 60 acres.

1 having 30 acres.

Total, 9 Tenants, who, with their Undertenants, are able to make 26 Men with Arms.

CLXVI. 3,500 Acres.

The *Lord Uchiltree* (255) hath 3,500 acres, called *Revelin-Outra* and *Eightra* (256). There is no more done now than was at the last Survey; the Castle is thatched, and the Lord absent. Near

(254). *Heyborne*.—See p. 287. There are only one or two scraps of information respecting the sale of certain parcels on Sir Robert Heyborne's proportion to be found in the printed inquisitions. Thus, Sir Robert, who was styled of *Killaman*, in the county of Tyrone, demised the balliboes of Derryherke and Aghauereske, on the 10th of May, 1620, to Thomas Averell, gent., John Lyford, cleric, and Michael Lawrence, gent. On the same day, Sir Robert demised portions of his lands also to Robert Edmonston, John Coulson, Henry Clarke, and William Ploughman. Sir Robert Heyborne's surname is written *Hebron* in the inquisitions. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (11), (12), and (18) Car. II.) This undertaker had parted with all the lands in his proportion before 1629, as, on the 3rd of March, in that year, letters patent were granted to Henry Stewart, and a grant to him, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the middle proportion of *O'Carragan*, in the precinct of Mountjoy, barony of Dungannon, containing 1,500 acres; and 60 acres of Aghmerisse, or Tawnaghmore, in the same barony. To be held in free and common socage. The lands are erected into a manor,

to be called the manor of *Carragan*, with the usual manorial powers; subject to the conditions of plantation, and to the terms for renewing the grants of undertakers.

(255). *Uchiltree*.—Andrew Stewart had not sold his barony and title of Ochiltree at the time of Pynnar's report. This sale was effected soon afterwards, however (see p. 286), and he appears with his new title of Baron Castlestewart throughout the printed inquisitions relating to the county of Tyrone. He died on the 30th of March, 1639, and was succeeded by his son and heir, also named Andrew. In 1628, the first Baron Castlestewart, for a sum of 200*l.*, sold to Gilbert Kennedy, gent., and John Collis, the townes or balliboes of Kilsally and Ballymagwier. Kennedy and Collis, for the same sum, disposed of these lands to Henry Boyne, on the 1st of May, 1638; and Henry Boyne's son and heir, also named Henry, for the same sum of 200*l.*, surrendered this little property on the 10th of July, 1655, to Valentine Blacker of Carrick, county of Armagh. George Blacker, the representative of Valentine, held Kilsally and Ballymagwier in 1661. He also, about the year 1658, bought

unto the Castle there are a great many poor *Irish Houses* inhabited with *Brittish Families*. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Tenants*,

Freeholders, 7, viz.,

2 having 180 acres le piece.

5 having 180 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 12, viz.,

5 having 120 acres le piece.

7 having 60 acres le piece.

Total, 19 Tenants, who, with their Undertenants, are able to make 80 men.

CXLVII. 1,500 Acres.

Captain Sanderson, Esq., hath 1,000 acres, called *Tullylegan* (257). Upon this there is a good Bawne of Clay and Stone, rough cast with Lime, having two Flankers, and a very good

two other parcels of land called Ela and Killmany, containing 200 acres, which had belonged to Lord Castlestewart, and were sold by the latter for 150*l.* in hand, and a yearly rent of 3*l.* for ever. The first purchaser from the landlord was Christopher Harrison, who sold to Thomas Dawson, the latter selling in turn to George Blacker. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (46) Car. I.; (14), (20), and (24) Car. II.) From this source we have no information as to the state of affairs on the Castlestewart estate; but, judging from Pynnar's report, they were gloomy enough. British settlers dwelling permanently in Irish houses, from which the owners had been expelled, was proof that these domiciles could not have been so contemptible as they are so generally represented; or, at least, that they must have been better than the settlers could have had in their own country. On the 26th of February, 1629, letters patent of denization were issued to Andrew Stewart, and a re-grant of three proportions, viz., the great proportion of Revelinowtra, in the precinct of Mountjoy, barony of Dungannon, containing 2,000 acres, with the advowson of the church of Donogherry, and the two small proportions of Revelineightra and Balliokevan, in the same barony, each containing 1,000 acres. To be held in free and common socage. The two proportions of Revelineightra and Revelinowtra to be erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Castlestewart*, and the proportion of Balliokevan to be called the manor of *Foreward*; with all manorial rights and powers in each case. A market every Wednesday at Castlestewart, and two fairs, one to be held on the 20th of April, and the other on the 20th of October, to continue for two days; subject to the conditions of plantation, and to the terms for renewing the grants of undertakers.

(256) *Revelin-Outra and Eightra*.—To stock his extensive pasture lands, Lord Ochiltree, as stated by Carew, brought a large supply of cows from Scotland, landing them at Oldersfleet harbour, and driving them thence to Tyrone. This undertaker, and others of his class, who brought cows with them to Ulster,—some from England and some from north of the Tweed,—might have saved the expense and trouble thus incurred, had they known the value of Irish cows, and how much better they were adapted to this soil than such as were imported. The

four 'viewers' sent here by the Londoners reported that the cows in northern Ulster were not inferior to those of English breed. A Munster undertaker from England, named Robert Payne, writing to a friend on the subject of Irish cattle, states, that "you may buy the best Heafers there, with calves at their feet, for 20*s.* apeece, which are nothing inferior to the better sort of Lyncolnshire breed." The same practical and intelligent observer, whose *Brief Description of Ireland* was printed in 1590, gives the following estimate of what could then be done by the proper management of a very limited stock:—"A man may be as well and cleanly tabled at an English house in Ireland for the profit of five kine and fiftie sheep, all which will be bought for 7*l.* 10*s.*, and for the rent of so much land as will keep them, which is 20*s.* the yeere, as at the best ordinarie in England for 6*l.* a meale, all which amounteth but to 35*s.* 6*d.* a yeere, accounting 2*s.* in the pound for interest of the stocke. Women may be barded for the profite of foure kine, 40 sheepe, and 16*s.* rent. Servants for three kine, thirtie sheepe, and 12*s.* rent. Children for two kine, 20 sheepe, and 8*s.* rent. Thus may a man that is twelve in household, viz., himself, his wife, two servants, and eight children, be very well tabled a yeere for the profite of 31 kine, 310 sheepe, and 6*l.* 10*s.* rente; all which stocke will be bought for lesse than 60*l.* The use whereof being 6*l.*, the whole charge of a yeere for 12 persons is 12*l.* 10*s.*, which is 20*s.* and 10*d.* apeece. This hath not been long used there, but now that Englishman thinketh himselfe happy that he can make such a bargaine with an honest man: for although that which is not every way to the guest above 12*l.* 10*s.*, may make the host, with good husbandrie, more than a hundred markes." See *Tracts relating to Ireland*, published by the Irish Archaeological Society, pp. 7, 8.

(257). *Tullylegan*.—See p. 283. There is nothing to be found concerning this undertaker in the inquisitions except that his christian name was Alexander; that, at the time of his death, his son Archibald was of age, and married; and that the latter, for a sum of 200*l.*, sold two parcels of the estate, called Ruskey and Donaghy, on the 30th of June, 1639, to John Madder. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (41) Car. I.; (8) Car. II.) On the 25th of Nov., 1630, letters patent of denization were issued to Alex. Saunderson, and a re-grant of the small proportion

House of Lime and Stone; himself, with his Wife and Family, now dwelling there; and about him some Number of Houses inhabited with British Families. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Families,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

3 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for three lives, 4, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

2 having 60 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 7, viz.,

In total, 16 Families, able to make 36 Men with Arms.

These seven do hold 120 acres among them for 21 years.

CXLVIII. 1,000 Acres.

Mrs. Lindsey (258), late wife to *Robert Lindsey*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Tullaghoge*. Upon this there is a good strong Bawne of Earth, with a Quick-set Hedge upon it, and a Ditch about it. There is a Timber House within it, in which she and her Family dwell. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Birth and Descent,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

of Tullelegan, and all the lands thereunto belonging, in the precinct of Mountjoy; to be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Saunderson*, with the usual powers and privileges of manors; subject to the conditions of plantation, and the terms for renewing grants of undertakers.

(258). *Mrs. Lindsey*.—There is no information of this lady, or of the lands she held in the district of Tullaghoge, to be found in the printed inquisitions relating to Tyrone. *Robert Lindsey*, the first patentee (see p. 288), must have died in the interval between the date of the original grant in 1610, and the time Pynnar had visited the proportion of Tullaghoge,—probably in 1619. As there was a regrant of the proportion to a *Robert Lindsey*, in 1630, the latter must have been the representative of the deceased. On the 1st of January, in the year last named, letters patent of denization were issued to *Robert Lindsey*, and a grant to him of the small propotion of Tullaghoge, in the precinct of Mountjoy, barony of Dungannon, containing 1,000 acres; to be held in free and common socage. The lands to be created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Lindsey*, with the usual manorial powers; subject to the conditions of plantation, and the terms for the renewing of grants to undertakers. This grantee was, most probably, the person referred to in the following letter from the King to the Irish deputy, Falkland, in July, 1629, although the affair described took place in a neighbouring county, but not far distant from *Lindsey's* place of residence:—"Whereas, we are informed by the humble petition of *Robert Lindsey*, our subject, that about six or seven years since [or about 1622] one *Neale* boy *Milnattellie* of *Clady*, in the county of *Armagh*, a

notable thief, having by the highway robbed one *William Acheson* of a sword, who having raised hue-and-cry after him, he fled, and ran away over a bog, and the country being after him to the number of thirty or forty people, he drew the said sword and stroke at the constable and others, refusing to be taken in our name when he was commanded by the constable, and still fled from bog to bog, until at last he entered into a house in *Ballyleann*, in the said county, but being followed by the country, he made fast the doors; and the said *Lindsey*, amongst the rest of the country, being there and standing near unto the door, the said *Neale* refusing to come out and be taken, did let out a thrust with the sword at a hole near the door, and the sword pierced along the breast of the petitioner's doublet, but missed his body, and the petitioner not seeing the man, did let in another thrust through the hole, with no intent to hurt the said *Neale*, but to scare him from the door, that the rest of the people might break open the door the more safely; but so it fell out that the petitioner's one thrust did kill the said *Neale* dead, who never was seen or known by the petitioner in his life-time; still the people within the house did keep the door fast, not telling that the said *Neale* was killed or hurt, or that he was there at all, until such time as the door was broken open, and the said *Neale* being found dead, contrary to expectation, his body was presented to the coroner of the shire, by whom it was found manslaughter justifiable. Wherefore, if the circumstances alleged be true, we have thought fit to vouchsafe him our princely recommendation, requiring you to cause our letters patent to be made forth, containing a good and effectual pardon to the said *Robert Lindsey*."

Lessees, 8, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 60 acres.
- 6 having 120 acres.

Total, 22 Tenants, able to make
30 Men, with Arms.

Cottagers, 12, viz.,

These hold among them 120 acres.

CXLIX. 1,000 Acres.

Bernard Lindsey was the first Patentee. *Alexander Richardson* hath 1,000 acres, called *Craigballe* (259). Upon this there is built a Bawne of Clay and Stone, being rough-cast with Lime, 90 feet square, with four Flankers, and a Timber House in it, in which he, with his Family, is now dwelling. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *British Tenants*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

- 2 having 120 acres.

Lessees for years, 4, viz.,

- 1 having 120 acres.
- 2 having 120 acres jointly.
- 1 having 60 acres.

In total, 17 Tenants, able to
make 39 Men armed.

Cottagers, 11, viz.,

Each of these has a Tenement and Garden Plott, and
Common for their Cattle.

CL. 1,000 Acres.

Robert Stewart was the first Patentee. *Andrew Stewart*, son of the *Lord Uchiltree* hath 1000 acres, called *Ballenekeuan*. Upon this there is now in building a small Castle 20 feet square; it is two Stories high; the Bawne is laid out to be 60 feet square, and of that there is but one of the sides begun, being 8 feet high; but the Workmen are hard at work, and have promised to make haste. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *British Tenants*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

- 1 having 240 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.

Lessees for years, 8, viz.,

- 2 having 240 acres le piece.
- 3 having 120 acres le piece.

Total, 10 Families, who, with
their Undertenants, are able to
make 32 Men with Arms (260).

(259). *Craigballe*.—The inquisitions relating to Tyrone are silent in reference to this proportion and its owner. No change, therefore, had occurred with the *Richardsons*; but it is somewhat remarkable that *Lindsey's* sale of the lands is not recorded, nor the circumstances connected with *Richardson's* taking possession. (See p. 288). On the 16th of December, 1630, letters patent of denization were issued to *Alexander Richardson*, and also a grant to him of the small proportion of *Creige*, in the precinct of *Mountjoy*;

to be held in free and common socage. The lands are to be created into a manor, called the manor of *Richardson*, with the usual manorial powers; subject to the conditions of plantation, and the terms for granting the renewing of grants to undertakers.

(260). *With Arms*.—The affairs of this proportion are unnoticed in the inquisitions, but it no doubt became a part of the *Castlestewart* estate at the death of the old baron or lord, in 1639. See p. 288.

- 1 having 60 acres.
- 2 having 120 acres jointly.

CLL 1,000 Acres.

David Kenedaie (261) hath 1,000 acres, called *Gortevill*. Upon this there is a good Bawne of Lime and Stone 80 feet square, with three Flankers, and a House of Timber within it, in which he dwelleth. There are about the Bawne 12 Houses inhabited by *Brittish* Tenants. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

- 2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 5, viz.,

- 1 having 180 acres.
- 2 having 120 acres le piece.
- 2 having 60 acres le piece.

Total, 16 Families, who, with their Undertenants, can make 36 Men armed.

Cottagers, 9, viz.,

Each of these has a House and a Garden Plott, and Commons for their Cattle.

The Precinct of *Dunganon*, allotted to Servitors and Natives. (See pp.315-322).

[*"Precinct of Dunganon.* Sir Arthur Chichester, now Lord Deputy, has 600 acres about Dunganon, as a servitor, where he intends to build a castle, or strong house of lime and stone, and to environ the same with a good and substantial stone wall and a deep ditch, with a counter scarfe [scarp] of stone to hold up the earth. Has now masons and workmen to take down such remains of the decayed ruins of the old castle as are yet standing. (See p. 252). Preparations of limestone, freestone, &c., for building in the Spring. Town to be made a corporation, and there are families of English and other civil men, who, for the present, have built houses of copels, but are bound to build of cage-work or stone after the English manner, and make enclosures about the town. *Sir Thomas Ridgeway*, 2,000 acres, as servitor; hath carpenters providing timber for building next Spring. *Sir Richard Wingfield, Knight*, Marshal of the Army, 2,000 acres, as a servitor, has great store of timber for buildings, and will have other materials ready by the beginning of Spring. *Sir Toby Calfield, Knight*, 1,000 acres, as servitor, is making preparations for building. *Sir Francis Roe, Knight*, 1,000 acres, as servitor, is providing materials for building. *William Parsons*, 1,000 acres, as servitor, preparing to forward buildings next Spring. *Francis Ansley*, 400 acres, as servitor, has made a bawn of earth and sods, with convenient ditch and flankers, and provided timber to build a substantial English house within it. *Captain Tyrllagh O'Neale*, one of the natives of Tyrone, has removed, and dwells on his lands in the precinct of Dunganon, has no

(261). *David Kenedaie*.—David Kennedy, who appears to have been an early patentee of this proportion, must have sold it soon after getting possession, but the precise date of his grant we have not discovered. On the 16th of December, 1630, letters patent of denization were issued to *John Syminton*, and a grant to him of the

small proportion of Gorteville, containing 1,000 acres, in the precinct of Mountjoy. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Syminton*, with the usual manorial powers. To be held in free and common socage, subject to the conditions of plantation, and to the terms for granting the renewals to undertakers.

preparations for building, but an Irish house. None of the rest are removed, nor have made any preparations for building." *Carew's Report* in 1611].

CLII. 1,140 Acres.

The *Lord Chichester* (262) hath 1,140 acres, called *Dunganon*. Upon this there is built a Fort of Lime and Stone, 120 feet square, with four half Bulwarks, and a deep ditch about it 20 feet broad, and counterscarped. There is a Castle to be built by *Captain Sandford*, who hath contracted for the finishing of it this Summer. Upon the Land without the town there are three *English Houses*, being inhabited with *English Men*.

CLIII. 500 Acres.

His Lordship [*Chichester*] is to build a Town in *Dunganon*, for which there is laid out 500 acres. Upon this there are now built 9 fair Stone Houses, whereof one of them hath a Stone Wall about it, and there are five more which are now ready to have the Roof set up. Also 6 strong Timber Houses built of good Cage work, and six more of the same, which are framed and ready to be set up, and are contracting for the finishing. There are *Brittish Tenants* that are for these Houses when they be built, that dwell in the Town in small Cabbins. There is also a large Church with a Steeple, all of Lime and Stone, now ready to be covered. Besides these *Brittish Tenants* within the Town (which are 30 *English Families*), there are 36 *Irish* which come to the Church, and have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

CLIV. 2,000 Acres.

The *Lord Ridgwaie* hath 2,000 acres, called *Large* (263). Upon this there is built a Bawn

(262). *The Lord Chichester*.—The deputy being created Baron Chichester of Belfast in 1612, was no longer known as 'Sir Arthur,' his more familiar title. In conferring this honour upon him, the patent was accompanied by the following royal epistle, intended to be specially complimentary:—"As at first you were called by our election without seeking for it, to this high place of trust and government of our kingdom of Ireland, and have so faithfully discharged the duties thereof, that, without any desire of yours on that behalf, we have thought fit to continue you in that employment these many years, beyond the example and custom of former times; so now we are pleased, merely of our own grace, without any mediation of friends, without your suite or ambition, to advance you to the state of a baron of that kingdom, in acknowledgment of your many acceptable services performed unto us there; and that you, and all other ministers of State, which serve us wheresoever, may know by the instance of this our favour to you, that we observe and discern their merits, and, accordingly, do value and reward them." This affair of being made a baron was, probably, not much cared for at the time. Chichester was then beginning to feel that he was mortal; and not long afterwards the disease under which he was suffering gave him warning sufficiently distinct that his days, if not to close then, were certainly numbered. This disease, judging from its periodical symptoms, was evidently what is now called dropsy. In the autumn of 1614 he suffered

much, and it was then feared by his friends that he would succumb. On the 24th of September, in that year, Sir Oliver St. John, writing to Winwood, referred to Chichester's condition as follows:—"The Lord Deputy still keeps his bed, but he [St. John] hopes he is on his recovery. They have made, it is said, an incision in the lower part of his belly, by direction and advice of some doctors in London. He had long used to lace up his leg to avoid [prevent] a swelling in them, and so made a stopp of tumours in his body, which have distempered him. Fears it is such as promises no long life." But the deputy, rallying from the effects of his complaint from time to time, survived nearly ten years after the date of St. John's letter, as above quoted, dying in the month of February, 1624-25. In the interval between the date of his death and of his interment at Carrickfergus, in the Oct. following, his chaplain, Spicer, prepared an *Elegy*, in which the following lines occur:—

" 'Tis well Knockfergus stands upon a rocke,
For otherwise the fierce, impetuous shooke,
Of dismall outcries, when the Corps comes thither,
Will make the Fort, and Wall, and Houses shiver,
Or crumble into dust, like Jericho,
When Joshua's rams' horns were observed to blow.
Yes, the whole Realme will raise a doleful cry
To make an Earthquake for his Elegie!"

(263). *Large*.—The town of Aghnacloy is now the best known and most important place in this locality.

of Lime and Stone 160 feet square, 14 high, with four Flankers, and a House in it of Timber. There are dwelling three *English* Families upon the Land, near to the Bawne.

CLV. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Toby Caulfield hath 1,000 acres, called *Ballidonnell* (264), whereunto is added, besides what was certified by *Sir Josias Bodley* (see p. 449), a fair House or Castle, the Front whereof is 80 feet in length and 28 feet in breadth from out side to out side, two Cross Ends 50 feet in length and 28 feet in breadth; the Walls are five feet thick in the Bottom, and four at the Top; very good Cellars underground, and all the Windows of hewn Stone. Between the two Cross Ends there goeth a Wall, which is 18 feet high, and maketh a small Court within the Building. This Work at this Time is but 13 feet high, and a number of Men at Work for the sudden finishing of it. There is also a Stone Bridge over the River, which is of Lime and Stone, with strong Butterises for the supporting of it. And to this is joined a good Water Mill for Corn, all built of Lime and Stone. This is at this time the fairest building that I have seen. Near unto this Bawn there is built a Town, in which there are 15 *English* Families, who are able to make 20 Men with Arms.

CLVI. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Francis Roe, Knt., hath 1,000 acres, called *Manor Roe* (265). Upon this there is a good Bawne of Earth, 80 feet long, and 60 feet broad, with a Quick-set [Hedge] set upon it, and a good deep Ditch about it. There is within it a very good small House of Brick and Stone, inhabited by an *English* Gentleman and his Family. There are also about the Bawne 17 Houses, which are inhabited with *Brittish* Tenants, who have estates for years, and have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

CLVII. 1,000 Acres.

William Parsons, Esq., hath 1,000 acres, called *Altedesert* (266). Upon this here is a Bawne of Stone and Lyme, 70 feet square, with two Flankers, with a House within it, wherein is dwelling

(264). *Ballidonnell*.—For an account of the Caulfield estates see p. 316; see also *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (2) and (4) Jac. I. The principal village in this district is known as Castlecaulfield. In 1644, the whole country about was deserted and desolate. Friar O'Mellan of Brantry priory, in his journal of the war in that year, states that "towards the end of the Autumn, when the corn was all shed, or burnt, and the houses destroyed, some of the creaghts ventured to return to the country, particularly the McKennas, namely, Neall of the race of Hugh, came to the Fews; Turlough O'Neill McBryan to Tyranny; Patrick modder O'Donnelly to Ballydonnelly, and many others." (See *Translation* p. 49). Ballydonnelly is still the name of the townland or parcel from which this whole proportion of Sir Toby Caulfield took its name, situate in the parish of Donaghmore, and about two miles westward of the town of Dungannon. Ballydonnelly anciently contained a stronghold of the O'Donnellys and its lands, comprising about 1,000 acres, and owned by that sept, were granted by Elizabeth to Sir Toby Caulfield, who selected the site of the old Irish fort as the position on

which, in 1614, he built the castle as above described by Pynnar, and which was afterwards known as Castlecaulfield. To this building the second Lord Charlemont added a strong keep and a large gatehouse with towers. In 1641, whilst Toby, the third Lord Charlemont, was absent in command of the fort of Charlemont on the Blackwater, Castlecaulfield was captured, burned, and demolished by Patrick O'Donneily, known as *modder*, or the 'gloomy,' above named. The present village of Castlecaulfield stands on what is known as the low road from Dungannon to Omagh.

(265). *Manor Roe*.—See p. 316. On the 30th June, 1616, Sir Francis Roe or Rowe, enfeoffed Sir Garrett Moore Viscount Drogheda, Sir Roger Johnes, Sir Nicholas White, and George White of Dundalk, as trustees, to administer his property for his own use during his life, and afterwards for that of his wife, Margaret Roe or Rowe. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (17) Car. I.

(266). *Altedesert*.—This proportion was originally granted by some other name, which, however, we are unable to discover.

an *English* Man and his Family. The rest of the Land is inhabited with *Irish*, for he hath it as a Servitor, and is leased for a certain Number of years and certain Rents.

CLVIII. 480 Acres.

Sir Francis Ansley, Knt., hath 480 acres, called *Clanaghrie*. Upon this there is a Bawne of Sodds, intrinched about (267).

CLIX. 2,000 Acres.

The *Lord Wingfield* hath 2,000 acres, called *Benburb* (268). Upon this there is built a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, 120 feet square, 14 feet high, with two Flankers, in which there is built in each a good House, three Stories high, and is inhabited with an English Gentleman, with his Wife and Family. There is also a Church in building, 70 feet long and 24 feet broad, with 8 large Windows, and is now ready to have the Roof set up. There are also 28 English Families dwelling on the Lands, which are able to make 30 Men with Arms.

CLX. 4,000 Acres.

Tirlagh O'Neale (269) hath 4,000 acres. Upon this he hath made a Piece of a Bawne, which is five feet high, and hath been so a long time. He hath made no estates to his Tenants, and all of them do plough after the *Irish* Manner.

(267). *Intrinched about*.—Annesley probably held on by this portion during his life, as no change in the ownership appears in any printed inquisition relating to Tyrone. *Clanaghrie* was a small territory or district in Tyrone, bordering on the western margin of Lough Neagh, and included in the present parish of Clonoe, which parish lies on the east border of the barony of Dungannon, two miles south-south-east of Stewartstown, and so indented by adjoining parishes as to present a most irregular outline. The surface extends from the Blackwater down part of the western side of Lough Neagh, or round the curve of what is known as Washing Bay; and a little river, which rises in the vicinity of Stewartstown, crosses this district in its course to Lough Neagh. On this brook stands the old castle of Mountjoy; and at a little distance south-east is the village of Brockagh. The surface generally is low and marshy, one third being still unreclaimed bog. One of its roads passes down the shore of the lough, and two others, starting from Brockagh, go in different directions to Stewartstown and Coal-Island. The old district of *Clanaghrie* is still known as *Manor-Annesley*, and the lord of the manor is bound *in perpetuo* to pay £10 yearly to a school in the district.

(268). *Benburb*.—The owner of this proportion in Pynnar's time was Edward Lord Wingfield, son of Sir Richard Wingfield, the well-known commander-in-chief (see p. 315). On the 30th of September, 1615, he sold the property to Nicholas White for the term of 1,100 years. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Tyrone, (44) Car. I.) This proportion comprised nearly all the present parish of Clonfeacle, in the barony of Dungannon. In this immediate district was fought a celebrated battle between the native Irish and the army of the Government, in the year 1646, the latter being entirely defeated. The well-known Irish general, Owen Roe O'Neill, son of Art McBaron, commanded the native troops

on that occasion, and exhorted the latter to fight valiantly against the English and Scottish enemies, "for it is they," said he, "who have deprived you of your chiefs, your children, your life, both spiritual and temporal; who have torn from you your lands, and made you wandering fugitives." In the conflict which ensued, Lord Blayney, and an English regiment under his command were literally annihilated; Lord Montgomery of the Ards and 21 officers were captured alive, whilst upwards of 3,000 English and Scottish soldiers were slain on the field and in the pursuit. In the course of the next day or two after this engagement at Benburb, several parties of stragglers, who had fallen out of their ranks in the retreat, were cut off by the native troops. Friar O'Mellon specifies a few instances. "Part of the fugitives," says he, "were drowned in the Avonmore and in the lough of Knocknacloy. Even those of the enemy who were only wounded did not escape; scarcely any of them reached their homes, but perished in the wilds. Thirteen horsemen were killed in Betagh country. A company [of the Irish] who were coming from Lough Sheelin after the army, killed five and twenty of them [the English soldiery]. Thomas Sandford, a lieutenant-colonel, killed 24 of them above Armagh. Fifty-seven more were destroyed by Henry O'Neill at the foot of a glen. Many others were found dead without having received any wounds." See *Translation of O'Mellon's Journal*, p. 66.

(269). *Tirlagh O'Neale*.—This was the eldest son of Sir Arthur O'Neill of Newtown, and grandson of Tirlagh Luineach O'Neill of Strabane, chiefs of the *Slut Arts*. (See pp. 96, 316, 317). Tirlagh, first named, had been removed from his own castle and lands in the barony of Strabane, and placed in the barony of Dungannon. The lands of Tirlagh O'Neill were erected into the manor of *Cashlan*, and contained the small territory known as Brantry, in one townland of which was the well-known

COUNTY OF ARDMAGH.

The Precinct of *Oneilan*, allotted to *English Undertakers*. (See pp. 259-264).

[*"The Precinct of O'Neillan [Oneilan]*. The Lord Saye and Seale, 3,000 acres; has made over his portion to Sir Anthony Cope, Knight, who has sent over a very sufficient overseer named William Pearson, with another to assist, who are resident. They have begun a fair castle of freestone, and other hard stone, 14 or 15 workmen, and 9 carpenters employed. Great part of the freestone for the coynes and windows are prepared 4 or 5 miles beyond Armagh. Two English carts or teams with horses and oxen attend the drawing of materials. There are 20 muskets and calivers, with competent furniture ready upon all occasions. The way for carriage of timber, which is five miles, is made passable, and so is the way to the freestone, which is 8 miles from the place. Two of the principal workmen are to be made freeholders, the rest are to have land upon reasonable terms. Sixteen mares and horses employed in carriage of materials. *John Brownlow*, 1,500 acres, and his son *William Brownlow*, 1,000 acres; both resident, and dwelling in an Irish house. Have brought over six carpenters, one mason, a tailor, and six workmen; one freeholder and six tenants upon their land. Preparations to build two bawns. Some muskets and other arms in readiness. *Mr. Powell*, 2,000 acres; has put over his land to Mr. Roulstone. No freeholders nor artificers are drawn upon it, nor work done, save the building of two bays of a house. When we were in the North, one William Banister, presented himself before us as agent for Powell, and said that preparations were being made for building a house and bawn, that divers Englishmen had promised to come over and inhabit his land.

"The preceding part certified by Sir Toby Calfield and the Sheriff before we went our journey.

"*Francis Secheverell*, 2,000 acres; is resident; has brought over three masons, one carpenter, one smith, nine labourers, and two women; four horses and a cart; no freeholders or other tenants. Has drawn stone and other materials to the place where he intends to build. Certified by Sir Toby Calfield and the Sheriff before we went the journey, but upon our coming into the country, Secheverell adds to his certificate that he has built three houses and placed tenants in them, and is building a stone house, and has competent arms in his house. *Mr. Stanhawe*, 1,500 acres; was here, took possession, and returned into England. His son, Stephen Stanhawe, overseer in his absence, has done nothing. *Mr. James Matchett*, 1,000 acres; his eldest son, Daniel Matchett, age 24 years, agent, resident since Michaelmas, 1610. Two freeholders upon the land, but no tenants or labourers. Certified by Sir Toby Calfield and the Sheriff before our journey, since which time he added to his certificate that he has begun a bawn, and intends to finish it before Allhallowtide, and to effect what is required by the articles. Has provided materials for buildings; has 9 horses and other beasts ready to draw the same to his work; has arms for 10 men. *Mr. John Dyllon*, 1,500 acres; is resident with his wife, children, and family.

friary of that name. The principal part of these lands soon came to the Caulfields, as well as those of Henry McShane O'Neill. The manor of Cashlan was passed to Lord Caulfield under the Act of Settlement, and thus the

estates of the latter include the proportions assigned in the plantation arrangements to Henry, the eldest son of Shane O'Neill, and Tirlagh, the grandson of Tirlagh Luineach O'Neill.

Brought over 22 Englishmen, with their wives, children, and servants, with 52 English cows, 15 horses for work, 6 carpenters, three masons, 7 labourers, and two women servants. Has felled oaks, small and great. All this was certified by Sir Toby Calfield and the Sheriff, but, at our being in the North, Dillon adds that he has built a strong bawn, with houses for lodgings and to keep provisions in, and is well stored with arms and munition. *Mr. Roulston*, 1,000 acres; is resident; has timber buildings after the English fashion. There are three men of good sort resident, who shall be freeholders, whereof one has built a house of stone and clay. Seven poor Englishmen, with their wives, children, and some servants, who are to be tenants. They have four English cows, and eight horses for ploughing, among them all." *Carew's Report* in 1611.]

CLXL 2,500 Acres.

William Brownlow (270), *Esq.*, hath two Proportions (271), viz., *Dowcoran*, being 1,500 acres, and *Ballynemony*, 1,000 acres. Upon the Proportion of *Ballynemony* there is a strong Stone House

(270). *Brownlow*.—Carew records the substance of a dispute between this undertaker and a Captain Edward Trevor about six balliboes supposed by the latter to have belonged to the county of Down. "Upon the two general surveys made," says Carew, "these were found to be in Co. Ardmagh, and so presented by the juries (notwithstanding Sir Ar. Maginnesse at the first survey [of 1608] made all the opposition he could), for that it appeared they had been in possession of the Neales [O'Neills] for many years, and, accordingly, cast into proportions, and so passed to Brownlowe, as a British undertaker, at the rent of 40s. English, to hold in free and common socage. These lands being not thought to be the same, were passed to Captain Trevor as part of Evagh [Iveagh] in Co. Downe, at the rent of 4*l.* 10s. sterling, to hold *in capite*. But if the King will have the British undertaker maintained in possession, your Lordship may be pleased to consider Captain Trevor some other way, and so free the undertaker from controversy. The like [dispute] between the said Brownlow and Sir Ar. Maginnesse, for six other balliboes claimed by Sir Arthur as lying in Co. Downe. Sir Ar. has no estate as yet in these from the Crown, and therefore your Lordship may be pleased to stay these out of his grant to avoid the undertaker's incumbrance."

(271). *Two Proportions*.—These two proportions belonged at first to William Brownlow, and his father, John Brownlow (see pp. 260, 261, 262). On the death of the latter, William became lord or owner of both, and appears, from this report by Pynnar, to have been a successful planter. No list of his British tenants' names appears in the printed inquisitions, for no change had occurred permanently to affect the family possession. "Such was the origin," says Dr. Stuart, "of the flourishing settlement in the district which surrounds Lurgan,—a beautiful town, which at present [1819] is nearly a mile in length, and contains 379 houses and 2,207 inhabitants." (See *History of Armagh*, p. 637). In 1620, Pynnar reported that there was "not one Irish family on all the lands;" but Sir William Brownlow must have soon afterwards yielded to the temptation (which no undertakers could long withstand) of the high rents and ready payments yielded by native tenants, for it was found by inquisition

that, in 1630, he had more than the permitted number of this class on his estates. The following extract will explain this point with sufficient clearness:—"The fourth parte of the towneland called Toberheimie, lyinge in the proportion of Duncarron, barrony of Neillase [Oneilan], and county of Armagh, hath, since the date of the letters pattents, been occupied, grased, and depastured by Teig O'Corr and others, meere Irishmen, who have inhabited the same untill May last past. The towneland called Derryenvirr, within the foresaid proportion, is occupied by Phellemey Oge O'Neyle, a meere Irishman. Neile McMurhie, a meere Irishman, hath been ever sithence resident upon the half towne and lands of Ballinemony, parcell of the proportion of Duncarron, and now doth plowe, pasture, and grase the same. All and everie the townes and parcells of land aforementioned, are undertaker's land within the province of Ulster; and by letters pattents, bearinge date the 8th year of his Maties raigne, have been granted to Sir William Brownlow, knight, as undertaker, within the said province, upon condition that if he would allien or let the same to any person, being meere Irish, or such as are not of the British descent, or let any agistment, pasturage, or common of pasture, to any of the meere Irish, over and above the fourth part of the said proportion of Duncarron, that then it should be lawful for the King, his heirs and successors, to take as by the said letters appeareth. All the aforementioned townes have been occupied by Irishmen, and he, the said Sir William, the said condition hath broken, whereby the said severall townes have become forfeited to the King." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (19) Car. I.) Sir William Brownlow, who was styled of *Brownlowe's Derry*, county of Armagh, died on the 20th January, 1660, leaving his estate to Letitia Brownlow al' Clynton, during her own life, and remainder in fee to Arthur Chamberlaine, who was probably his nephew, and who was then sixteen years of age. He also left 120 acres in the barony of Orier to a nephew named William Draper. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (7) and (10) Car. II.) On the 22nd of June, 1629, there had been a re-grant to Sir William Brownlow, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the middle proportion of Doughcoran, and the small proportion of Ballynemony, in the barony of O'Neilan, to be

within a good Island; and at *Dowcoran* there is a very fair House of Stone and Brick, with good Lyme, and hath a Strong Bawne of Timber and Earth, with a Pallazado about it. There is now laid in readiness both Lyme and Stone to make a Bawne thereof, which is promised to be done this Summer. He hath made a very fair Town, consisting of 42 Houses, all which are inhabited with *English* Families, and the streets all paved clean through; also two Water Mills, and a Wind Mill, all for corn; and he hath Store of Arms in his House. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish* Families,

Lessees for years, 52, viz.,

- 1 having 420 acres.
- 1 having 300 acres.
- 1 having 240 acres.
- 3 having 200 acres le piece.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 13 having 60 acres le piece.
- 8 having 50 acres le piece.
- 6 having 40 acres le piece.
- 6 having 30 acres le piece.
- 9 having 26 acres le piece.
- 1 having 100 acres.
- 1 having 11 acres.
- 1 having 5 acres.

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

- 5 having 120 acres le piece.

Total, 57 Families, who have divers under them; and all these have taken the Oath of Supremacy, and are able to make 100 Men with Arms. There is also good store of Tillage, and not one Irish Family upon all the Land.

CLXII. 1,000 Acres.

Sir Oliver St. John, Knt., hath 1,000 acres, called *Kernan* (272). Upon this there are two Bawnes of Timber, and moated about, and made very strong. There is in each of these an *English* House of Cage work, and two *English* Families dwelling in them (273); there are near to

held in free and common socage. The premises to be erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Brownlow Derry*, with the usual manorial powers; a market every Friday at Ballilurgan, and two fairs, one on the feast of St. James and the other on the feast of St. Martin, subject to the conditions of plantation, and to the terms for renewing grants to undertakers.

(272). *Kernan*.—The first patentee of this proportion was a clergyman named Matchett (see p. 261), who "for valuable consideration to him given by the said Lord Viscount Grandison [*Sir Oliver St. John*], did by his deed of feoffment, dewly executed, infeoffe and confirm the said manor of Kerhanan, within the precinct of Clanbrassill and barony of Onelande, unto the said Viscount Grandison and his heirs forever." *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (7) Jac. I.

(273). *Dwelling in them*.—The inquisition abovequoted mentions the buildings on this proportion in the following

terms:—"At the time of making the said letters pattents [30th May, 1610] to the said James [Matchett], and before the day of taking this inquisition [Jan. 22, 1621], the said Viscount Grandison and his assigns, and they whose estate he hath, have built upon the said manor one bawne or fort of earth cast up, four square, strengthened with pallizadoes, and within the same bawne built up a good English-like house, and twenty more English houses, being all inhabited with English families, and hath also built up a water mylle upon the river runninge through the lands of Balteagh, being parcell of the said proportion." Lord Grandison appointed the persons whose names are underwritten as his trustees, viz., Henry Docwra, baron of Culmore, Francis Aungier, baron of Longford, Edward Blayney, baron of Monaghan, Sir William Parsons, Sir Falke Conway, Sir Edward Trevor, Edward Bolton, Esq., and Sir Marmaduke Whitechurch. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (19) Car. I.) On the

one of these Bawnes 5 Houses, being inhabited with *English Families*; the rest are dispersedly on the Land, three or four Families together. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *British Tenants*,

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

5 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 8, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

3 having 100 acres le piece.

2 having 60 acres le piece.

1 having 40 acres.

Cottagers, 4, viz.,

Each of these has a Tenement and a Garden Plott, with Commons for their Cattle.

Total, 17 Families, who, with their Under Tenants, are able to make 30 Men with Arms; and 13 of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

CLXIII. 2,000 Acres.

William Powell was first Patentee. *Mr. Obbyns* (274) hath 2,000 acres, called *Ballenevoran*. Upon this there is built a Bawne of Sodds, with a Pallazado upon it of Boards, ditched about. Within this there is a good fair House of Brick and Lyme, himself dwelling thereon; near to this he hath built four Houses, inhabited with *English Families*. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *British Tenants*,

4th of September, 1630, there was a re-grant to Oliver St. John, Viscount Grandison, his heirs and assigns, for ever, of the small proportion of Kerhanan *alias* Kernan, in the barony of O'Neillan, containing 1,000 acres, and the balliboe of Knockballyneboy; to be held in free and common socage. The lands are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Kerhanan* or *Kernan*; with the usual manorial powers; subject to the conditions of plantation, and to the terms for renewing of grants of undertakers. "To this establishment," says Dr. Stuart, "we trace the prosperous settlement at the manor of Kernan, betwixt Knock-Bridge and Lurgan." (See *History of Armagh*, p. 637). Grandison died in Feb. 1630-31, and was succeeded by his nephew John St. John, who was of age, and married, at the time of his uncle's death.

(274). *Mr. Obbyns*.—See pp. 261, 262. Michael Obbyns, styled of Ballywarren al' Portadowne, county of Armagh, was the purchaser of Powell's estate. He died on 26th of Sept., 1629; and letters patent for the property were obtained by his widow Prudence Obbyns, and his son, John Obbyns. The lady died on 5th April, 1635, and her son on the 14th of May following. Hamlet Obbyns was only six months old when his father died. The mother of this child was Eliza Wadron, who had a jointure on the estate. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (22) and (35) Car. I.) On the 13th July, 1631, there had been a re-grant of this estate to Prudence and John O'Byns, his heirs and assigns, for ever, of 620 acres in the barony of O'Nealan; to be held in free and common socage. The lands are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Ballywarren*, with the usual manorial rights and powers;

a market every Saturday, and two fairs at Portedowne, one on the 1st of November, and the other on the feast of Pentecost, to continue for two days. The lands to be held on the conditions of the plantation, and according to the terms for renewing the grants of undertakers. The lands of this proportion originally consisted of 1,000 acres, but Michael Obbyns, or O'Byns, was obliged to relinquish a part of his estate in payment of debt. In a letter from the King to Falkland, dated October 14, 1626, this matter is noticed as follows:—"Whereas we have received an humble petition from one Robert Horseman, Esquire, showing that he obtained a judgment of 200*l.* in our Court of King's Bench, in this our realm [England], against one Michael Obbyns, gentleman, and procured an exemplification thereof in that our kingdom [Ireland], the said Obbyns having removed himself thither, and that sithence the said Obbyns was there sued to the outlawry by the petitioner, several writs being issued, and four inquisitions taken, at the petitioner's great charges. The goods and lands of the said Obbyns are become forfeited unto us; and we, taking gracious consideration of the petitioner's case, are pleased to grant unto him the benefit accrued unto us by the same, thereout he may be satisfied his just debt, together with such charges as he hath undergone, &c." This debt, with the expenses of recovering it, swallowed up 380 acres of Michael O'Byns' proportion, but the remaining 620 acres were re-granted to his widow and son. Referring to Pynnar's account of Ballenevoran as above, Dr. Stuart says:—"Such was the original settlement of the Protestant colony of Portadown." See *History of Armagh*, p. 637.

Freeholders, 5, viz.,

- 3 having 120 acres le piece.
- 2 having 100 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 15, viz.,

- 4 having 100 acres le piece.
- 2 having 60 acres le piece.
- 3 having 66 acres le piece.
- 2 having 40 acres le piece.
- 1 having 30 acres le piece.
- 3 having 100 acres jointly.

These 20 Tenants, with their Undertenants, are able to make 40 Men with Arms.

CLXIV. 3,000 Acres.

The *Lord Say* was the first Patentee. *Mr. Cope* hath 3,000 acres, called *Derrycrevy* and *Dromully* (275). Upon this there is a Bawne of Lyme and Stone, 180 feet square, 14 feet high, with four Flankers; and in three of them he hath built very good Lodgings, which are three Stories high. There are also two Water Mills and one Wind Mill; and near to the Bawne he had built 14 Houses of Timber, which are inhabited with *English* Families. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

- 1 having 200 acres.
- 3 having 120 acres le piece.
- 2 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 34, viz.,

- 3 having 120 acres le piece.
- 4 having 100 acres le piece.
- 2 having 80 acres le piece.

(275). *Dromully*.—These proportions are named in one inquisition *Derrycreeny* and *Dromully*, and in another *Derrycreeny* and *Derrymully*. Their owner, Anthony Cope, or Sir Anthony Cope, died about the year 1630, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who was 15 years old at the time of his father's death. From Pynnar's Report, the plantation of these lands would appear to have been fully made by the introduction of so many British settlers, but their names, with three exceptions, are not recorded in any printed inquisitions relating to Armagh. These three names were Symon Gevers [Cheevers?], George Bridge, and John Adams. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (11) and (30) Car. I.) Henry Cope, who must have died young, was succeeded by Anthony Cope, probably a brother. The latter died in August, 1642, his son and heir, also named Anthony, being only three years old at the time of his father's death. (*Ibid.*, (12) Car. II.) On the 15th of October, 1629, there was a re-grant to Anthony Cope, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the great proportion of *Derrycrevy*, and the small proportion of *Dromully*, in the barony of O'Nelan; to be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a

manor, to be called the manor of *Derrycrevy* and *Dromully*, with the usual manorial powers, including liberty to tan leather, and hold a market every Friday at Loughgall *alias* Tullyard, in the barony of O'Nelan; and two fairs, one to be held on Ascension Day, and the other on the feast of St. Bartholomew, to continue for two days. The lands to be held subject to the conditions of plantation, and according to the terms for the renewal of the grants of the undertakers. The two proportions as named above by Pynnar, "have been," says Dr. Stuart, "during two centuries the property of the ancient family of the Copes, whose ancestor [Sir Anthony Cope] possessed 3,000 acres in that district. . . . Such was the origin of the Protestant colony in the thickly-inhabited district of Drumilly and Loughgall. This was, for a considerable time, the most flourishing and the most defensible plantation in Ulster; but on the 23rd of May, 1643, Loughgall was burned in a battle fought by the Scottish general, Monroe, with [against] Sir Phelim O'Neal and Owen Roe O'Nial." [O'Neill]. *History of Armagh*, p. 637.

- 3 having 60 acres le piece.
- 1 having 55 acres.
- 2 having 50 acres le piece.
- 2 having 40 acres le piece.
- 7 having 30 acres le piece.
- 2 having 25 acres le piece.
- 2 having 23 acres le piece.
- 1 having 44 acres.
- 3 having 20 acres le piece.
- 2 having 10 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 7, viz.,

- 3 having 3 acres le piece.
- 2 having 2 acres.
- 2 having one acre le piece, with Commons for their Cattle.

CLXV. 1,000 Acres.

Richard Roulstone hath 1,000 acres, called *Semore* (276). Upon this there is a Bawne of Sodds, with a Pallazado, and moated about, and a little House in it, inhabited with an *English* Family; and near to the Bawne he hath made 9 Houses, which are inhabited with *English* Tenants. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

- 2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 8, viz.,

- 6 having 120 acres le piece.
- 1 having 20 acres.
- 1 having 12 acres (277).

These 47 Families, with their under Tenants, are able to make 80 Men with Arms. There are 18 of these have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

Total, 10 Families, who with their under Tenants, are able to make 24 Men with Arms.

(276). *Semore*.—See pp. 259, 260. This proportion is called *Teemore* in the survey, both words, however, having all but the same meaning,—the 'great seat' and the 'great house.'

(277). *Acres*.—On the 24th of Oct., 1611, the landlord, Rolleston, enfeoffed Thomas Tatton in a house and parcel of land called "a yardeploot" in Marlacowe or Magheralough-coo, and also in land known as "Tatton's parte," for the term of his [Tatton's] natural life. On the 20th of February, 1611, he enfeoffed Richard Fullwood and Mary, his wife, in 100 acres, parcel of Marlacowe. On the 2nd of March, same year, he enfeoffed Richard Moore in 60 acres, parcel of the lands called Moyrourkan; and in 10 acres, parcel of Marlacowe. On the 10th of March, same year, he enfeoffed William Bannister in 120 acres of the lands called Downmedder, and 20 acres of wood and underwood in Marlacowe. These tenants were thus made freeholders. On the 20th July, 1613, Rolleston leased to Sir John Boucher, for a term of 21 years, the lands called Ballyvoraghan and Dromart, half of Moyrourkan and Drommedder, and the whole of Tonaghmore. On the 10th of September, he leased to Thomas Rawbone,

15 acres in Marlacowe, for a term of 21 years. On the 1st of July, 1615, he leased to Thomas Wigson the half quarter of Magherlecowe, for the term of Wigson's life, and the life of William Wigson, son of Godfrey Wigson. On the 16th of February, 1611, he leased to Ralph Swinfin, the lands called Aghoorier, for the term of 41 years. Of the lands so called portions were also let to Nich. and Felim O'Quinn for the term of one year. (*Ibid*). In Carew's report of 1611, there is the following passage referring to this clergyman:—"Richard Rolleston complains that he wants half a balliboe [about 64 acres in the county of Armagh] of his full proportion of 1,000 acres, the half ploughland of Teemore being put upon him for a whole town, wherein he desires to be satisfied according to the full intent of the plantation. He has more English acres by measure than his full proportion by much (which, if he will be at the charge, I will prove by measure), and has accepted them *sive plus sive minus*, and must expect no more parcels, having in truth more land than, by a strict measure, he pays rent for." Carew also records the following dispute:—"Between Henry Acheson and Richard Rolleston for the town [lands] of

CLXVI. 2,000 Acres.

John Heron hath 2,000 acres, called *Agivillan* and *Brochus* (278). Upon this he hath built two small Bawnes of Earth, with a Pallazado upon them, and a Ditch about them (279); and near unto each of these Bawnes he hath built Houses which are inhabited with *English Families*. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholder, 1, viz.,

1 having 180 acres.

Lessees for Years, 12, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

2 having 30 acres le piece.

3 having 20 acres le piece.

2 having 15 acres le piece.

3 having 10 acres le piece (280).

1 having 60 acres.

Total, 13 Families, which, with their under Tenants, are able to make 26 Men with Arms.

CLXVII. 1,500 Acres.

William Stanhowe hath 1,500 acres, called *Kannagoolan* (281). Here is nothing at all built;

Durruthora, which is passed by that name in both their patents, they being undertakers in several [two] different baronies. I think this is doubly passed, being found by the same name in two baronies; and therefore I thought there were two balliboes of that name, and took hold thereof lest the King might be abused; but now, as I find it but one, the one must lose it, and be abated so much rent; which of them your lordship shall think meet." It turned out that the divine had more land at last than he could manage or retain possession of. He was soon obliged to mortgage his whole proportion, or estate, to Sir Francis Annesley, for a sum of 420*l.*, on condition that when this sum, with interest thereon, would be repaid, he was again to resume possession of the property. Although it was believed that Rolleston had fulfilled this condition, he never could get back his lands from Annesley. An order to restore the estate to Rolleston was afterwards issued by the Earl of Strafford when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but resisted successfully by Annesley. This order actually formed the sixth Article of Impeachment against Strafford on his trial in 1642. Rolleston dwelt at Magherlecco (see p. 259), and left a family of six sons and one daughter. His eldest son, Henry, died without issue. Four of the others, named respectively Edward, Richard, Ralph, and Thomas, perished on the outbreak of the war in 1641. His youngest son, John, left a family, which was represented in 1862 by James Franck Rolleston, of Franckfort Castle, King's county. See *Burke's Landed Gentry*, p. 1291.

(278). *Brochus*.—This proportion is called *Agh-quillan* in the survey, *Brochus* or *Broghes* being also a well-known parcel in the district. John Heron, the first patentee, died on the 1st of August, 1616, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Edward Heron. The latter, joined by William Heron, a younger brother, sold these lands to John Dillon, a neighbouring proprietor, on the

25th of March, 1620. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (5) Car. I.

(279). *Ditch about them*. The inquisition above quoted states that there was built on the parcel of land called Ballenraye, a capital messuage, or mansion-house, of stone and lime, 60 feet in length, and 20 in width, by John Dillon and the assigns of John Heron.

(280). *Le piece*.—John Heron, on the 28th of October, 1612, gave in fee to John Hastings, the lands called Drummenon, Maggarada, Cranegill, and Annaghmore; and on the 20th January, 1614, he leased to the same person the lands of Dromanefay, for a term of 21 years. On the 1st of May, same year, he leased the lands of Cannaneale to Egid. Blacklocke, for 21 years. On the 6th of Aug., 1616, he leased to David Morgan the lands called Caponey, for three lives, viz., of the tenant and his two children, Margaret and John Morgan. On the 15th of January, in the same year, he leased to Robert Stone a house and six acres of land in Annaghgoragh for three lives, viz., of Nath. Stones, John Stones, and Richard Burkett. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (5) Car. I.

(281). *Kannagoolan*.—See p. 263. This is written *Kannagolagh* in the survey and in an inquisition taken at Loughgall, on the 28th of January, 1628. In that year it was found that there had even then been no buildings erected on this proportion. What was true of the miserable attempt at plantation in 1620, was true also in 1628. The lettings of its lands were as follows, viz., the owner, William Stanhowe, let to Patrick McKaratie two balliboes for one year. On the 1st of November, 1626, he let one balliboe to Donald O'Develin, for the same term. He let $\frac{1}{2}$ a balliboe to Patrick O'Connellan, for the same term. On the 9th of June, 1613, he let to John Wrench six balliboes for a term of 21 years; and afterwards five other balliboes for the same term. On the 1st of November, 1611, he let to John Turner a balli-

himself is in *England*, and hath been there these seven years. There are not above three or four poor *English* Men upon the Land. All the Land is inhabited with *Irish*.

CLXVIII. 2,000 Acres.

Francis Sacheverill, Esq., hath 2,000 acres, called *Mullaleish* (282) and *Leggacurry*. I find

boe and sessiogh for the term of one year. On the 20th September, 1626, he let two sessiogs to George Clarke for a term of 21 years. On the 27th of May, same year, he sold the two balliboes of Derrycharry and Clanvickish, to Edward Stanhowe. On the 25th of March, 1627, he let three balliboes to William Smith, for a term of one year; on November 1, 1611, he let one balliboe to Cullo McCann, for one year; and on the same date, one balliboe to Bryan McDonnell for one year. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (3) Car. I.) In 1628, it was found that since the date of taking out his patent, a period of sixteen years, the profits and rents of the moiety of the lands amounted to the sum of 600*l.* sterling. (*Ibid.*, (2) Car. I.) Henry Stanhowe succeeded to his father, William Stanhowe, but at what date is not mentioned. In 1630, it was found that "Patrick modery O'Connyllon, a meere Irishman, doth plowe, pasture, and grase upon the half towne of Neybow, being parcell of the middle proportion of *Kanewgollagh*, since the date of the letters patents, untill May last. The same is undertaker's land, granted to Henry Stanhowe; and the said Henry hath suffered the said Patrick to plowe, &c., upon the same, contrary to the conditions, whereby the same are become forfeited." (*Ibid.*, (19) Car. I.) Henry Stanhowe, who was styled of *Clontylewe*, county of Armagh, died on the 10th of March, 1635, leaving a son and heir, John Stanhowe. (*Ibid.*, (31) Car. I.) On the 1st of September, 1629, there was a re-grant to Henry Stanhowe, his heirs and assigns, forever, of the lands of Clontinew, and other lands, containing 780 acres, in the barony of O'Nelán; to be held in free and common socage. The lands are created into a manor, to be called the manor of *Clontilew*, with the usual manorial powers and rights, including two fairs yearly at the town of Clontilew, one on the 10th of May, and the other on the 6th of November, to continue for two days. The lands to be held subject to the conditions of plantation, and to the terms for renewal of grants to undertakers.

(282). *Mullaleish*.—See p. 260. "Such," as Dr. Stuart informs us, "was the commencement of the flourishing colony of Richhill, formerly Legacurry—the hereditary property of the ancient family of the Richardsons." (See *History of Armagh*, p. 638). Francis Sacheverell and his son, also named Francis, sold out these lands, piecemeal, to John Symonds, one parcel realising 500*l.*, another 300*l.*, and a third 300*l.* Francis Sacheverell, who was styled of Leggacurry, died on the 30th January, 1649, leaving one daughter Anne, who was 17 years of age at the time of her father's death, and unmarried. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (25) Car. I. and (1) Car. II.) This proportion soon passed into the possession of Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, Scotland, who was not the man to refuse Irish rents, however much he might wish for the expulsion of natives from what had been their own lands. An inquisition states that "Henry duffe O'Connellan, a meere

Irishman, hath inhabited upon one quarter of the towne of Mullaleglisse [Mullaleish], granted to Sir William Alexander, Knt., by letters patents. Said quarters is undertakers' land, and contrary to the conditions, hath been inhabited by the said Henry, and other meere Irishmen, whereby the same is become forfeited. (*Ibid.*, (19) Car. I.) On the 4th of January, 1628, there was a re-grant to Sir William Alexander of the entire proportion of Mullaleish, in the barony of O'Neilan, containing 1,000 acres; also the small proportion of Leggacurry, in the same barony, containing, by estimation, 1,000 acres; to hold forever, in free and common socage, with the usual manorial powers; and subject to the conditions, and the terms for the renewal of grants to the undertakers. This Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, in Clackmananshire, was the son of an Alexander Macdonnell, who consented to drop his surname, as thus indicating his devotion to his landlord, an earl of Argyle, the latter having a horror thereof, although disposed to be very friendly to that particular member of the hated clan. Indeed, the tenant is said to have benefitted by this small sacrifice, even to the extent of receiving the fee-simple of the Menstrie estate in return. Sir William Alexander, the son of this tenant, was born about the year 1580, and when a young man, he travelled on the continent with the seventh earl of Argyle, who was a few years his junior, and who was afterwards virtually deposed by his own son, for becoming an adherent of the Roman Catholic church. Scot of Scotstarvet has the following notice of the knight of Menstrie, who was eventually created Earl of Stirling:—"Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, preferred to be secretary by King Charles, was first brought into court by Prince Henry, and respected for his poesy. He travelled through Italy and France with his lord superior, the Earl of Argyle, where he attained the French and Italian tongues. He got great things from his Majesty, as especially a liberty to create a hundred Scotsmen knights-baronets, from every one of whom he got 200*l.* sterling; he also got a liberty to coin base money, far under the value of the weight of copper, which brought great prejudice to the kingdom, at which time he built his great lodgings in Stirling, and put on the gate thereof, *per mare, per terras*, which a merry man changed to *per metre, per turners*, meaning that he had attained to his estate by poesy, and that gift of base money. He ventured greatly towards Nova Scotia and America, and sent his eldest son thither, where he lived a winter with three ships. He was of great expectations, and married the Earl of Angus's sister; but his distress and hardships in that voyage procured shortly his death. The King also honoured the father with the title of the earldom of Stirling. He got also a great sum of money from the King of France to quit his interest in Nova Scotia; but fell into great distaste with the country; for his affection was carried towards the bishops, and the maintaining of their cause [against the Covenanters]. He conquest [added] to his old heritage

planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,
Freeholders, 3, viz.,

- 1 having 150 acres.
- 1 having 120 acres.
- 1 having 100 acres.

Lessees for years, 18, viz.,

- 1 having 220 acres.
- 5 having 100 acres le piece.
- 1 having 95 acres.
- 1 having 80 acres.
- 1 having 74 acres.
- 4 having 60 acres.
- 2 having 40 acres le piece.
- 1 having 12 acres.
- 1 having 15 acres.
- 1 having 30 acres.

Total, 21 Families, who, with
their under Tenants, are able to
make 50 Men with Arms.

CLXIX. 1,500 Acres.

John Dillon, Esq., hath 1,500 acres, called *Mullabane* (283). Upon this Proportion there is built a House, begun some three years since, but is not half finished, being of Brick and Lyme, and

of Menstrie, the baronies of Tillicultrie and Gogar; all which were comprised from his heirs instantly after his decease; and of some six or seven sons, none but one or two are remaining. The house of Menstrie was burnt by command of his superior, the Earl of Argyle [the eighth earl, created a marquis], because his sons were favourers of James Graham [the Earl of Montrose] and his party." Thus, it appears that the old Macdonnell blood still remained, although attempted to be changed by an assumed name. See *Scotstarvet's Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, pp. 75-77.

(283). *Mullabane*.—See p. 262. This undertaker, like most others, had disputes with his neighbours on the subject of mearings. In 1611, Carew reports that "John Dillon complained that the Lord Primate of Ardmagh challenges the half balliboe of Ballibrande to be his, by the name of Ballybraner, which is the true name of it. The cause of this challenge is because the Primates have had a rent out of it and Dromadbeg of 5s. 8d. yearly. . . . This Ballybraner and Dromadbeg are one balliboe, and so passed to the undertaker, who must hold it. The challenge of the Primate is mislaid, for his Lordship hath temporal land in lieu of these two or three other towns in that country, mistaken in the surveys. Besides, he hath 13 towns in Towaghie, confirmed unto him by my Lord of Canterbury's means [Laud's influence], upon very little colour [of right] the rather in lieu of this small loser; and therefore this was left out of his patent, being first passed to the undertaker. Also Grange, lying within the said John Dillon's proportion, is challenged by Sir Toby Caulfield to be abbey land, passed to him by patent.

The general survey [of 1609] found many parcels for that abbey never before found, and yet this could not then be found, and, therefore, I think the tenant of the abbey must be concluded by the survey. In the said proportion of Mullaghbane, which should contain 15 whole balliboes of 100 acres apiece, are two sessiaghs, which are but, each of them, half a balliboe, and Killneyman which is barely the fourth part of a balliboe—not containing 30 English acres—all which are named for whole balliboes; in lieu whereof are Anacleere, containing about the fourth part of a balliboe; Mullanacreeve, the one half of a balliboe; and Drumadbeg, half a balliboe, left by the surveyors unnamed, wherefore, doubting they may hereafter prove concealed, the said Dillon desires they may be passed unto him, and that he may be freed from the challenges of the Lord Primate and Sir Toby Caulfield." John Dillon bought the neighbouring lands belonging originally to John Heron, and from the fact here stated by Pynnar, that there was no house or castle completed on the lands of Mullabane, it is probable that he adopted as his residence a house on Heron's proportion, parts of which had been built previously to his purchase of that estate. The name of his residence was Castle-Dillon, which, at the present day, is well-known for its fine house and attractive demesne. John Dillon, who was an energetic and successful planter, died on the 25th March, 1637; and Henry Dillon, his nephew, who was then of age, and married, became owner of the estates. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (23) Car. I.) On the 26th of June, 1650, Henry Dillon, for the sum of 1,900*l.* sold the lands of Mullabane to William

a very fair Building. There is no Bawne. He hath great Store of Tenants, the which have made two Villages, and dwell together. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 3, viz.,

3 having 120 acres le piece—his Sons.

Lessees for Lives, 18, viz.,

3 having 100 acres jointly.

4 having 100 acres jointly.

2 having 100 acres le piece.

2 having 80 acres le piece.

1 having 70 acres.

5 having 60 acres le piece.

1 having 50 acres.

Lessees for years, 8, viz.,

1 having 47 acres.

2 having 30 acres le piece.

1 having 40 acres.

1 having 30 acres.

1 having 23 acres.

1 having 20 acres.

1 having 10 acres.

Total, 29 Families, who, with their under Tenants, are able to make 40 Men with Arms.

The Precinct of the *Fewes*, allotted to *Scottish Undertakers*. (See pp. 283-285).

[*"Precinct of the Fewes.* Sir James Dowglasse, Knight, 2,000 acres; George Lawder is his deputy, has done nothing. Claud Hamilton, 1,000 acres; is building a stone bawn with round flankers, 24 yards square, and a wall 8 foot high; has raised stone to finish the bawn, and to make a stone house, and has drawn trees to the building; is now building three houses, one 48 feet long. Five families, 16 men and women of British birth, are upon the land, whereof six are masons. Eighty cows and 14 horses and mares in stock. William Lawder, 1,000 acres; Alexander Lawder, resident agent; certain houses built and repaired, where are ten families and three servants, to the number of 18, residing; 18 horses and mares, and 60 cows; stone raised and timber felled. James Craige, 1,000 acres; resident; has begun to build a mill, sown and reaped oats and barley; built some tenements wherein are placed some families of British. Henry Acheson, 1,000 acres; resident; has raised stone and felled timber. Has 8 or 9 people; who

Cuthbert, of the city of Westminster. (*Ibid.* (6) Car. II). On the 13th Aug., 1629, there was a re-grant to John Dillon and Richard Cope, and the heirs and assigns of Dillon forever, of the middle proportion of Mullabane, and other lands thereto belonging, containing 1,500 acres, in the barony of O'Nealan; to be held in free and common socage; and of the lands of Mullanetrine and Annaghclare, in the said barony of O'Nealan; to be held in free and common socage. The lands to be erected

into a manor, to be called the manor of *Castledillon*; with the usual manorial powers; held on conditions of the plantation, and the terms for renewal of grants to undertakers. "In this establishment," says Dr. Stuart, "we trace the origin of the Protestant colony which settled at Hockley, Drummond, Killuny, Grange, &c., on the hereditary estate of the very ancient family of the Molynexes of Castledillon,—the lineal descendents of the illustrious house of Howard. See *History of Armagh*, p. 638.

have 30 cows, and 15 horses and mares, with some arms. Since our return [to Dublin] one John Fullerton hath arrived, who presented himself before us as agent for Sir James Dowglas, who informed us that he brought fifteen families with him to plant upon that land, with artificers and workmen.

"*The Moyrye Castle.* A pretty castle upon the park [pass?] of the Moyrye, built in the time of the late Earl of Devonshire's government here, at the Queen's charge; where Captain Anthony Smith is constable, and has a ward of 12 men. Has drawn some families of British to dwell upon the lands thereunto adjoining, which is a good relief to passengers between Dundalke and the Newrye." *Carew's Report in 1611.*

CLXX. 1,000 Acres.

Henry Acheson, Esq., hath 1,000 acres, called *Coolmalish* (284). There is upon this a Bawne of Clay and Stone, being 120 feet long, and 80 feet broad, with four Flankers. In this

(284). *Coolmalish.*—See p. 284. Henry Acheson's tenants are not named in any printed inquisition; and as to buildings, there had only been a bawne, as was found by inquisition, in 1661. He sold this proportion and other lands to Sir Archibald Acheson. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (42) Car. I.) Whilst the first patentee, Henry Acheson, had possession, he was involved in the strife at first so general amongst undertakers. On the subject of mearings, Carew, in his report of 1611, refers to Acheson's trouble, as follows:—"There is given up by the surveyor, which is inserted in Henry Acheson's patent, the two towns of Dromleck, which were never known by any of the most ancient [oldest then living] Irish to be more than one small town. This is so found by the survey upon oaths and very strict inquiry, and so passed *sive plus, sive minus*, and if it were more the King holds himself concluded, as in many other like things he is; and if it be less, as I cannot think it is, then the patentee must be concluded, otherwise the King shall be at extreme and unconscionable losses. There is another town called Dwralasmonlane given up by the surveyor to be one whole town, and so passed to the said Henry Acheson; the same was never known by the Irish to be but two parts of a town—and that small measure—for the other third part thereof lies hard by Armagh, about four miles from any of the proportions, and is called Monopotaghie, and challenged by the Lord Primate." The King, to whom this and many other such controversies were carried for final adjudication, gave his decision in the present instance, as follows, when writing to Chichester, on the 19th of March, 1611-12:—"And whereas the said Henry Acheson claims the two balliboes of Dromleck, as included in his patent, while, because the lands are commonly called Cabragh, the archbishop claims them as lands of that name, inserted with many others in his patent, graunted him in recompense for his impropriations surrendered to the King, alleging that the balliboe of Cabragh is not either of the said two balliboes of Dromleck; and whereas, the said Henry Acheson is thereupon kept out of the possession of the balliboe of Nether or Lower Dromleck, to his great prejudice, the same being situate within the compass of his small proportion of Coolmalish, where he intended to build, and has laid

the materials for building; he [Chichester] is to put the said Henry Acheson in possession of the said lands which were passed, or intended to be passed unto him; or otherwise, if they be necessary for building, he [Chichester] is to induce the said archbishop to give it to him [Acheson] at a rent, or in exchange for other part of the said Henry Acheson's proportion." With the possession of these lands Sir Archibald Acheson inherited also the quarrel which had existed between his brother and the church authorities of the district. On the 12th of May, 1627, the King wrote to Falkland about one phase of this quarrel, as follows:—"We have taken gracious consideration of the enclosed petition of Sir Archibald Acheson, Knight, and George Mackeson, Dean of Armagh, wherein is alleged that Sir Archibald Acheson, having a grant from our late dear father of the patronage of Loughgilly, in the said county, did, about a year and a half past, present the Dean thereunto, being then void, and that the now Lord Primate refused to admit the Dean accordingly, pretending that one Snig, his chancellor, was formerly presented to the said church upon a pretended lapse; whereupon the petitioners brought a *Quare impedit* against the Lord Primate and Snig in our court of Common Pleas there, and procured a Declaration to be filed, which declaration, through the sinister practice of one Hubbert, the petitioners' attorney, and of the said Snig and others, is not to be found, as the petitioners allege, whereby the suit is discontinued; we have therefore thought good, according to the advice of our commissioners for Irish Causes, to send over the petition itself unto you, requiring you, that if, upon due examination, you shall find the church of Loughgilly to be now in lapse, and not in lapse before, to present the Dean thereunto, as is desired, being, as we are informed, a very able churchman, and who hath received some loss by the not payment of his allowance of forty pounds per annum out of the defalcations of his weekly lecture at Christ Church; and, it is our further pleasure, and accordingly we require you to take order that the petitioners, if they find cause, may have the attorney, or Snig, or others whom the same may concern, brought into the Castle chamber for their misdemeanor and practice, and for the complainants' remedy and damages." See *Morrin's Calendar*, Charles I., p. 210.

Bawne therè is a House, the one half is Stone and Lyme, and the upper part is Timber. I find a great number of Tenants on this Land, but not any that have any estates, but by Promise, and yet they have been many years upon the Land. There are nominated to me two Freeholders and 17 Leaseholders, all which were with me, and took the Oath of Supremacy, and petitioned unto me that they might have their Leases; the which Mr. Atcheson seemed to be willing to perform it unto them presently. These are able to make 30 Men with Arms. Here is great store of Tillage.

CLXXI. 1,000 Acres.

James Craig was the first Patentee (285). *John Hamilton, Esq.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Magharientrim*. Upon this there is a Bawne of Stone and Clay, being 60 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish Families*,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

1 having 200 acres.

1 having 100 acres.

Lessees for years, 6, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

2 having 60 acres le piece

1 having 96 acres.

1 having 60 acres.

1 having 50 acres.

Cottagers, 12, viz.,

Each of these has a Tenement and a Garden Plott, with Commons for their Cows.

Total, 20 Families, able to make 30 Men with Arms. And these have all taken the Oath of Supremacy.

CLXXII. 1,000 Acres.

William Lawders (286) was the first Patentee. *John Hamilton, Esq.*, hath 1,000 acres, called *Kilruddan*. Upon this there is a Bawne of Stone and Clay, 60 feet square, 12 feet

(285). *Patentee*.—See p. 284. Whilst *Craig* held this proportion he let several parcels of its lands as follows:—"By his deed of feoffment, bearing date the 29th of March, 1614, he granted unto *Henry Gryndell* all that balliboe called *Dromon*, with the appurtenances, forever. The said *James Craig*, by his deed bearing date the same day, did grant unto *John Courtiouse*, all that balliboe called *Ballinegroabanagh*, with the appurtenances, forever. The said *James*, by his deed bearing date the same day, did graunte *Ralph Grindall* all that balliboe called *Ballinecorra*, with the appurtenances, for ever. The said *James*, by his writinge, bearing date the 9th Sept., 1614, did demise unto *Robert Elliott* the balliboe called *Balliletrie*, with the appurtenances, for the tearme of 21 years. The said *James*, by his deed bearing date the 22nd Nov., 1615, did graunt unto *John Hamilton*, his heirs and assigns, the said manor, proportion, balliboes, &c., for ever. Neither the said *John Hamilton*, *Robert Elliott*, *Raulfe Grindell*, *John Courtiouse*, nor *Henry Grindall*, did take the oath of supremacy." The grants to all the above-named persons were duly confirmed by

John Hamilton soon after his purchase of the proportion of *Magherientrim*. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (4) Car. I.). On the 29th of July, 1629, letters patent of denization were granted to *John Hamilton*, and a re-grant of the small proportion of *Magerientrim*, and of the small proportion of *Kilruddan*, both in the barony of the Fews. The lands to be held in free and common socage; and are erected into a manor, to be called the manor of *Johnstowne*, alias *Drumergan*, with all the usual manorial rights; subject to the conditions of plantation, and to the terms for renewal of grants to undertakers.

(286). *William Lawders*.—See p. 285. "The said *William Lawder* being soe seized, together with *Alexander Lawder*, his sonne, on the 4th Dec., 1614, did graunt unto the said *John Hamilton*, his heirs and assigns, for ever, all the said manor, proportion, balliboes, and lands [of *Kilruddan*], with their appurtenances. (*Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (4) Car. I.) This proportion formed part of the manor of *Johnstowne*, alias *Drumergan*. See preceding note.

high, with two Flankers, and a House in it. Near to the Bawne there are seven Houses, being inhabited with Brittish Tenants. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 2, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 5, viz.,

2 having 120 acres le piece.

1 having 60 acres.

2 having 66 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 10, viz.,

Each of these has a Tenement and Garden Plott, with Commons for their Cattle.

Total, 17 Families, able to make 30 Men armed; and all these have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

CLXXIII. 500 Acres.

John Hamilton, Esq., hath 500 acres, called *Edenagh* (287). The other 500 acres were gotten from him by the Dean of *Armagh*. Upon this there is a Bawne of Stone and Clay, pointed

(287) *Edenagh*.—This proportion is called *Edeneveagh* in survey and inquisitions. The first patentee was Claud Hamilton, whose deed from the Crown was dated the 19th August, 1610. "The said Claud Hamilton, on the 12th of March, 1611, did graunt unto James Ferres, the two balliboes called Utlecky and Dromica for ever. The said Claud Hamilton, on the 1st of October, 1614, did demise and sett unto John Hall, Thomas Hall, and Robert, all the two balliboes of land called Killnagappull and Loughtvicollen, during the term of their natural lives, and the longest liver of them. The said Claud, on the 3rd of May, 1610, did give and grant the said John Hamilton, his heirs and assigns for ever, all the said manor, &c., with appurtenances." Whilst Claude Hamilton, the first patentee, owned these lands, he had a dispute with the Dean of *Armagh*, which is mentioned by Carew:—"Between *Claude Hamilton* and the *Dean of Armagh*, for 5½ balliboes, which the said dean claims for himself, and one balliboe for the prior of *Armagh*; upon one of which balliboes the said Claude has built his bawn and 16 houses, so as if they should be taken from him it would be an overthrow of his plantation. There is now no difference, for the King has given express commandment to take these lands from the undertaker and give them to the dean, and abate the undertaker's rent, for which your lordship saw the little shadow in the verdict was a weak inducement. But the King's pleasure is not to be reasoned against when his will is declared." The dean—by name Robert Maxwell—obtained his grant as dean on the 27th of February, 1611-12, in which Claude Hamilton's 5½ balliboes were included. The following were the names of these disputed lands:—*Edeneveagh*, 2 balliboes; *Ballyedenknappagh*, *Ballyrameale* and *Ballichullin*, one balliboe each; and half of *Drumgoose*, a balliboe. On the 10th of December, 1617, this John Hamilton surrendered into the King's hands the manor or proportion of *Magheryentrim*, originally granted to James Craig; the manor or proportion of *Kilrudan*, originally granted to William Lawder; and the manor or proportion of *Edeneveagh*, originally granted to Claud Hamilton,

and all afterwards bought up by John Hamilton. On the 18th of December, 1617, the King re-granted to John Hamilton these three several properties as one estate; and soon afterwards John Hamilton let his lands to tenants whose names are under written, for terms varying from one to twenty years, viz., William Hope, John Grane, Edward Irwinge, Matthew Gamble, Cornelius McKernan, Andrew Bell, David Arkles, John Hamilton, John Davidson, Alexander Sym, Patrick Ritchie, Fergus Fleck, Eliza Grier, John Hamilton the elder, Cuthbert Grier, Robert Gilmore, Adam Rae, David Leetch, Robert Hamilton, Archibald Grame, John Willie, William Bell, Robert Hamilton, Henry Grindall, John Hamilton the elder of Dromanish, and his son John, Adam Colte, John Johnston, Patrick Graunton, George Parker, Henry Hunter, John Deans, John Trumble, John Kirk, Francis Carruthers, James Moffat, Raulfe Grindell, Thomas Courtiouse, Henry Grindell, Gilbert Kennedy, Laurence Shirloe, Robert Ferguson, John Browne, John Ferguson, Thomas Pringle, Archibald Grier, John Hall, George Gamble, Owen O'Corr, Cormack O'Corr, Robert Elliott, Alexander Grier, Robert Allen, John Allen, and Bryan bane O'Neale. "There is and hath been builte and sett upp upon the towneland called Killeni, one bawne of lime and stone, being 80 foote square and 9 in height, with rounds and flankers at the corners thereof, for the better defence of the same. There is likewise sett upp and builte upon the towneland called Dromergan, a bawne of lime and stone, being 80 foote square, and 14 foote in height, with four round flankers at the corners thereof, at everie corner or flanker by rounde of 12 foote within the walls and 14 foote in height; and a castle for a mansion hous of lyme and stone of good forwardness, to be built within the said bawne. There is sett upp upon the towneland called Monelan likewise, a bawne 80 foote square and 14 foote in height, with two rounds or flankers upon the corners thereof, for defence of the same. The said proportions are planted with freeholders and leaseholders who have estates as the same are formerlie in these presents found and expressed, for and in full per-

with Lyme; there are near the Bawne six Houses, inhabited with *Brittish* Tenants. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittons*,

Freeholder, 1, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

Lessees for years, 4, viz.,

1 having 120 acres.

1 having 100 acres.

1 having 80 acres.

1 having 30 acres.

Cottagers, 5, viz.,

Each of these has a Tenement and a Garden Plott, with Commons for their Cattle.

Total, 10 Families, who, with their under Tenants, are able to make 22 Men with Arms; and all these have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

CLXXIV. 2,000 Acres.

Sir James Douglas was the first Patentee. *Archibald Acheson, Esq.*, hath 2,000 acres, called *Clancarny* (288). Upon this there is a Bawne of Stone and Lyme, being 100 feet long, 80 feet broad, and 10 feet high, with four Flankers, two Stories high, and 13 feet wide within the Walls, which serve for good Lodgings. There is also a Castle begun, which is 80 feet in length, 22 feet wide, and is now two Stories high (289). There are near to the Bawne seven Houses inhabited with *Brittish* Tenants. He hath in the Bawne great Store of Arms, which will arm 129 Men.

I find planted and Estatic upon this Land, of *Brittish* Families,

Freeholders, 4, viz.,

1 having 200 acres.

3 having 100 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 20, viz.,

1 having 200 acres.

2 having 180 acres le piece.

1 having 120 acres.

Total, 29 Families, who, with their under Tenants, are able to make 144 Men with Arms. Besides he hath built a Town, called *Clancarny*, where he hath 29 *Brittish*

formance of the said plantation." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (4) Car. I.) By an inquisition held at the town of Cavan, in 1639, it was found that John Hamilton died on the 4th of December in that year, and that Hans Hamilton, his son and heir, was 19 years of age at the date of his father's death, and unmarried. (*Ibid.*, (37) Car. I.)

(288). *Clancarny*.—See p. 283. Sir James Douglas, the first patentee, sold this proportion of 2,000 acres to Henry Acheson of Dromleck, Esq., at Markethill, on the 3rd of May, 1611; and the latter sold it in turn to Sir Archibald Acheson, on the 28th of August, 1628. On the same date, and at the town of Markethill, Henry Acheson sold also to Sir Archibald Acheson, the proportion of 1,000 acres called Coolemalish, which he [Henry] had been granted from

the Crown. The several parcels constituting this fine estate of 3,000 acres, then purchased by Sir Archibald, were known in most instances by other names besides those recited in the original grants, and contained in every case certain smaller sub-divisions of land.

(289). *Stories high*.—The buildings on the proportion of *Clancarny* are mentioned in the inquisition now quoted as consisting of a bawn, whose walls were 12 feet high and 40 feet in circumference, and a stone castle 54 feet in length, 17 feet wide, and 17 feet in height. Referring to this and the preceding proportion of John Hamilton, Dr. Stuart remarks:—"In the settlements formed by the Achesons and Hamiltons, we trace the origin of the flourishing colonies of Markethill, Hamilton's Bawn, Mullabrack, &c., &c." See *History of Armagh*, p. 639.

4 having 60 acres le piece,
6 having 60 acres jointly.
2 having 60 acres jointly.
4 having 60 acres jointly.

Tenants dwelling; each of them
having some small parcels of Land;
so that in the whole Number he
can make 173 Men armed.

Cottagers, 5, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, with
Commons for their Cattle.

The Precinct of *Orier*, allotted to Servitors and Natives. (See pp. 309-314).

["*The Precinct of Oryer* [Orier]. Lord Audley, 2,000 acres, in reversion of Arte McBarron, and 500 acres in possession, as servitor (see p. 311). The 500 acres set out, but no preparation for building. Sir Oliver St. John, Knight, 1,500 acres as servitor, is making preparations for building. Sir Gerrott Moore, Knight, 1,000 acres, as servitor, is providing timber for building. Sir Thomas Williams, Knight, 1,000 acres, as servitor; has let the most part to Captain Anthony Smith, who has promised to perform the conditions required. Sir John Bouchier, Knight, and Captain Francis Cooke, 1,000 acres apiece, as servitors. Sir John Bouchier is providing materials for building. Lieutenant Charles Poynts, 200 acres, as servitor, has provided timber and materials for buildings.

"The Natives. Arte McBarron of that county has removed with tenants to lands allotted in Oryer. Carbery McCann, chief of his name, has sold his portion in Oryer, and is removed to Clandeboy [Upper] where he has lands of Conn O'Neale [of Castlereagh].

"*The Fort of Mount Norris*. A good fort well rampiered, with bulwarks, and a palisade, and a fair deep ditch. Within this fort Captain Anderton has built a fair cage-work house, and others to keep victual and munition in. Some inhabitants of English and Irish, who have settled themselves, have built good houses after the manner of the Pale, which is a great relief and comfort for passengers between the Newrye and Armagh. It is a place of special import upon all occasions of service, and fit to be maintained.

"The servitors being charged by us with backwardness in having done so little, answered for the most part that they had not taken out their patents until the end of Candlemas term last, and that by reason the British do yet retain natives who ought to be their [the servitor's] tenants, they are disabled to put things forward as otherwise they would, but they will go roundly in hand with their works this next Spring as they have promised us." Carew's Report in 1611].

CLXXV. 500 Acres.

Sir John Davies, Knt., hath 500 acres, called *Cornechino* (290). Upon this there is nothing at all built, nor so much as an *English* Tenant on the Land.

(290). *Cornechino*.—These lands, which are known in the survey as *Cornishegagh*, were granted to old Lord Audley (see p. 311), created Lord Castlehaven, who, no doubt, conveyed them to his son-in-law, Davys. The 500 acres were made up of the several parcels called Tullihappes, 2 balliboes; Cornishegagh, one balliboe; Ballymikeraugan, one balliboe; and $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the balliboe called

Lysnely. These lands, it would appear from Pynnar's report, had been utterly neglected by Davys, notwithstanding his zeal for the Ulster plantation. This report, 1620, probably convinced him that he must either plant the lands or surrender them. He soon afterwards sold them to Lord Grandison [Oliver St. John], whose estate they adjoined. *Inquisitions of Ulster, Armagh*, (7) Jan. 16

CLXXVI. 1,500 Acres.

Sir Oliver St. John, Knight, hath 1,500 acres, called *Ballymoore* (291). For building there cannot be more spoken than what hath been formerly by *Sir Josias Bodly* (292), only the Town is increased in Buildings, being all inhabited with *English Tenants*. There are 9 *Irish Families* in the Town, which come to Church, and have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

CLXXVII. 1,000 Acres.

The *Lord Moore* hath 1,000 acres, called *Ballemonchan* (293). Upon this there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, very near 100 feet square, with two Flankers; in one of them there is a small House built, being inhabited by an *Irishman*.

CLXXVIII. 2,000 Acres.

Henry Bowcher (294) *Esq.*, hath 2,000 acres, called *Claire*. Upon this Proportion there is a

(291). *Ballymoore*.—*Ballymore* is an alias for *Tonregie*, now *Tanderagee*.

(292). *Bodly*.—For a notice of this knight, see p. 153. The inquisition above quoted was taken in January, 1621, very soon after Pynnar's report, and describes as follows, the buildings erected on this proportion:—"The said Lord Viscounte Grandison [St. John] of Lymericke hath erected upon the said towne and lands called *Ballymore al' Tonregie*, one faire stronge castle and bawne of lyme and stone, a town thereunto adjoining, consisting of 35 English-lyke houses, and a parke enclosed with a pale of 8 foote in height, conteyninge 300 acres of lande; and also one water mylle upon the river Cowsher runeing upon the south side of *Ballymore*." *Sir Oliver St. John* Lord Grandison, besides purchasing the proportion of *Kerhanan* from *James Matchett*, clerk (see p. 261), and the 500 acres from *Sir John Davys* (see p. 569), bought also four balliboes from *John Beverlie*, gent, and one balliboe from *Richard Atherton*, *Esq.*, which lay adjoining his estate. (*Ibid.*, (7) *Jac. I.*) "In this settlement," observes *Dr. Stuart*, "we trace the origin of the Protestant colony of *Ballymore* and *Tanderagee*. At *Tanderagee*, one branch of the noble family of the *O'Hanlions* had formerly erected their mansion-house or castle in the centre of a country that had once belonged to them as chiefs of the clan; but they had been deprived of this property." See *History of Armagh*, p. 639.

(293). *Ballemonchan*.—When this proportion was erected into a manor, it was known only as *Drumbanagher*, or *Drombacher*. (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, *Armagh*, (14) *Car. I.*) Its affairs in 1630 and 1660, are not noticed in any printed inquisition relating to *Armagh* or *Ulster*. During the earlier days of the plantation movement this *Lord Moore* was known as *Sir Garrot*, or more correctly, *Sir Gerald Moore*. After fighting against the *Earl of Tyrone* with much distinction, *Sir Gerald*, with *William Moore* of *Barnmead*, and *Brent Moore*, whose name is also familiar to the reader, sought and obtained, on the 19th of June, 1603, a grant of pardon for all treasons and other offences; for although on the side of the Government, they might have unwittingly been chargeable at times with treason, and although they were commissioned as soldiers to rob and kill the rebels, right and left, they may have, at times, exceeded even this

commission. After the natives had been received into protection, and pardoned, these and many other servitors feared to be brought to account for their cruelties or crimes, and it was, therefore, considered the right thing for them to sue out royal pardons for offences of any and every description perpetrated during the war. Immediately following the date now mentioned, honours and emoluments were heaped upon *Sir Gerald*. First, he was appointed *seneschal* for the county of *Cavan*—a very lucrative office at the time referred to. He held also the constablership of the castle of *Phillipstown* for life. In 1613 he was chosen to represent the borough of *Dungannon* in parliament; and in 1615 he was appointed one of the council to the president of *Munster*. In the year last named, he was created *Baron Moore of Mellifont* by *Privy Seal*, and by patent at *Dublin* on the 20th of July, 1616; the following day being Sunday, *Lord Moore* and *Lord Ardee* were formally initiated as barons by the deputy, *Chichester*, in *St. Patrick's cathedral*, after a sermon preached by *Dr. James Ussher* from the text—"There were more noblemen than they which were at *Thessalonica*," but how this learned church antiquary applied these words we are not told, and we could not easily imagine. In 1621, *Lord Moore* was created *Viscount Moore of Drogheda*, the King writing in reference to this matter, as follows:—"Whereas we did, not long since, give a royal testimony to the world of the gracious opinion we had conceived of our right trusty and well-beloved *Sir Garrett Moore of Mellyfonte*, whereby for the eminency of his own virtues, and the good services done both by himself and his ancestors to our Crown, we were pleased to advance to the dignity of a baron of that our realm; forasmuch as his accustomed zeal and integrity to our service, together with his porte and carriage, since that honour was conferred upon him, have made him in our princely judgment worthy of a greater, we, therefore, are pleased to create him a viscount of that kingdom." (See *Lodge's Peerage*, edited by *Archdall*, vol. ii., pp. 95-97). Of *Lord Moore's* 'proportion,' *Dr. Stuart* observes:—"We believe the Protestant colony of *Drumbanagher*, which has since flourished so exceedingly under the family of the *Moore*s, had its origin."

(294). *Henry Bowcher*.—This name is more correctly written *Bourchier*. The proportion above named was

Bawne of Lyme and Stone, being 100 feet in length, and 80 feet in breadth, and 14 feet high, with two Flankers. There is now in building a good Stone House, which is fully two Stories high, and a number of Workmen labouring for the speedy finishing thereof.

CLXXIX. 1,000 Acres.

Captain Anthony Smith hath 1,000 acres (295). Upon this there is a Bawne of Stone and Clay, which was formerly begun by *Sir Thomas Williams*. The said Captain hath begun another Bawne of Stone and Lyme, being in a more convenient Place, the which shall be 80 feet square, with two Flankers, and a good Stone House 30 feet long and 20 feet broad. This is undertaken to be finished by July, for there are a great number of Men at Work.

CLXXX. 200 Acres.

Lieutenant Poynts (296) hath 200 acres, called *Curriator* (297). Upon this there is a Bawne of 80 feet square, the lower part whereof is of Stone and Clay, with a House in it; but he, not liking of the Seat, hath begun a Bawne of 100 feet square, with three Flankers, and a large House, all which shall be of Brick and Lyme, which is there now in the Place, with Workmen labouring very hard, and is undertaken to be finished by *August*.

CLXXXI. 1,000 Acres.

Henry McShane O'Neal hath 1,000 acres, called *Camlough* (298); but he being lately dead,

originally granted to John Bouchier, Henry's elder brother. They were the sons of Sir George Bouchier, who had rendered long and gallant services during the war against Hugh O'Neill, and died in poverty, unlike most of his fellow-soldiers of fortune at the time (see p. 311). His second son, Henry, above mentioned, succeeded to the earldom of Bath. "In Boucher's settlement of Claire," Dr. Stuart remarks, "we find the commencement of the Protestant colony at the village of Clare and its vicinity." See *History of Armagh*, p. 640.

(295). 1,000 acres.—This officer was styled of *Moyry*, in the county of Armagh, and obtained a small proportion which had belonged to Sir Thomas Williams, but whether by purchase from the latter, or by grant from the Crown there is no record in the inquisitions. He died on the 1st of August, 1637, and was succeeded by his grandson and heir, Richard Smith, who was then seven years of age. *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh, (26) Car. I.

(296). *Lieut. Poynts*.—See p. 312. This servitor was a younger son of Sir Charles Poyntz, of the very ancient family of Ironacton, in Gloucestershire. He [*Lieut. Poyntz*] was knighted in 1630, by Adam Loftus, the lord chancellor, known as Viscount Ely, and Richard Boyle Earl of Cork. On the outbreak of the war in 1641, he was seized with several others, and imprisoned for a time at Newry. Lord Conway, with the assistance of Robt. Munro, the Scottish general, sent to Ulster in 1642, re-captured Newry from the Irish, releasing Sir Charles Poyntz, Captain Henry Smith, and several others. They also seized the castle at Carlingford, in which they found the old Lady Iveagh, a daughter of the Earl of Tyrone; she had taken refuge at Carlingford as a place supposed to be safer and of greater strength than her own residence at Castlewellan. Sir Charles Poyntz married Christian Whitechurch, sister

of Sir Marmaduke. Their son, Sir Toby Poyntz, married a Miss Buckworth of Acton, county of Armagh, by whom he left two daughters, Sarah and Christian. Sarah married Major Charles Stewart of Ballintoy, county of Antrim, and Christian married Roger Hall, Esq., of Narrow-water. The estate, which was known as the manor or Acton, was divided equally between these two ladies, on the death of their brother, Sir Charles Poyntz, without issue. *Papers in the possession of James Orr, Esq., Villa Antoinette, Cannes.*

(297). *Curriator*.—This must be a mistake or misprint for *Orrierrightra*. In a list of lands found by inquisition as belonging to Charles Poynts (not *Poynts*, as written by Pynnar), the name *Curriator* does not appear. "Charles Poyntes, Esq., is possessed by letters patents, bearing date Nov. 30, 1610, of the following lands, in the county of Armagh, viz., Brenocke, one balliboe; 2 partes of a balliboe called Lysray; one balliboe called Ballageeth al' Lissgreeth, Ballreeth, Tullynecrossy, Carcrumc, Carneagh, the moitie of Raconvale, Ballenebrookie, Dromensouth, Drewmore, Tollylime, and Arthnarara, and the sixth part of Neddermogh. There belong to the said towne called Brenocke these parcells of land following, viz., Mullockbrenock, with the hill of Brenock, Brocarande, Larkyne, Brockermore, and the moitie of Cormoker." (*Inquisitions of Ulster*, Armagh (10) Jac. I.) These lands lay in the territory anciently known as *Orrierrightra*. In 1618, Sir Charles Poyntz had a much larger grants of lands in the vicinity. All his lands were erected into the manor of Acton.

(298). *Camlough*.—This proportion was absorbed into Sir Toby Caulfield's immense estates at the death of the first patentee, Henry McShane O'Neill. There is no evidence from the inquisitions that Henry MacShane left

it is in the hands of *Sir Toby Caulfield*, who intendeth to do something upon it; for as yet there is nothing built.

LONDON-DERRY, CITY AND COUNTY.

["The first buildings of which we took note were at Colrane, where we saw a good rampier [rampart] of earth and sods raised 6 foot high and 12 or 14 foot thick, round about the town, and the bulwarks of same height, the ditch digged about three foot deep, and near the full breadth of 36 or 40 foot; and so is most parte of the Curten between the first and second bulwark. The second bulwark near the full height; and the Curten between the second and third bulwark, in one place with another, 8 and 9 foot high, and the ditch all that way, one pace accounted with another 4 or 5 foot deep. . . . A mill-dam with a bank at the head of the pond of 300 foot long, and 40 foot broad, and 14 or 15 deep, with two very fair flood-gates, lined with strong oaken timber and planks. A faire mill-house, of 25 foot and $\frac{1}{2}$ in length and 22 in breadth, of one storie high: three mills in the same house, one for wheat, another for malt, and the third a tuck-mill. A very fair Pound of sawn oaken timber of 40 foot square. A bridge or wharf made in the Bann, of 60 foot long, and 12 foot broad, of very strong oak timber, clasped together in the joints with bars and bolts of Iron, &c., &c.

"*County of Coleraine.* In the county of Coleraine we neither found nor understood of anything done, or in hand to be done, by the Londoners, towards the performance of the Articles of the Plantation. Their agents receive the rents there, and in the barony of Lough Enish O'Lyn [Loughinsholin], from the natives, and seek not to remove them, which makes the said natives to conceive that they shall not be displanted; which is a great hindrance to the plantation of that county and ill example to their neighbours.

"*The Castle of Lemavady.* Sir Thomas Phillips, Knight, hath erected a water-mill at Lemavady, unto which he drew water a mile, in a sluice or pond, 12 foot broad and 5 foot deep; he hath put in good forwardness an Inn builded English fashion, for the relief of passengers passing that way, containing in length 46 foot, and in breadth 17 foot, two stories high. Timber is for the most part ready there, and brought with very great difficulty out of the woods of Glenconkeyne, over very great bogs and mountains 12 and 14 miles distant from him, which hath and will be very chargeable. He hath towards the building of the castle of Lemavady, and other buildings, felled and squared in the woods good store of timber; and hath raised store of stone out of the ditch, adjoining the castle, being a very hard Rock, whereby he intends to make some good work for the defence of the country.

"*Dungiven.* Captain Edward Doddington hath builded at Dungiven a castle of 22 foot broad, four stories high, whereof some part of the walls were standing before, and is now by him well finished and slated. He hath built a house adjoining to the castle of 43 foot long and 18 broad, the walls whereof some parts were standing, but now very well and handsomely slated and finished. He hath repaired a bawn of lime and stone about the castle and the house, with flankers

an heir, but whether or no, Sir Toby took the responsibility of having the lands, and getting "something done upon it." These lands were probably incorporated with the Charlemont estates by the act of Settlement.

of sufficient strength for defence. Towards the building of the castle and the bawn he had 200*l.* from the King, upon which and the rest of his building he hath bestowed 300*l.* as he affirmeth.

"*Derry.* Next we came to Derry, where we saw the church well slated and repaired. Two fair houses of stone, two stories high, slated and finished with cellars to each house. A storehouse covered and walled with deal boards, with a place to work dry in. A thatched house wherein Mr. Wray dwelleth. A saw pit covered with deal boards. A fair large smith's forge, with a dwelling-house to the same. Two fair lime kills [kilns]. A fair wharf of 300 foot long, and about 14 broad, and 8 or 9 foot high. Two heads of wharfs at the ferry-places, on both sides the river. A bark building of 70 or 80 tons, with provisions of plank and other timber for her, &c., &c.

"*The Forte of Deserte Martyne*, a place in Glanconkeyne, is thought fit for the King's service and the serving of travellers between Colraine and all parts of Tyrone and Armagh, to be laid out with 300 acres for a fort, to be erected for lodgings for a constable and wardens. The London agents have agreed to the place and number of acres, but in regard that Deserte Martine, on which the fort is to be erected, is the Bishop of Derry's land and a quarter adjoining, we think fit that the Londoners should give him so much in exchange thereof of their own land, and we think it not amiss that the King should give 200*l.* towards erecting the fort, and the constable to pay the overplus, if any." Carew's *Report* in 1611.]

CLXXXII.

The *City of London-Derry* is now compassed about with a very Strong Wall (299), excellently made and neatly wrought; being all of good Lime and Stone; the Circuit whereof is 283 Perches and $\frac{2}{3}$, at 18 feet to the Perch; besides the four gates which contain 84 feet; and in every Place of the Wall it is 24 feet high, and six feet thick. The gates are all battlemented, but to two of them there is no going up, so that they serve no great use; neither have they made any Leaves

(299). *Strong Wall.*—The improvement in this respect during the interval between the surveys of Carew and Pynnar appears to have been very considerable. "The walls of Derry are now its most ancient remains. By the original compact between the Crown and the corporation of London, concluded in 1609 (see pp. 384-386), it was stipulated that they should be finished on the 1st of November in the following year; but, though commenced, they were not entirely completed for several years after. They were laid out and built under the direction of Thomas Raven of London, who had been sent over for the purpose, and the total cost of their erection, 'including ports, or gates, with all materials and workmanship, was £8,357.'" Although Pynnar was so well pleased with the substantial nature of the walls and the fortifications generally, he did not appear to recognise the fact that not even these improvements could compensate for the radically defective position of the city for defence. This fact, however, was not overlooked afterwards by the commissioners appointed in 1628 to inquire into and report on the condition of the Londoner's plantation in the city and county. "We have viewed," say they, in their report, "all the fortifications in and about the city of Londonderry, and do find a stone wall of 20 feet high, well rampered with earth, and 8 bulwarks; but the city itself is so ill situated that

both the walls, houses, and streets lie open to the command of any shipping that shall come to the harbour, and also to divers hills about the town, and to many other inconveniencies, so that in our judgment it is not a place of defence, nor tenable if any foreign enemy were to come before it." This grand defect could have been avoided had Sir Henry Docwra's original design in planning the position of the town been afterwards carried out. His intention was to enlarge the town in a southern direction; whereas, the Londoners, by permitting it to increase towards the river, and to descend to the very river, left the place almost entirely at the mercy of cannon fired from the direction of the harbour. (See *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, p. 99). "The walls of Derry," says the Rev. G. V. Sampson, "once its strength, are now its ornament; they form the mall and parade. They are frequented by all ranks and ages of the city, and afford, from various points of view, an extended prospect, reaching along the winding channel, the expanding basin, and the jutting banks of the river. To render this landscape perfectly beautiful, wood only is required." (See *Memoir of the Chart, &c.*, p. 201). The want of wood in Sampson's time, 1814, has been since extensively supplied.

for their Gates; but make two Draw-Bridges serve for two of them, and two Portcullices for the other two (300). The Bullwarks (301) are very large and good, being in number nine; besides two half Bullwarks; and for four of them there may be four Cannons, or other great Pieces; the rest are not all out so large, but wanteth very little. The Rampart within the City is 12 feet thick of Earth; all things are very well and substantially done, saving there wanteth a House for the Soldiers to watch in, and a Centinell House for the Soldiers to stand in, in the Night, to defend them from the Weather (302), which is most extreme in these Parts. Since the last Survey [*i.e.* that made by Sir Josias Bodley], there is built a School, which is 67 feet in length, and 25 in breadth, with two other Small Houses. Other building there is not any within the City. The whole number of Houses within the City is 92, and in them there are 102 Families, which are far too few a number for the Defence of such a Circuit, they being scarce able to man one of the Bullwarks; neither is there room enough to set up a 100 Houses more, unless they will make them as little as the first, and name each Room for a House (303).

(300). *The other two*.—For an account of the four original gates of Derry, as mentioned in Carew's report of 1611, see p. 572. These four gates soon came to be called respectively "the Bishop's Gate, the Ship-quay Gate, the New Gate [now Butcher's Gate], and the Ferry Gate [now Ferry-quay Gate]; two others, commonly called the New Gate and the Castle Gate, but not by authority, were subsequently added. Between 1805 and 1808, the first three were rebuilt at an expense of £1,403 3s. The Bishop's Gate and the Ship-quay Gate are alone embellished. The former is a triumphal arch erected to the memory of William III., in 1789, by the corporation, with the concurrence of the Irish Society, at the centenary of the opening of the gates." (See *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, p. 100). "The form of the city is that of a parallelogram, whose longest sides range from north-east to south-west, and the shorter north-east to south-east. It has four main streets within the walls; each of these, commencing at The Diamond, or public square, terminates at an arch passing under the wall where the gates formerly were placed. The length of the city, within the walls, from Bishop's Gate to Ship-quay Gate, is 1,273 feet; the breadth, from Ferry-quay Gate to Butcher's Gate, is 635 feet." See *Sampson's Memoir of the Chart*, p. 199.

(301). *The Bulwarks*.—For an account of the Bulwarks as mentioned in Carew's report of 1611, see p. 572. Four of the principal bulwarks were named respectively as follows:—1. *The Kings Bulwark*, on the west of the Ferry-port; 2. *Master Wabion's Bulwark*, also on the west of the Ferry-port; 3. *Chichester's Bulwark*, on the south of the Ship-quay gate; 4. *The Prince's Bulwark*, on the south of the Bishop's gate. These names were given respectively in honour of the King, Vauban, the French military engineer, the lord deputy, and Prince Henry. The original names of the five remaining bulwarks, have not been ascertained. At the time of the outbreak in 1641, the commanders in and around Derry took prompt measures for protection against the Irish, and according to the programme laid down, the following, among other matters, were agreed on:—"Captain Pitt to make good the King's Bulwark to the Ferrigate.

Captain Thornton from the Ferrigate to Master Wabion's Bulwark; and they two to make good the Ferrigate. Captain Kilmer from Master Wabion's Bulwark to Chichester's Bulwark, to make good the Shipkeygate. Captain Finch from the end of Chichester's Bulwark to the Butchersgate. Captain Osborne from the end of Chichester's Bulwark to the Butchersgate. Captain Lawson to make good the Prince's Bulwark, and the Bishopsgate to the King's Bulwark." During the memorable siege of Derry, in 1688-9, these bulwarks or bastions were popularly known by other names than the foregoing, the nine being mentioned in a *Description of Londonderry*, annexed to Neville's plan of the siege, as the Double Bastion, Royall Bastion, Hangman's Bastion, Ginner's Bastion, Coward's Bastion, Water Bastion, Newgate Bastion, Ferry Bastion, and Church Bastion. See *Memoirs of the Parish of Templemore*, pp. 44, 99, 100.

(302). *From the weather*.—This very serious want was supplied in 1628, when the corporation of London were ordered by the King "to build and erect guard-house, centinel houses, stairs and passages to the bulwarks and ramparts, where they are deficient or defective." This prompt command set the Londoners to commence building three guard-houses and eight platforms. Two of the guard or sentinel houses then erected still remain, which are situated between the Bishop's Gate and the South Bastion. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

(303). *For a house*.—For an account of the houses, and their positions, as reported by Carew in 1611, see p. 572. By an article of the original agreement between the Government and Londoners in 1609, the latter were bound or 'tied' to build 200 houses, leaving room for 300 more; and to finish 60 houses of the number by the 1st of November then next following, with convenient fortifications, the remaining number of the 200 to be built and perfected, with the remaining fortifications, by the 1st of November, 1611. (See pp. 384-386). This part of their contract the Londoners flagrantly neglected to fulfil. We find from Pynnar that even in the year 1620 only 92 houses had been built; and Sir Thomas Phillips afterwards states that, down to the year 1626, there were

CULMORE FORT.

CLXXXIII.

This Fort or Blockhouse of *Culmore* is now in the Hands of *Captain John Baker*; the Walls are now finished and the Castle built; all which is strong and neatly wrought; with Platforms for their Artillery; and this is the only key and strength of the River that goeth to the Derry (304).

COLERANE.

CLXXXIV.

The Town of *Colerane* is at the same state it was at the last survey (305); there are but three

only 102 houses of lime and stone erected; but in addition to these there were 26 houses and 12 cabins built at the expense of private persons. The neglect or default of the Londoners in this matter formed one of the chief articles of complaint which led to the several sequestrations of the city and county preceding the year 1628, and to the appointment of commissioners by the King in that year, to inquire respecting the progress made, or intended to have been made, in the county of Londonderry, and town of Coleraine. "In answer to the first article of inquiry, namely, that 200 were to have been built in the city of Londonderry, and room left for 300 more, the commissioners reported that 'if every single house, that is, every bay, or building, or every lowest room, with what is about it, is to be esteemed an house, then there are in Derry about 200 houses; if the houses are to be esteemed according to the householders or families, then there are 135 houses; if according to the estimation of those whom we employed to view the houses, there are about 101, that is to say, in Queen-street, Silver-street, and Market-place, 77 houses and a half, of two stories high, being in length from out to outside 36 feet, and 16 wide within the walls; in Gracious-street, Shambles-street, and Pump-street, 33 and a half, of one storey in height, in length some 28 feet, and some 24 feet from out to outside, in breadth 16 feet within the walls.' In answer to the second article, they reported that 'although the houses be reckoned according to the first estimate, that is, a house for every bay, yet there is not room left for 300 more, because the school-house and the yard, and the new church begun, with the intended church-yard, take up a good part of the room.'" Another sequestration followed this inquiry, which, in its turn, was soon afterwards taken off, and in 1629, a new bargain about the building of these specified houses made between the Government and the Londoners. The promises of the latter were rendered partly impracticable by the troubles that soon set in, and were never fully performed. See *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore* p. 101.

(304). *Goeth to the Derry*.—For an account of the original building of this fort, see p. 104. In 1616, Thomas Raven was engaged for two years for measuring and setting out the fortifications of Derry and Culmore; at which period the castle was erected, as appears from Pynnar's notice above. "From this period down to the present [1837], a regular succession of governors has been kept up, though, as a military station, Culmore has been disused for more than a century. Indeed, even so early as 1622, the default of the Londoners in not keep-

ing a proper ward in it, according to their agreement, was made one of the articles of complaint against them by the commissioners Phillips and Hadsor, who stated that they were, by the 20th article [of the original agreement of 1609], to maintain a sufficient ward at Kilmore [Culmore], which the allowance of 85*l.* per annum will not doe. And therefore ought to have better care had of it." In consequence of this complaint it was ordered, in 1624, by the committee of the Lords appointed by the King to treat with the Londoners, 'That the fort of Culmore be sufficiently cared for, and furnished with ordnance, municon, warders, and gunners, according to the contract.' In 1626, a new committee having been appointed to confer with a deputation of the corporation of London, they alleged as an exception taken against the Londoner's charter in point of law, 'that they have past their charter of the castle and lands of Culmore contrarie to their articles, which are condicional and have instead of a condicion obruded a covenant of their parte upon the Crowne to maintaine a sufficient warde there, which covenant they have apparently broken.' To this charge the corporation made answer that 'the Castle and Landes of Culmore is noe otherwise passed unto them than was intended, as may appeare by the articles between your Lordship and the Cittie, and that they have not broken the covenant, for they have ever had (the times considered) a sufficient ward there, and now in these times of danger they have increased the nombre of the warders according to the direction of the Lord Blaney.' The subsequent history of Culmore, until the beginning of the 18th century may be found pretty fully in the publication by the Irish Society, known as the *Concise View*. The garrison at this place was discontinued after the Revolution, although the Crown always maintained the office of governor, and for many years past it has been conferred as a reward for distinguished services,—the governors successively held the office as an honourable military sinecure, and enjoyed the anciently established pay annexed to the office, as well as the annuity of 200*l.* paid by the Irish Society, and the profits arising out of the fort-lands, according to the agreement between the Crown and the Irish Society, made in the year 1665. The lands connected with Culmore include upwards of 440 acres, and, in 1825, were estimated at the yearly value of 600*l.* 16*s.* 3*½d.*, late Irish currency. See *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, pp. 237-240.

(305). *Last Survey*.—The survey to which Pynnar here refers was that made by Sir Josias Rodley in 1615, but which, unfortunately, is not forthcoming.

Houses added more to the Building, which are done by other men; only the City hath allowed them £20 apiece towards their building. That part of the Town which is unbuilt, is so extreame dirty that no Man is able to go in it, and especially that which should be, and is, accounted to be the Market Place. The Walls and Ramparts built of Sodds, and filled with Earth, do begin to decay very much, and to moulder away; for the Ramparts are so narrow that it is impossible they should stand, and the Bullwarks are so exceeding little that there cannot be placed any piece of Artillery, if occasion were. There are two small Ports which are made of Timber and Boards, and they serve for Houses for Soldiers to watch in. The town is so poorly inhabited that there are not Men enough to Man the sixth Part of the Wall (306).

GOULD-SMITHS-HALL (307).

CLXXXV. 3,210 Acres.

John Freeman, Esq., hath this Proportion, containing by estimation 3,210 Acres. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, 100 feet square, 16 feet high, with four Flankers

(306). *Of the Wall.*—For accounts of the energy and results of the Londoners' first start in the way of plantation at Coleraine, see Davys's letter and Carew's report, pp. 406, 572. Pynnar's very disparaging observations contrast most unfavourably with those of the two sharp-sighted men above named, and were no doubt useful in stirring up the inhabitants of Coleraine to look more carefully into their sad condition as a corporate town. That place, with its surroundings, has long been one of the most attractive districts in Ulster. At the commencement of the present century Coleraine is described "as still the second town in the county as to extent and importance. . . . Strictly speaking, the original burgh is situated on the east side of the Bann; but we usually account that part called Captain-street, with the suburb of Killowen, as appertaining to the town itself. With this addition, we may reckon from the upper gate of Jackson Hall to the termination beyond the King's Gate, a street whose length is about three quarters of a mile. . . . In the centre of the original town, as it seems to have been laid out in the administration of Sir John Perrot, stood the public square or market-place. This is still preserved with some regularity, excepting as to the height of the houses; those of modern erection being higher than those on the original plan, some of which latter are yet in preservation. These ancient houses were built in what is called cagework; the interstices were filled up with wicker and clay, some of which I have very lately seen [1814] in perfect preservation. According to the fashion of the day, these houses had projecting pent-ways, which are now for the most part removed." (See *Sampson's Memoir of the Chart of Londonderry*, pp. 208, 209). Carew makes no reference, in 1611, to any houses standing on the site of Coleraine, except such as were then in course of erection by the Londoners, which were nearly all wooden, and the remains of which Sampson supposed had belonged to earlier erections there. A few of the plantation houses remained until recently in The Diamond of Coleraine.

(307). *Gould-Smiths-Hall.*—The Goldsmiths' proportion is situated in the barony of Tirkeeran, being bounded

on the north and west by the lough and river Foyle; on the south by the confines or borders of Tyrone; and on the east by the lands of the Gracens and Skinners alternately. Along its eastern boundary are marked on *Sampson's Chart*, the localities of Monaghbeg, Tirbraken, and Lisnecarroll. Along the Foyle, on the west, are Gobinskeal, Tamneymore, Prehen, Cattybane, Dunlugh, Ballyorr, Rosnagalligh, Campernow, Hallstown, and Drumagore. Throughout the other districts in this proportion the apparently principal places, marked on the map, are Altnagatrin, Fineam, Lithgow, Drumahoe, Gortica, Crumkill, Tullyally, Glenderowen, Worbles-shilly, Cloghore, Tully, Taghrina, Bogagh, Craigtown, Killymallagh, Drumconan, Tiravney, Carnofarran, Creevedonnell, and Corryfree. The Goldsmiths' Company is one of four who have sold their lands in perpetuity, with a small reserved rent, generally between 400*l.* and 500*l.* So early as the year 1730, the Goldsmiths sold their manor of Goldsmiths' Hall to the Earl of Shelburne for the sum of 14,100*l.*, and a reserve rent of 450*l.*—not a bad return at that period for their original outlay of 3,333*l.* The small head rent gives the Goldsmiths still the semblance of authority on their lands, and the Irish Society is thus, in occasional reports, privileged to go through a formal routine of suggestions, or exhortations, or commands, as to the management of their property. In 1838, the Goldsmiths' lands, which had long passed from the first purchaser, Lord Shelburne, are referred to by the Irish Society's report in the following terms:—"This estate has been miserably neglected, but we hope, now that the whole is in possession of Leslie Alexander, Esq., of Foyle Park, he will immediately attend to the performance of those duties incumbent on him as the possessor of this Proportion." The Irish Society's advice will have since, no doubt, been addressed to several other holders of fragments of the Goldsmiths' lands, for the family of Alexander now retains not much over 5,000 acres of the same. (See *Report presented to the Irish Society*, 1838, p. 40; see also *Returns of Owners of Land in Ireland, or Irish Doom-day Book*, 1875). Leslie Alexander, Esq., of Foyle Park, was descended from a Scottish clergyman, the Rev. Andrew

Also, there is a large Castle or Stone House in building within the Wall, which was two Stories high, and the Workmen earnestly at Work to finish it with all Haste. There are also six Houses of Stone, and six of Timber, very strong and well built, and seated in a very good and convenient Place for the King's service. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

1 having 180 acres.

5 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 24, viz.,

2 having 300 acres le piece.

2 having 120 acres le piece.

1 having 100 acres.

10 having 60 acres le piece.

1 having 50 acres.

4 having 40 acres le piece.

2 having 30 acres le piece.

1 having 46 acres.

1 having 20 acres.

Total, 30 Families, who, with their under Tenants, are able to make 90 Men armed, and have taken the Oath of Supremacy.

GROCCERS-HALL *alias* MUFFE (308).

CLXXXVI. 3,210 Acres.

Edward Rone had this Proportion, but he being dead, there is nobody to aver for the buildings. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne in Building, 100 feet square, with four Flankers;

Alexander, who settled in Ulster, and married Dorothea, a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Caulfield, of the Charlemont family. Their son, Andrew, married a daughter of Sir Thomas Phillips, and had, by this lady, Jacob Alexander, Esq., of Limavady. This gentleman married as his first wife, in 1692, Margaret or Jane, daughter and heiress of John Oliver, Esq., of The Lodge, Limavady, appointed to administer the oath of allegiance on the succession of William and Mary. By this lady he left at least six children, viz., Leslie, John, James, Oliver, Jane, and Elizabeth. Leslie, who resided at Limavady, married Anne, daughter of ——— Simpson, Esq., Armagh; John, the second son, married Hester King, of Limavady; James, the third son, became a general in the East India Company's service; Oliver died young; Jane married Robert Ogilby, M.D.; and Elizabeth became the wife of James Orr of Gorteen. The eldest son, Leslie, left by his wife five sons and a daughter, viz., John, Leslie, James, Alexander, Thomas, and Jane. John, the eldest son, married Margaret, a daughter of Samuel Maxwell, Esq., of Armagh. He died at Limavady in 1849, leaving four sons and two daughters. The two eldest died in youth; the third, Samuel Maxwell Alexander, owns the portion of the Goldsmiths' lands above mentioned; and the fourth, John, resides in Limavady. These are the descendants of Jacob Alexander above named, by his first wife, Margaret Oliver. His second wife was a Scottish lady, the daughter of Laird

Hillis. By the latter he left one son, Nathaniel, who married Elizabeth, a daughter of William McClintock, Esq., of Dunmore, county of Donegal. By this lady he left three sons and two daughters, viz., William, Robert, James, Anne, and Elizabeth. James, the third son, having filled several important offices in India, was elevated to the peerage of Ireland in June, 1790, by the title of Baron Caledon of Caledon, county Tyrone; in 1797 he was created a viscount, and in 1800 Earl of Caledon. In 1774 he married Anne, second daughter of James Crawford of Crawfordsburn, his wife dying in 1777. By this lady he left an only son, named Du Pre, and two daughters, Mabella and Elizabeth. Du Pre, born in 1777, succeeded as second Earl of Caledon in 1802, and died in 1839. He married Cathrine Freeman, second daughter of Philip, third Earl of Hardwicke. Mabella married Andrew, the eleventh Lord Blaney, and died in 1854. James Du Pre Alexander, the third Earl of Caledon, married Lady Jane Frederica Grimston, fourth daughter of the first Earl of Verulam. James Alexander, the fourth Earl of Caledon, succeeded his father. See Nicholl's *History of the Ironmongers*, pp. 613-615.

(308). *Alias Muffe*.—This is the only other company whose lands lie in the barony of Tirkeerin. The manor of Muff, or Grocers' Hall, is bounded on the north by Lough Foyle, and it extends southward as far as the Burntollet river. Its western boundary is the river Foyle; and eastward, it meets the lands of the Fishmongers'

the Walls are now five feet high. By this Bawne there are built four Strong Houses of Lime and Stone, and well slated. There are four more that are built in other Places, somewhat further off. There are other Houses of Lime and Stone, that are upon the Land dispersed; but they are built by the Tenants themselves; and yet have no estates, and likely, as they tell me, to be removed, some of them having spent upon their buildings £100; and this is through the slackness of the Company that have not made estates to the Undertakers (309). All this Land for the most part is inhabited with *Irish*.

FISHMONGERS-HALL *alias* BALLYKELLE (310).

CLXXXVII. 3,210 Acres.

This Proportion is in the Hands of *James Higgins*, a Merchant of London, whose Agent

Company. Along its eastern border the principal places marked on Sampson's map are Longfieldmore, Longfieldbegg, Killylane, Carnakilly, Muff, Mainabay, and Muinahanagan. Among the chief places marked throughout this proportion are Culkeeragh, Donnybrewer, Carrakill, Maydown, Killnanapp, Moybuy, Gorticross, Gortree, Camsey, Cloghole, Whitehill, Derryarkin, Falloward, Gortnessy, Edenreagh, Clunmakane, Brockagh, Listres, Tamneyeerin, Gortinread and Ballygroll. The present village of Muff stands on the road from Londonderry to Coleraine, about a mile south from the shore of Lough Foyle. Certain lands were set apart by the Crown in a few manors, probably about the year 1626, to be created into small native freeholds, for natives who had been at the above date considered the most deserving. These little patches, now known as *native freeholds*, are marked on the map in connexion with the several manors where they exist. Thus, there are native freeholds on the Grocers' lands marked at Donnybrewer, Cloghole, Killnanapp, Ardkill, and Gorticross. A second class of small freeholds were created by the Crown for the important purpose of securing a sufficient number of Protestant jurors to assist in carrying through the county business at the assizes. "Six of these freeholds," says Sampson, "seem to have been disposed and annexed along the borders of each proportion [or manor], and these are what we term the *Crown freeholds*." (See *Memoir of Chart*, p. 251). Crown freeholds, in connexion with the Grocers' lands are marked at Culkerragh, Lettershendy, Tamneyreagh, and Slaughtmanus.

(309). *The Undertakers*.—This mismanagement probably arose from the fact that Edward Rone, or Rowan, to whom the Grocers let their lands for a term of years, had died soon after getting possession. Seven of the Companies, the Grocers included, leased their lands to persons who had come as their agents, and generally for a term of 61 years and three lives. After the death of Rowan the lands were neglected, until a Mr. Babington became the Grocers' tenant. At the commencement of the present century, Sampson has the following account of the improvements that had been made on this proportion:—"The mansion of Grocers' Hall is worthy of those in honour of whom it has been named. The value and efficacy of resident and patriotic gentry can nowhere be better exemplified. Extensive plantations, so judiciously planned and led over the outlines of the farms, as to

confer ornament without detracting from utility; the substitution of well-shaped and well-cultivated fields, in place of everything which could degrade and deform a neglected country, are the first observations which arise to those who have seen what was and what is the demesne of Grocers' Hall. But Mr. Babington's zeal is by no means confined to the improvements of his own demesne; everywhere, through the whole estate over which he presides, cottages rising in place of hovels, lime quarries opening where no lime was supposed to exist, excellent public roads multiplying where scarce a swampy path could be found, wastes reclaiming into good soils, where good soils were formerly in the state of wastes; a general system of order, of industry, and neatness taking place of the most contrasted habits. Such has been the improvement, and in so short a space of time has this improvement been effected, that to one who had not been a witness to the intensity of labour and expense, it might almost seem like the creation of enchantment. From Grocers' Hall may be seen one of the richest landscapes of our country, as the eye ranges over the champaign country, with the fine lake, terminated by the outline of Innishowen, and the foreland of Benyevenagh." (See *Memoir of the Chart*, pp. 261, 262.) After this, it may well be supposed that the Irish Society would feel satisfied as to the progress of affairs with the Grocers,—and so it was—for its deputies reported, many years after the above was written, that the "Grocers' proportion, next to the Drapers', is the best managed estate. The chief town is Muff, which is a very neat and clean place, with an excellent church, market-house, and other buildings." (See *Report to the Irish Society in 1838*, p. 45.) It appears from the recent "Return of Owners of Land in Ireland," that the Grocers' Company holds, at the present time, 11,638 acres, valued at 6,457*l.* per annum. See the *Irish Doomsday Book*.

(310). *Ballykelle*.—The lands of this manor or proportion lie partly in the barony of Keenaght, and partly in that of Tirkeerin. The lands in Keenaght range along the eastern and southern shores of Lough Foyle; and the lands in Tirkeerin extend from Faughanvale in the north to a place called Feeny in the south. On the eastern side, between Lough Foyle and the river Roe, are the following places, viz., Brogheiter, Broghglasgo, Farlough, Brogharris, Finlagan, Rushaghan, and Lisnakilly. Along the southern shore

is here resident. Upon this there is built a Strong Bawne of Stone and Lime, 125 feet square, 12 feet high, with four Flankers (311), and a good House within it, being 50 feet square, all finished and inhabited by the Agent, and furnished with good Store of Arms. There are near to the Castle 15 Houses, whereof three are of Stone and Lime; the rest are of Timber, and are rough cast with Lime, and slated. These stand in a convenient Place for Service. There is also a Church near Built, which is 43 feet long, 26 wide, neatly made up, and a good Preacher to teach the People. I find planted and estated upon this Land, of *British* Tenants,

Feeholders, 6, viz.,

- 5 having 160 acres le piece.
- 1 having 120 acres.

Lessees for years, 28, viz.,

- 1 having 240 acres.
- 2 having 280 acres le piece.
- 4 having 120 acres le piece.
- 8 having 60 acres le piece.
- 1 having 90 acres.
- 6 having 20 acres le piece.
- 3 having 60 acres le piece.
- 3 having 30 acres le piece.

Total, 34 Families, which, with their Undertenants, are able to make up 40 Men with Arms.

IRONMONGERS-HALL (312).

CLXXXVIII. 3,210 Acres.

George Cammynge, Agent for the Company, is here resident; but he hath no Order to make

of Lough Foyle the principal places marked are Ballyspalen, Drumond, Ballykelly, Walworth, Carrickue, Tullymean, Culkeenaght, Glasvey, Dungullion, Gurtgare, Tullyvaren, Killyrusen, Grestilmore, and Grestilbeg. On the southern border of the manor are Ballyrory, Straid, Umrycam, Feeney, Dromcovit, and Kincuilmacranel. In the central parts, which are hilly and rough, are Meenegalagher, Dunlast, Glassakeerin, Gortinba, Ballyholly, Loughmore, Legavanon, Glack, Dunbrock, Carnamuff, Sestrighkill, Ochill, Kincuilbrack, Cuilnagolpogh, and Tirglassan. There are Cromwellian freeholds marked on the chart, at Glenconway, Munrory, and Derrynatfan. There are *Crown freeholds* at Ballyrory, Straid, Umrycam, and Terrydreen.

(311). *Four Flankers*.—In Sampson's enumeration of good dwelling-houses in this district, at the commencement of the present century, he states that "Mr. Sterling possesses a good dwelling on the site of the ancient castle of the Fishmongers' proportion. Here also are the earliest gardens in the county, well enclosed with walls, and stored with excellent fruit trees." Of Walworth, almost adjoining the position above mentioned, the same writer states that it "is the residence of Mr. Bare Beresford, and contains a large tract of ancient and venerable trees. The dwelling was highly improved by the late owner;

the gardens, though not old, are in good order, and the orchards productive. When the tide is full, and the sun setting over the Magilligan ranges, the promontory of Benyevenagh [Benn-Aibhne] is seen to great advantage through the thick woods of Walworth." (See *Memoir of Chari*, p. 261.) In 1838, the deputies from the Irish Society speak rather disparagingly of the Fishmongers' attempts at improving their estate. They could not, neither could any others, it would appear, compare with the Drapers, whose pet proportion was all but perfection in the eyes of these sage critics. "This proportion [the Fishmongers'] has been very much improved under the company [it had been previously held by a tenant]; but does not equal that of the Drapers. The town of Ballykelly, though better placed near the Foyle, is far inferior to the town of Moneymore, and has a deserted look; yet much money has been spent by the Fishmongers' Company. Their choked-up canal indicates a great want of judgment in their intentions, and they have still much to do before they can be said to approach to, much less equal, the Drapers." (See Report for 1838, pp. 44-45). The Fishmongers' Company, at the present time, hold 20,509 acres, valued at 9,159*l*. See *Irish Doomsday Book*, 1875.

(312). *Ironmongers-Hall*.—For the general state of affairs on this proportion, in 1614-1616, see pp. 436-444.

any Estates to any Tenants that are come hither to dwell; notwithstanding there are divers that have disbursed a great deal of Money, and built Houses. All that these men can get are Articles of Agreement for 31 years; but they fear that this may be altered by others that come after. Notwithstanding they pay for every Town Land, which they account to be but 60 acres, five Pounds ten Shillings, or five Pounds, per Annum. The uncertainty of this is a great hindrance of the Plantation (313). The Castle, which was formerly begun, is thoroughly finished, being a very good and strong Castle; and there is a Bawne of Brick and Lime, whereof there are but three sides done, without Flankers, which maketh the Place of no strength. There are also eight dwelling Houses of Cage Work, some are slated and some shingled; but they stand so far asunder that they can have but little succour one of another. Besides here is an infinite Number of *Irish* upon the Land, which give such great Rents that the *English* cannot get any Land (314).

(313). *Plantation*.—Pynnar, or some scribe for him, ignorantly writes the name of this agent *Cammynge*, instead of *Canning*. This account shows that no improvement had been introduced, even in 1620, so far as the position of the tenant-settlers was concerned.

(314). *Any Land*.—The Ironmongers' proportion, known as the manor of *Lizard*, is situated in the barony of Coleraine, lying between the Bann on the east and the barony of Keenaght on the west. Along its eastern boundary the following names of places appear on Sampson's chart, viz., Risk, Lissaghmore, Glascort, Lanagavy, Cornamucklagh, and Drumeil. Near the western boundary are Altduff, Gortnamoyagh, Brockagh, Lisnacregagh, and Culcoscreighan. The places marked on its southern boundary are Dunavenny, Cuilbane, Gortecloghan, Carballintobber, and Treanaltinagh. In the central parts of this proportion the principal places are Aghedowey, Bovagh, Guglygoran, Drumacrow, Segorry, Metican, Inisaleen, Mullaghinch, Coolnasillagh, Droghed, Lisbuy, Killykeran, Moneydig, Killyvally, Ballynamuin, Ballintemple, Culnamamer, Glenullin, Glenkeen, Moneycarry, Liscall, Cullnahan, Slataverty, Mullaghnabron, Ballyrogan, Moyochil, Keerin, Claggan, Brockaghbuy, Tamneymore, Movenis, Baleerin, Croaghindolag, Caheny, Cah, and Moybuoy. In this proportion there are *native freeholds*, marked on the chart at Moybuoy, Baleerin, Coolnasillagh, Ballyrogan, Glenkeen, Croaghindolag, Bovagh, Moyochil, Culnahan, Culnamamer, Caheny, and near Movinis. These native freeholds occur, with only two exceptions, in barren or unsettled districts. Crown freeholds are marked at Cah, Tamneymore, Liscall, Altduff, Brockaghbuy, Moneydig, and Culcoscreighan. These freeholds also occur generally in rough lands. The remains of *Cromlachs* are marked at Brockabuoy and at a point half-way between that place and Dunavenny. Only a small number of the denominational names are given in the foregoing list. Sometime after the close of the war, which commenced in 1641, and ended in 1652, Paul Canning, when writing to the company, mentions the disastrous results of that time to their estate and his own. His statement, which literally describes the condition of most other lands in the county, and throughout Ulster generally, is as follows:—"The castle and manor-house, and all other buildings whatsoever upon the said manor, together with the church, the corn mill, and three bridges,

were and are totally demolished and destroyed in the late rebellion. No tenant will plant upon any part of the said manor unless he be free of rent and taxes for one year, and from thence at a very easy rent for five or six years; and after that will not exceed four or five pounds the balliboe [60 acres] per annum for 21 years' lease. There are not twenty timber trees, fit for building, upon the manor. He [Paul Canning] sold his estate in England [at Barton in Warwickshire], in the year 1630, for about 2,000*l.*, which money he laid out in planting and stock upon the said proportion [which had been leased to him], all which he lost by the said rebellion, with loss of life of many of his dear friends." In 1703, public attention first began to be directed to the question of Ulster tenant-right. Mr. Canning being questioned as to the fines and heriots which were usually paid by the copy-holders in the manor of Lizard, on death or alienation, informed the court that on alienations [selling their right] only 20*s.* were paid as a fine, and that on the death of a lessee, his successor was required to pay as heriot the best live beast on the farm. (See Nicholl's *History of the Ironmongers*, p. 410.) The Ironmongers' Company at the present time, hold 12,714 acres, valued at 8,032*l.* (See the *Irish Doomsday Book*, 1875). In 1705, the Ironmongers' leased their manor to George Canning, junior, for 21 years, at an annual rent of 250*l.*, and a fine of 1,900*l.*, with a yearly stipend to the minister of Agivey of 20*l.* In 1725, they leased their manor to Henry Lecky, Patrick Mackey, James Coningham, and Samuel Craghead, for a term of 41 years, at the former rent, with a largely increased fine—the amount not named. In 1766, they again leased their manor to Josias Du Pré, Esq., for a term of 61 years, and three lives, the lessee paying the same annual rent, and a fine of 21,000*l.* In 1813, Du Pré, who never saw the property at all, sold the remainder of his lease to Sir Wm. Carr Beresford, Sir George Fitzgerald, Bart., and John P. Beresford, M.P. (See Nicholl's *History of the Ironmongers*, pp. 403, 411.) The lands of this manor extend more or less into the five parishes of Aghedowey, Agivey, Dissertoghill, Errigal, and Macosquin. In 1814, Sampson notices several places in these lands as follows:—"Mr. Canning's demesne near this town of Garvagh, comprises a very considerable scope of ancient and venerable plantation, to which the present possessor has so added, as to entitle him-

MERCERS-HALL *alias* MAVANAWAY (315).

CLXXXIX. 3,210 Acres.

This is not set to any Man as yet ; but is held by one *Vernon*, agent for the Company. Upon this Proportion the Castle, which was formerly begun, is now thoroughly finished, being not inferior to any that is built; for it is a good strong work, and well built ; and a very large Bawne of 120 feet square, with four Flankers, all of good Stone and Lime. Not far from the Bawne there are six Houses of Cage-Work, some covered with shingles, and some thatched, and inhabited by such poor men as they could find in the Country ; and these pay such dear Rates for the Land that they are forced to take *Irish* Tenants under them to pay the Rent. There are divers other Houses of slight building, but they are far off, and dwell dispersedly in the Wood, where they are forced of meer necessity to relieve such Wood-kearn as go up and down the Country ; and as I

self personally to the praise of the greatest planter [of trees] within the county. . . . Several gentlemen possess ornamental plantings and good houses, which occur in tracing the left bank of the Bann ; the principal of which are Mr. A. Orr of Landmore ; Mr. W. Orr of Moneycarry ; Mr. James Orr of Keely ; Mr. H. Orr of Ballybritain ; Mr. Barelay of Mullaghmore ; and Mr. Sterlings of Ballydivett. At Agivey and Bovagh stands some good and ancient timber. In the neighbourhood of Macosquin, Mr. Ovins and the two Mr. Bennetts have neat dwellings with plantings." (See *Memoir of Chart*, p. 256.) The Report from the Irish Society, in 1838, has the following notice of this proportion :—"This estate upon the death of the Bishop of Meath [the last life in the lease of 1766], passes into the hands of the Company, and, we have no doubt, it will prove a source of much happiness to the tenantry, when they shall be placed under the immediate superintendence of that body. We met their active and intelligent manager, Mr. Oseland, whom the Company, very wisely, sent over a few years since, for the purpose of informing them as to the affairs of this whole proportion." See *Report*, p. 52.

(315). *Mavanaway*.—The ruins of the castle called Mercers-Hall still exist in the townland of Movanager, parish of Kilrea, and barony of Coleraine. The Hall stood about 12 miles south of Coleraine, and between one and two miles north of Kilrea, on the western side of the Bann. At this point the river runs over a shoal, and has a crooked fall of 12 feet in summer, whence that part of the river is called 'Movanager Rapids.' (See *Notes to the Translation of O'Mellan's Journal*, p. 3). A small part of this company's proportion lies along the Bann, and is included in the barony of Coleraine, but the principal part is situated in the barony of Loughinsholin, extending southward from the Ironmongers' lands as far as a little stream called Ennivaroy, and a locality known as Granaghan. On, or near the Bann, its eastern boundary, are marked on the chart the places named Coolbill, Carnroe, Gorteen, Tamlaghtvow, Claragh, Kilrea, Moneygran, Moynock, Lislea, and Main. A small parcel of this proportion reaches as far west as Knock-O'Neill—a place at the dividing line between the boundaries of Loughinsholin and Keenaght. On the northern boundary are Ballydoolaghan, Lischarin,

Moyletra, Doolagh, and Bovedy; and on the southern side, Tirgarvil, Tirnageeraghan, and Falahogy. Throughout the central parts of this proportion, the principal places appearing on the chart are Craigavole, Ballylame, Crossland, Tamneyrankin, Laragh, Tir-Hugh, Swateragh, Coolnagruadh, Moneysharviu, Beagh, Keady, Ampurtain, Gortead, Lismoyle, Ballynayne, Tivaconway, Killymuck, Lissgorgan, Dungleady, Macknagh, Gortmaeran, Killygubb, Drinnard, Drimlane, Tamlaght, Moneysally, Lissnagrot, Drumsaragh, Drumeau, Drumnagardner, Erginagh, and Drumolish. In this proportion there are *Crown freeholds* marked at Drumsaragh, Moyletra, Tamneyrankin, and near Bovedy. The Mercers' Company had a dispute of old standing with their neighbours the Ironmongers, which was not finally arranged until the year 1816. In 1703, Mr. Canning, the tenant of the latter, stated that the division known as Ballinmoyn, on the Ironmongers' estate, contained 21 balliboes, but that he could never find more than 15, the other six, as he supposed, being in the Mercers' proportion. In 1814, a map of the adjustment of the mearings between these two companies' lands was presented by the Rev. G. V. Sampson ; and in 1816, an award, under the hands and seals of that gentleman, and James Armstrong, Esq., were read, and ordered to be entered on the minutes. (See Nicholl's *History of the Ironmongers' Company*, pp. 411, 412). We cannot find that Sampson's *Memoir of the Chart* contains any notice eulogistic or the contrary, of the condition of the Mercers' lands in 1814 ; but the following report of the Irish Society in 1838, is, perhaps, sufficiently satisfactory on the subject :—"This is a very improving estate. It appears to us [the flying deputation] that all has been done that was possible, considering how short a time the Company have had it in their own hands. The Mercers had previously let their lands to one tenant. They have an intelligent and highly respectable agent in Mr. Holmes, who lives at the chief town, Kilrea, in an elegant mansion, built for him there by the Company ; they are improving the public buildings, and, altogether doing everything which lies in their power to advance the interests of the community, and carry out the objects of the Charter." (See p. 45). The Mercers' Company hold 21,241 acres, valued at 11,740*l*. See the *Irish Domesday Book*, or, "Return of Owners of Land in Ireland, 1875."

am informed by divers in the Country, there are in forty-six Townlands of this Proportion, that are set to the Irish of the Sept of *Clandonells* [descendants of a Donnell O'Neill], which are the wickedest Men in all the Country.

MERCHANT-TAILORS-HALL *alias* MACOSKIN (316).

CXC. 3,210 Acres.

This is in the Hands of *Valentine Hartopp, Esq.*, who is newly come to dwell there, having taken this Proportion of the Company for 61 years. This Castle is finished, being 50 feet long, and 34 feet wide; the Castle is battlemented, and built very Strong. There is no Bawne begun as yet; but the Gentleman is causing Stone and Lime to be laid in Readiness that they may go roundly away with it. Here, near unto the Castle, are built seven good Houses of Stone and Lime, well slated and inhabited with *English*, standing all together in a well chosen Place. There is a fair large Church well finished, being 86 feet long, and 32 feet broad, the Roof set up and ready to be slated. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

(316). *Macoskin*.—This company's proportion, in the barony of Coleraine, lies in part between the Bann and the lands of the Clothworkers, but principally south of the latter. Along the Bann, its eastern boundary, it reaches from near Killowen in a southern direction as far as a place called Curragh,—the other localities represented on the chart along this eastern border being Somerset, Ballyness, Castleroe, Camus, Coole, and Ballylaggan. Westward, the Merchant Tailors' lands extend as far as the boundary line between the baronies of Coleraine and Keenaght. On the western border the surface is represented on the chart as very rough and unsettled, the places adjoining this border being Ballinrees, Crampha, Balteagh, Croaghan, Caam, Muineraig, Cullylaggan, and Donald's Hill. On the northern boundary, which is very winding, are Ballyvenox, Farenseer, Dunderg, and Kilmaconnell. On the southern boundary, perhaps still more irregular in its outline, are Freigh, Bellragh, Glencorib, Crossma-keever, Coolyvenny, Ballintegart, and Carndoogan. The principal places marked in the central districts are Macosquin, Ardvarnish, Maclery, Glenleary, English-town, Drimore, Crossgar, Derrydoragh, Ballywilliam, Craigmores, Cashel, Letterloan, Tibarcen, Shanlongford, Curraghglass, Ballynacanan, Leach, Kinnyglass, Drim-crum, and Kiltess. *Crown freeholds* are marked at Craigmores, Glenleary, Kilmaconnell, and in the vicinity of Somerset. A large tract of bog, marked *unsettled*, extends from Camus westward to Englishtown; and another tract of bog is represented as stretching northward from Ballinteer into the Clothworkers' proportion. The Merchant-Tailors' Company is one of four who granted their lands in perpetuity, for small yearly head rents, and large fines or purchase money. We cannot state in this case how much was paid by the purchaser, a Mr. Richardson, but the sum was probably not much, if anything, less than 20,000*l*. The reserve rent is not more, if so much, as 450*l*. In Sampson's *Memoir of the Chart*, p. 237, is the following notice of improvements on these lands:—"Mr. Richardson, uncle to the present proprietor of Somerset [the latter was the Rev. Thomas Richardson,

rector of Camus], was unquestionably the first planter [of trees] in the county. By trenching and draining, with great care and expense, his trees have come forward with rapidity. Among other fine points of view through this demesne, there is an high gravel bank, wooded to the top, and overlooking the waterfall at the Cutts, the town of Coleraine, its bridge and improvements. On the opposite bank of the river is Mount Sandel, an object truly picturesque, which, as well as the adjacent slopes, along the winding expanse of the Bann, the late and the present proprietor have planted with the happiest effect. The house has been formed out of the offices belonging to the mansion of this ancient and respectable family, which, in the feeling of its present representative, has found its private gratification in the discharge of invaluable duties as resident proprietors." The Irish Society's report as to this proportion is as follows:—"The owner of this is Mr. Henry Richardson, the son of the late possessor, the Rev. Thomas Richardson, who was rector of Camus. We have nothing to remark as to the proportion, but this circumstance leads us to advert to the facts connected with that rectory. The advowson belongs to the Society; and, on Mr. Richardson's death, they presented the living to the Rev. Archibald Boyd, senior curate to the cathedral of Derry. The bishop has ventured to dispute this presentation; and at first presented his son-in-law, Mr. Lindsay. He soon after, however, removed him to the living of Kilrea. We are informed he then presented Mr. Crampton, a curate from another diocese, but he was removed in a few days after; and the bishop lastly presented the Rev. G. V. Sampson, a clergyman holding a living in the county of Kildare, and in no way connected with the county or the diocese of Derry as a clergyman, though he is very well known as a farmer of some land on the Fishmongers' proportion." This dispute led to expensive litigation, in which the bishop was defeated. According to the late 'Return of the owners of land in Ireland' the Richardson family holds 18,159 acres, valued for 7,424*l*. This quantity does not include all the lands belonging to the proportion or manor of Macosquin.

Freeholders, 6, viz.,

6 having 60 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 18, viz.,

1 having 210 acres.

1 having 180 acres.

3 having 120 acres le piece.

5 having 60 acres le piece.

2 having 60 acres jointly.

6 having 36 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 5, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plot, with three acres of Land.

Total, 29 Families, able to make
40 Men with good Arms; for here
is great store.

HABERDASHERS-HALL *alias* BALLYCASTLE (318).

CXCI. 3,210 Acres.

Sir Robert MacLellan hath taken this of the Company for 61 years; and upon this the Castle is Strongly finished, being very strong and well wrought, himself with his Lady and Family dwelling in it. There is no Bawn nor sign of any, nor any other kind of Building, more than

(318). *Ballycastle*.—The lands granted to this company lie along the eastern boundary in the barony of Keenaght, commencing on the skirts of Benevenagh in the north, and reaching southward as far as Formil and Camnish, on the eastern and western slopes of the Benbradach mountain range. These lands are bounded on the north by Magilligan, on the west by the river Roe, on the south by that part of the Skinners' proportion which lies in this barony, and on the east as aforesaid. Among the principal places marked on the chart along its eastern border are Carrydow, Ballyruskbeg, Largeyreagh, Leek, Tirmaquin, Tirydow Walker, Gortnarney, Cloghan, Killhoyle, Drumsarn, Drumgavney, Smulgedon, Ballymacalion, and Lenmore. The other principal localities mentioned on the chart in this proportion are Largantea, Edenmore, Drumneecy, Stradreagh, Dirlagh, Ballyvannagh, Tireorin, Mains, Ballymully, Ardmore, Drumgessh, Granagh, and Artakelly. There are *native* freeholds marked at places called Ballynaherry, Ballyavlin, Little Derry, Drumnagosker, Aughsillagh, Rusky, and Carnet. There are *Crown* freeholds marked at Drumclief, Ballyruskinmore, Kedy, and Lislane. The Haberdashers sold their lands in perpetuity to the Beresford family, but we cannot state for what sum; not less, probably, than 20,000*l.*, with the reservation of a yearly rent of about 450*l.* Walworth, the seat of the Beresfords, has already been noticed. The report of the Irish Society in reference to this proportion is rather of an ominous character, as follows:—"This estate is by far the best managed of the four estates which have been let in perpetuity. Such lettings are, however, contrary, as we think, to the intentions of the Charter, or the power given to these companies by the King's licence in mortmain, which certainly gives

to the Irish Society the power to grant as much as they think proper; but to the companies it gives permission only to hold, and not to alienate; that is, to hold for the purposes of the Charter, and under the government of the Society of the Governor and Assistants of London of this City's Plantation in Ulster. The late respected manager of this proportion, Mr. Barré Beresford, is dead; but the agency has been transferred by the Marquis of Waterford to his son, John B. Beresford, whom we have every reason to hope, will emulate the example of his lamented father, in promoting, by every possible means, the happiness and comfort of the tenantry, and thereby the prosperity of the proportion." (See *Report* for 1838, pp. 38, 39.) Notwithstanding the above protest on the part of the Irish Society as to the alienation by companies of their lands, Sir H. H. Bruce has recently bought out the Haberdashers' estate from the Marquis of Waterford, and does not probably dread any trouble as to validity of title. The Irish Society, however, has been hitherto so successful in its litigations with bishops and refractory companies, that there is a question whether it will permit any such sales or transfers in future. Its conflict with the Skinners' Company, in 1838, opened the Society's eyes wider than before as to its own great powers. According to the recent "Return of Owners of Land in Ireland," Sir H. H. Bruce is now in possession of 20,801 acres, valued at 11,397*l.*; but how much he held prior to his purchase from the Marquis of Waterford, we know not. John B. Beresford still, according to the same authority, holds 10,420 acres, so that Sir H. H. Bruce did not get more, perhaps, than about two-thirds of the Haberdashers' lands.

slight Houses after the *Irish* manner, which are dispersed all over the Land. The Church lyeth still as at the first, and nothing at all doing unto it. There were nominated unto me six Freeholders, which were in *Scotland*, and these were set down but for small quantities; and 21 Leaseholders, but not any of these could show me anything in writing for their Estates; neither could the Landlord show me any Counterpaines. It is true I saw the Land planted with *Brittish* Tenants to the Number of 80 Men, and in the Castle, Arms for them.

CLOTHWORKERS-HALL (319).

CXCI. 3,210 Acres.

The said *Sir Robert* [McLellan] (320) hath taken this Proportion of the Company for 61 years; and upon this there is a Castle of Lime and Stone, 54 feet long, 34 feet wide, and 28 feet in height; but this is not as yet covered, neither no Plantation with any *Brittish* Tenants, but only one Freeholder, which is the Parson of the Parish. For all this Land is inhabited with *Irish*.

(319). *Clothworkers-Hall*.—This company's proportion occupies the most northern position in the barony of Coleraine, extending from the shore of the Atlantic in a south-eastern direction along the Bann as far as Killowen, and on the west as far southward as Formoyle. The localities marked on the chart along its eastern boundary, are Ballycairn, Killcranny, near the Cranagh Fishery, Faranlester, or Faranmacalister, and Grangemore. On the western boundary, which separates this proportion from the barony of Keenaght, and where the land is represented on the chart of 1814 as comparatively waste, the places marked are Barnismore, Barnisbeg, Ballyhacketts, Altakeeragh, Altahrien, Bratwell, and Knockmult. Along its northern limit, on the Atlantic shore are Downhill, Ballymaddigan, or Freehall, Bogtown, Ballywoolen, and Grangebegg. On the southern boundary are Formoyle, Ballystrone, Ballintees, and Killowen, near Coleraine. The principal central localities marked are Benarees, Liffog, Ardillon, Carneety, Ballybought, Ardenn, Articlave, Pottagh, Gortgran, Mullinhead, Belliney, Irishtown, Mosteragwee, Quiley, Blaaks, Dartesa, Killyveety, Belgarrow, Knocknoger, Ballywildrick, Formullan, Gorticavan, Dunalya, and Ringrash. *Crown freeholds* are marked at Ballymaddigan, Articlave, Altahrien, Ballycairn, Ringrash, and near Killowen. On the borders of Keenaght barony, there is a small sheet of water marked, which is known as the Grey Lough, the adjoining lands being represented on the chart as rough and unsettled. A cromlech stood, in 1814, between Benarees and Barnisbegg; and near Ballybought were then the remains of an ancient cairn. Among the minor companies associated with the Clothworkers were the Bowyers and Fletchers, who, in 1617, influenced, no doubt, by the unsettled state of the country and the prospect of continual outlay, sold their portion of the manor of Clothworkers' Hall to the Company of Ironmongers. In 1619, the deputy-governor of the Irish Society informed the Clothworkers of this transaction, but owing to some circumstances which cannot now be explained, this purchase appears to have been altogether overlooked, until the attention of the Ironmongers was again called to it by the accidental discovery of papers connected with it, in 1836. On application being made

to the Clothworkers' Company, it was found that the transaction had been duly recorded in their books. Negotiations have been going on between the two companies on this matter until a late period; but why there should be any difficulty in its settlement among honourable men seems strange, and especially when the facts are all admitted by the party in possession. (See Nicholl's *History of the Ironmongers' Company*, pp. 397, 398). The Clothworkers' estate is distinguished by the circumstance that the beautiful locality of Downhill is situate in its bounds. "The Glen of Downhill," says Sampson, "opening on the sea, at Portvantage, to the north-east, winds round the sloping lawn, whose termination above is a continued escarpment, disclosing, where the planting has not succeeded, the rugged and over-jutting of basalt rocks. Amidst these rude masses, winding walks are laid out with taste; the nakedness is generally relieved by abundant crops of grasses; and not unfrequently the brow of a rude ledge is decorated by the rich yellow and green of various trefails, sea-pinks, and sea-campions." (See *Memoir of the Chart*, p. 258). The Clothworkers are among others who had let their manors to individual tenants, for 61 years, and received large fines, with small yearly rents. The following sage remarks of the Irish Society, in 1838, have reference to this fact:—"This estate is also dependent on one life, Sir G. Jackson, now about seventy, and is held by Mr. Leslie Alexander (see p. 577). The company have very prudently employed Mr. Oseland, the excellent manager of the Ironmongers' estate, which adjoins this, to enquire into and overlook the management of this proportion, with the view of taking it into their own hands when the life falls. We need scarcely add, that with such liberal companies as the Ironmongers and Clothworkers, the tenantry will, we are sure, have no reason to regret when they shall be placed under their immediate superintendence and control." See *Report*, p. 42.

(320). *Sir Robert McLellan*.—This first tenant of the Clothworkers, although he managed to get into the lands of two companies, does not appear to have long retained possession of any of his holdings.

SKINNERS-HALL *alias* DUNGEVAN (321).

CXCIII. 3,210 Acres.

The *Lady Dodington*, late Wife of *Sir Edward Dodington*, deceased, is in possession of this, she having taken a grant of it from the Company for 61 years. Here is built a Strong Castle (see p. 355), being two Stories high and a half, with a large Bawn of Lyme and Stone, well fortified. In this the Lady is now dwelling, with 24 in her Family. There is also in another place of this Land, called *Crossalt*, a Strong Castle of Lyme and Stone, built by *Sir Edward* [Dodington], being 40 feet long, and 34 feet broad, with two Turrets to flank it; also a Bawn of Lyme and Stone, 100 feet square, 14 feet high, and four Flankers; so that on this Proportion there are two Bawns and two Castles, with two Villages, containing 12 Houses apiece. At each Castle also there is a Church adjoining to the Castle, and a good Teacher to instruct the People. There is Plenty of Arms in these Castles. I find planted and estated on this Land, of *Brittish* Tenants,

Freeholders, 7, viz.,

1 having 200 acres.

6 having 120 acres le piece.

Lessees for years, 8, viz.,

1 having 300 acres.

4 having 160 acres le piece.

3 having 100 acres le piece.

Cottagers, 12, viz.,

Each of these has a House and Garden Plott, and some of them three acres of Land, and some two acres.

In Total, 27 Families, resident on the Land, and are able to make, with their under Tenants, 80 Men.

(321). *Dungavan*.—*Lady Dodington*, who was a daughter of *Tristram Beresford*, became *Lady Cooke*, having married *Sir Francis Cooke* soon after *Dodington's* death. This proportion is the largest of the twelve, its greater extent being intended to compensate for the comparatively inferior quality of the lands, as well as for the scattered positions of the several parcels. The lands of the *Skinnners' Company* lie in the three baronies of *Loughinsholin*, *Keenaght*, and *Tirkeerin*. The principal parcels marked on the map as belonging to *Loughinsholin* are *Mulnavoo*, *Drimard*, *Altoncill*, on the southern skirt of *Slievegallon*, *Strathmore*, *Tonagh*, *Cahore*, *Cloghlin*, *Corick*, *Brackagh*, *Drimderg*, *Doon*, *Strath*, *Desert*, *Labby*, *Banaghnan*, *Glengawna*, *Oanreagh*, *Tullybrick*, *Bolea*, *Moranstown*, *Cavanreagh*, *Meenacony*, *Stranalean*, *Stranahinch*, *Moyard*, *Alta-casga*, *Evisnavaddy*, and *Glenviggan*. The several parcels in the barony of *Keenaght* extended from *Carntagher* and *Benbradrach* westward to the borders of *Tirkeerin*, the chief localities being *Dungivin*, *Skriggin*, *Ballygudin*, *Crebarkie*, *Gallany*, *Templemoyle*, *Magheramore*, *Carnabane*, *Streeve*, *Drumslave*, *Tullygowan*, *Aughlish*, and *Cushcapel*. Of the *Skinnners' lands* in *Tirkeerin*, the principal were *Laghtilooch*, *Tamnagh*, *Lyng*, *Altahony*, *Lisbunea*, *Gortnaskey*, *Lackagh*, *Glenlough*, *Gartnarane*,

Lettermoyer, *Boltebracan*, and *Legachory*. Several native freeholds are marked in connection with this estate, especially throughout the mountainous lands in the southern parts of *Tirkeerin*. The *Skinnners* have frequently let their lands by lump to great advantage, and were anxious for a time to sell them in perpetuity. They got so much as 25,000*l.* at one haul, on a terminable lease, from a *Mr. Ogilvie*, or *Ogilby*, a *Dublin linen manufacturer*. *Sampson* states that "*Mr. Ogilvie, of Ard-Nargle, has an excellent house, on a commanding situation over the Roe. His plantings are rising to the utmost of his wish.*" (See *Memoir*, p. 260). We have already referred to the lawsuit carried on by this company against the *Irish Society*, which lasted for a period of six years, and which accounts, perhaps, for some part of the gall in which the *Society's pen* was dipped, when it wrote the following report of the *Skinnners*, in 1838:—"This is decidedly the worst managed of all the proportions; and but for the determination of the *Society*, and the remonstrance of the *co-cestui que trusts* (the companies associated with them—the *Stationers*, *White Bakers*, and *Ginllers*), this mismanagement would most like have been perpetuated. The *Skinnners' Company* were anxious to sell this estate in perpetuity—a fact so extraordinary that it would seem unaccountable. But it may be in some measure ex-

VINTNERS-HALL (322).

CXCIV. 3,210 Acres.

This is in the Hands of *Baptist Jones, Esq.*, who hath built a Bawn of Brick and Lime, 100 feet square, with two round Flankers, and a good Rampart, which is more than any of the rest have done. There are also within the Bawn two good Houses, one opposite to the other; the one is 70 feet long, and 25 feet wide, the other is nothing inferior unto it. Near unto the Bawn he hath built 10 good *English* Houses of Cagework, that be very strong and covered with Tiles; the Street very wide, and is to be commanded by the Bawn. All these are inhabited with *English* Families, and himself, with his Wife and Family, be resident therein. There are divers other Houses built upon the Land, which are further off; and these do use Tillage plentifully after the *English* manner. He hath made his full Number of Freeholders and Leaseholders; but he being gone into *England*, and his Tenants at the Assizes, I saw them not. There was good Store of Arms in his House, and upon the Land 76 Men, as I am informed.

plained by this circumstance, that the clerk of the Skinners' Company is the agent of Mr. Ogilby, the lessee of this proportion. We are sorry to say that this property is proverbial throughout the county of Derry, for that lack of comfort among the tenantry so much deplored in some parts of Ireland but happily not felt to any extent in the property granted by charter to the Irish Society." (See *Report*, p. 43). According to the recent "Return of Owners of Land in Ireland," the Skinners' Company holds 34,772 acres, valued at 9,511*l.* See *Irish Domesday Book*.

(322). *Vintners-Hall*.—The proportion of this company—afterwards known from its principal town or village of Bellaghy—is situate in the barony of Loughinsholin, and extends from the Mercers' proportion in a southern direction near the Bann, as far as the shore of Loughbeg, and westward, at one point, to the boundary between this barony and Keenaght. The principal places marked on the chart along its eastern boundary are Moyagney, Tyane, Clady, Ballyneese, Ballymacombs, and Ballyscullin; on its western boundary are Tir-Kane and Falbylea; on the south, Drumcrow, Lenanaroy, and the Deer-Park near Bellaghy, and on the north there are no places marked immediately along its very crooked boundary line. On the central districts, the chief places marked are Corlacky, Slaghtneill, Carrowmena, Halfgavne, Moneysharivin, Gortinure, Manistragrillagh, Tamnagh-mullan, Craigmore, Tirnony, Tullogh-reen, Curragh, Drumuck, Culnaddy, Goladuff, Drumballyhagan, Ballymacelcurr, Mullogh, Knockmakeitt, Tamneymartin, Carrickakeilt, Ballinacross, Ballinacraig, Derginagh, Lurganagoose, Cabragh, Drumlamph, Moyagh, Dreenan, Eadan, Innisrush, Ballymacpeake, Moneystaghan, Glenone, Portglenone, and Bellaghy. There are Crown freeholds marked on the chart at Manistragrillagh, Slaghtneill, Culnaddy, and Moneystaghan. The Vintners were one of the four companies who sold their lands in perpetuity, reserving a small head rent. This sale or transfer was made in 1736, the purchaser, Mr. Connolly of Castletown, paying the Vintners the sum of 15,000*l.* Mr. Sampson refers to this district, in 1814, as follows:—"There are [is] a good

number of trees scattered about Mrs. Downing's house at Rose-Gift; and, at the old castle of Bellaghy, some fine old timber revives the idea of former and better times. Trees are also flourishing on the demesne of Ballyscullion. Mr. Spottiswood has planted with good success at Bellaghy. His farming inclosures are thriving and well-preserved, and his example is valuable in that neighbourhood. Near to Portglenone, Mr. Ellis of Innisrush, and Mr. Courteney of Glen-Owen, have respectable residences and plantations. There are some improvements of the same nature at Moyagney." (See *Memoir of the Chart*, pp. 255, 256). The settlers had ruthlessly cut down all the fine old woods on the barony of Loughinsholin, and there afterwards came a great reaction in public opinion on this matter, so great that men were praised or blamed according to their cultivation or clearing away of trees. The Irish Society, of course, did not approve of the Vintners' sale of their lands. The Society continues, however, occasionally to talk at the purchasers of companies' lands, on the pages of their reports. Thus, of the Vintners, in 1838, the Society says:—"We are sorry to say the parties to whom this proportion belongs are very inattentive to their duties. The complaints of the inhabitants of the neglect of the parties by whom the land is possessed to their interests, are bitter, loud, and long. They appear quite regardless of the morals or comfort of the tenantry, nor does there appear to be any anxiety displayed to carry out the object of the Settlement. If the Vintners' Company were warranted, which we very much question, in transferring their lands to the management of others, it is quite clear they cannot divest the present proprietors of the responsibilities and claims with which they are charged, and which are so clearly defined by the charter. The lands were conveyed, not for the paltry purposes of gain, but for the promotion of the Protestant religion, and civilization of the inhabitants by education, &c. In this state of things it is clearly the duty of the Society, as governors of the Plantation, to call the Vintners' Company, or the parties holding under them, to account for the gross mismanagement and neglect of this proportion." See *Report*, 1838, p. 39.

DRAPERS-HALL *alias* MONEYMORE (323).

CXCIV. 3,210 Acres.

This Proportion is not Set to any Man, but is held by the Agent, *Mr. Russell*. Upon this there is a Strong Bawn of Stone and Lyme, 100 feet square, 15 feet high, with two Flankers. There is a Castle within the Bawne of the same wideness, being Battlemented, the which hath also two Flankers, and near finished. Right before the Castle, there are built 12 Houses, whereof six are of Lime and Stone, very good, and six of Timber, inhabited with *English* Families; and this the best work that I have seen for building; a Water-Mill and a Mault-House also. A quarter of a Mile from the Town there is made a Conduit Head, which bringeth Water to all Places in the Bawn and Town, in Pipes. But these Tenants have not any Estates, for the Agent can make none; neither will they [have estates] till such time as their Land can be improved to the utmost. Within this Castle there is good Store of Arms.

SALTERS-HALL (324).

CXCVI. 3,210 Acres.

Hugh Sayer is upon this Proportion, and upon this they have built in two several places at *Marifelt*. There is a Bawn of 80 feet square, of Lyme and Stone, with two Flankers; and the

(323). *Money more*.—The lands of this proportion, also in the barony of Loughinsholin, lie parallel with those of the Salters, between the latter and the boundary line separating this barony from that of Keenaght. The Drapers' proportion reaches southward as far as the confines of Tyrone, and westward to Glenshane, and to Gortahork in the vicinity of Desertmartin. Along its eastern boundary are Sekumpher, Lisalbanagh, Cornean, Ballygrooby, and Ballymoyle; westward are Gortahork, Cardeasy, Drummean, and Dunman; northward this proportion extends as far as Brackaghrely, Moybeg, and Moneyguigy; and southward to Cloghog, Killybearn, Drumullin, and Ballygonny. Other principal localities marked on the chart as situated throughout the central districts, are Money more, Feenan, Carlarlagh, Crossna-rea, Caltrim, Moneyha, Drimrot, Dunnybragy, Anahavil, Ballyloughan, Lismooney, Tullybui, Drumard, Canese, Turnafae, Ballymully, Magherascullion, Moyasset, Calmore, Duntybryan, Granny, Tamneyaskey, Tullyrone, and Mornmeal. Crown freeholds are marked at Calmore, Moyasset, and Killybearn. Bogs are marked at Ballyloughan, Dunnybragy, and other places. Much of this proportion adjoins the mountain of Slievegallan. The improvement appears to have progressed from the time a Mr. Rowley Miller was appointed to be the Drapers' agent. Although Sampson, in 1814, saw nothing to praise in the district, the Irish Society, in 1838, spoke of it in rapturous terms. "We were very much pleased," the deputies say, "in going through this proportion. The chief town, Money more, is quite an English town, most beautifully laid out and managed by Mr. Rowley Miller and his son; he kindly showed us through the estate. The inn is one of the best we met with whilst in Ireland. The company have lately established another town, called Drapers' Town, which is thriving rapidly. There are

many thriving plantations of timber here; and the whole appearance of the farm-houses and the town, with the church, the market-house, and other buildings, all indicate the kindness of the Drapers' Company, and of their excellent manager, Mr. Miller." After recommending "the example of the Drapers' Company to all the other Companies," the deputies conclude this part of their report as follows:—"The most shameful dereliction of duty on the part of some of the Companies has, in some instances, led to a state of things which cannot be too much deplored, and which, in spite of the exertions of the Irish Society, seem to be almost without remedy." (See pp. 43, 44). According to the recent "Return of Owners of Land in Ireland," the Drapers hold 27,025 acres, valued at 14,859*l*. See *Irish Domesday Book*, 1875.

(324). *Salters-Hall*.—This proportion, also in the barony of Loughinsholin, extends southward from the Vintners' proportion along the shore of Lough Neagh to Ballinderry, on confines of Tyrone. In a western direction, it extends beyond Magherafelt. On its eastern border it is shut off to some distance from the lake shore by lands belonging to private estates. The chief places marked on the map along its western border are Curr, Ballymacafer-son, Killbogan, Ballycumlary, Dillusk, and Ballydrum; on the north is Aghagaskin; whilst along its southern boundary are marked the localities known as Mowillan, Ballygillenbeg, and Ballinderry, bordering on Tyrone. In the central districts are marked, among the chief places, Mullaghbuy, Rossure, Dunarnon, Magherafelt, Lisnamore, Megargy, Coolshinny, Ballymoghans, Gortagilly, Mullaghadoane, Ballynanagh, Ballygelish, Ballygurr, Ballygillenmore, Ballynagarve, Ballygillenbeg, Ballylifford, Ballinderry, Ballyroogly, Ballymulligan, Ballygneils, Ballygriff, Ballymulderrigbeg, Ballymulderrigmore, Killyfaddy, Lackagh, Caraloan, and Killylinkasy. In this

Castle is now in building, being 60 feet long, and 20 feet wide. This is now three Stories high, and the Roof ready to be set up. The Walls of the Bawn are not as yet above 10 feet high. Near unto the Bawne there are 7 Houses of slight Cage-work, whereof five are inhabited with poor Men, the other two stand waste. The other place, called *Salters Town*, hath a Bawne of Stone and Lyme, 70 feet square, 12 feet high, with two Flankers; and a poor House within it of Cage-work, in which the Farmer, with his Wife and Family, dwelleth. Here are also 9 Houses of Cage-work standing by the Bawn, being inhabited with *Brittish* Families; also a Sawing Mill for Timber; but the Glass Houses are gone to decay, and utterly undone. There are not any upon this Land that have any estates.

"A Brief of the general State of the Plantation for Persons Planted in the Several Counties contained in this Book:—

COUNTY OF CAVAN.					COUNTY OF DONAGALL.				
Freeholders	...	...	...	68	Freeholders	...	...	...	59
Lessees for Lives	...	...	...	20	Lessees for Lives	...	...	...	25
Lessees for Years	...	...	...	168	Lessees for Years	...	...	...	217
Cottagers	...	...	...	130	Cottagers	...	...	...	46
Families	...	...	...	386	Families that have no Estates	...	...	...	70
Bodies of Men	...	...	...	711	Families, in all	...	...	...	417
					Bodies of Men	...	...	...	1,106
COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.					COUNTY OF TYRONE.				
Freeholders	...	...	...	59	Freeholders	...	...	...	84
Lessees for Lives	...	...	...	10	Lessees for Lives	...	...	...	26
Lessees for Years	...	...	...	117	Lessees for Years	...	...	...	183
Cottagers	...	...	...	75	Cottagers	...	...	...	154
Families	...	...	...	321	Families	...	...	...	447
Bodies of Men	...	...	...	645	Bodies of Men	...	...	...	2,469

proportion there are Crown freeholds marked at Coolshanny, Ballynanagh, near Ballygellenmore, near Ballymulderiggbeg, and at a little distance southward from Dunarnon. Near the place last mentioned are the remains of a cromlech. On these lands there are several bogs marked, and some parcels of rough mountain pasture, especially along their western verge. The estate of the *Salters' Company* was leased for years only, when Sampson wrote his memoir in 1814, and probably for long periods before and after that date. He states that it was the only one of the twelve manors or proportions so circumstanced. "In the neighbourhood of Magherafelt," says he, "we find some commodious dwellings, with suitable planting on a small scale." (See pp. 256, 270). The *Salters* changed their system of letting their lands

before 1838, granting the whole manor for a term of years, and receiving a large fine from the lessee. The deputies from the *Irish Society*, in the year above named, report that "the *Salters' estate* is one of the four Proportions which is leased for a term of years; in other words, it is for a time out of the hands, and, consequently, out of the management of the Company. The lease granted by the Company will expire in May, 1853. This Proportion, however, is most fortunate in having such a landlord as Sir Robert Bateson, the member for the county, who holds directly from the Company." According to the recent "Return of Owners of Land in Ireland," the *Salters* hold 19,445 acres, valued at 17,263*l.* See *Irish Domesday Book*, 1875.

COUNTY OF ARDMAGH.					COUNTY OF LONDON-DERRY.				
Freeholders	...	...	...	39	Freeholders	...	...	...	25
Lessees for Lives	...	...	...	18	Lessees for Years	...	...	...	78
Lessees for Years	...	...	...	190	Cottagers	...	...	...	16
Cottagers	...	...	...	43					
				<hr/>					<hr/>
Families	...	...	...	290	Families	...	...	...	119
Bodies of Men	...	...	...	642	Bodies of Men	...	...	...	642
				<hr/>					<hr/>

The whole Content of the Six Counties.

Freeholders	...	...	...	...	334
Lessees for Lives	...	...	...	...	99
Lessees for Years	...	...	...	...	1,013
					<hr/>
Families	...	...	...	...	1,974
Bodies of Men	...	...	...	...	6,215 with Arms.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,—I have, in the Book before written, set down all the Particulars I find of the State of the Plantation of his Majesty's escheated Lands in Ulster now to stand.

And, *First*, it appears by the Particulars, that in the *Brittish* Families within mentioned, there are 6,215 Bodies of Men ; but I may presume further to certify, partly by observing the Habitation of these Lands, and partly by conferring with some of knowledge among them, that upon occasion, there be found in those Lands at least 8,000 Men of *Brittish* Birth and Descent, to do his Majesty's Service for Defence thereof, though the fourth part of the Land is not fully inhabited.

"*Secondly*,—It appears by the Particulars, that there are now built within the Counties of *Ardmagh*, *Tyrone*, *Donagall*, *Fermanagh*, *Cavan*, and *London-Derry*, 107 Castles with Bawnes, 19 Castles without Bawnes, 42 Bawnes without Castles or Houses, and 1,897 Dwelling Houses of Stone and Timber, after the *English* manner in Townreeds, besides very many such Houses in several parts which I saw not ; and yet there is great want of Buildings upon their Lands, both for Townreeds and otherwise. And I may say, that the abode and continuance of those Inhabitants upon the Lands is not yet made certain, although I have seen the Deeds made unto them. My reason is, that many of the *English* Tenants do not yet plough upon the Lands, neither use Husbandrie, because I conceive they are fearful to Stock themselves with Cattle or Servants for those Labours. Neither do the *Irish* use Tillage, for that they are also uncertain of their Stay upon the Lands ; so that, by this means, the *Irish* ploughing nothing, do use greasing ; the *English* very little ; and were it not for the *Scottish* Tenants, which do plough in many places of the Country, those Parts may starve ; by Reason whereof the *Brittish*, who are forced to take their Lands at great Rates, do lie at the greater Rents, paid unto them by the *Irish* Tenants, who do grease their Land ; and if the *Irish* be put away with their Cattle, the *Brittish* must either forsake their Dwellings, or endure great Distress on the suddain. Yet the

combination of the *Irish* is dangerous to them, by robbing them, and otherwise. I observe the greatest number of *Irish* do well upon the Lands granted to the City of *London*; which happeneth, as I take it, two ways, *First*, There are five of the Proportions assigned to the several Companies, which are not yet estated to any Man, but are in the Hands of Agents; who, finding the *Irish* more profitable than the *Brittish* Tenants, are unwilling to draw on the *Brittish*, perswading the Company that the Lands are mountainous and unprofitable, not regarding the future security of the whole: *Secondly*, The other seven of the Proportions are leased to several Persons for 61 years, and the Lessees do affirm that they are not bound to plant *English*, but may plant with what people they please; neither is the City of *London* bound to do it by their Patents from his Majesty, as they say; and by these two actions, the *Brittish* that are now there, who have many of them built houses at their own charges, have no estates made unto them, which is such Discouragement unto them, as they are minded to depart the Land; and without better settlement will seek elsewhere, wherein it is very fit the City have Direction to take a present Course, that they may receive their assurances; and this being the Inconveniency, which in this Survey I have observed, further than what was set down formerly by *Sir Josias Bodley's* last Survey, I have thought good to make the same known to your Lordships, submitting the further Consideration thereof to your Lordships' deep judgment."

Such, then, was Pynnar's account of the state in which he found the Ulster Plantation, with particular reference to the small number of British settlers therein, and their sadly halting progress towards the attainment of those objects for which they had been sent hither. "This account, indeed, it must be fairly admitted, presents but a humiliating picture of the results of the movement, after so much effort on the part of the Government during the preceding twelve years, and such an appalling amount of suffering as had been thereby inflicted on the native population. It would have been more than remarkable, however, had not the new comers prospered sooner or later, seeing that they enjoyed all the encouragement and protection they could have desired, or that mere earthly power could afford—that they got hold of the very best land in the province, teeming, as it did, with natural fertility, and so rested as to yield its abundant harvests with but little toil—and that, in fact, they were compelled by the Government to go forward with a certain amount of effort, which they would hardly have put forth if left to themselves. But the paradise of plenty, if not of peace, to which these strangers at times attained, was only secured by a very heavy and dreadful sacrifice of the general interests of Ireland as a nation; for to this settlement in Ulster, and in a minor degree, to similar settlements or plantations in the other provinces at the same period, may be traced the awful scenes and events of the ten years' civil war commencing in 1641, the horrors of the revolutionary struggle in 1690, and the re-awakening of those horrors in 1798—not to mention certain less notable phases of the struggle during the intervals between those disastrous eras. The dragons' teeth, so plentifully, and as if so deliberately sown in this Ulster plantation, have, indeed, sprung up at times with more than usually abundant growth, yielding their ghastly harvests of blood and death on almost every plain, and by almost every river side, and in almost every glen of our northern province.

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Corrigenda.

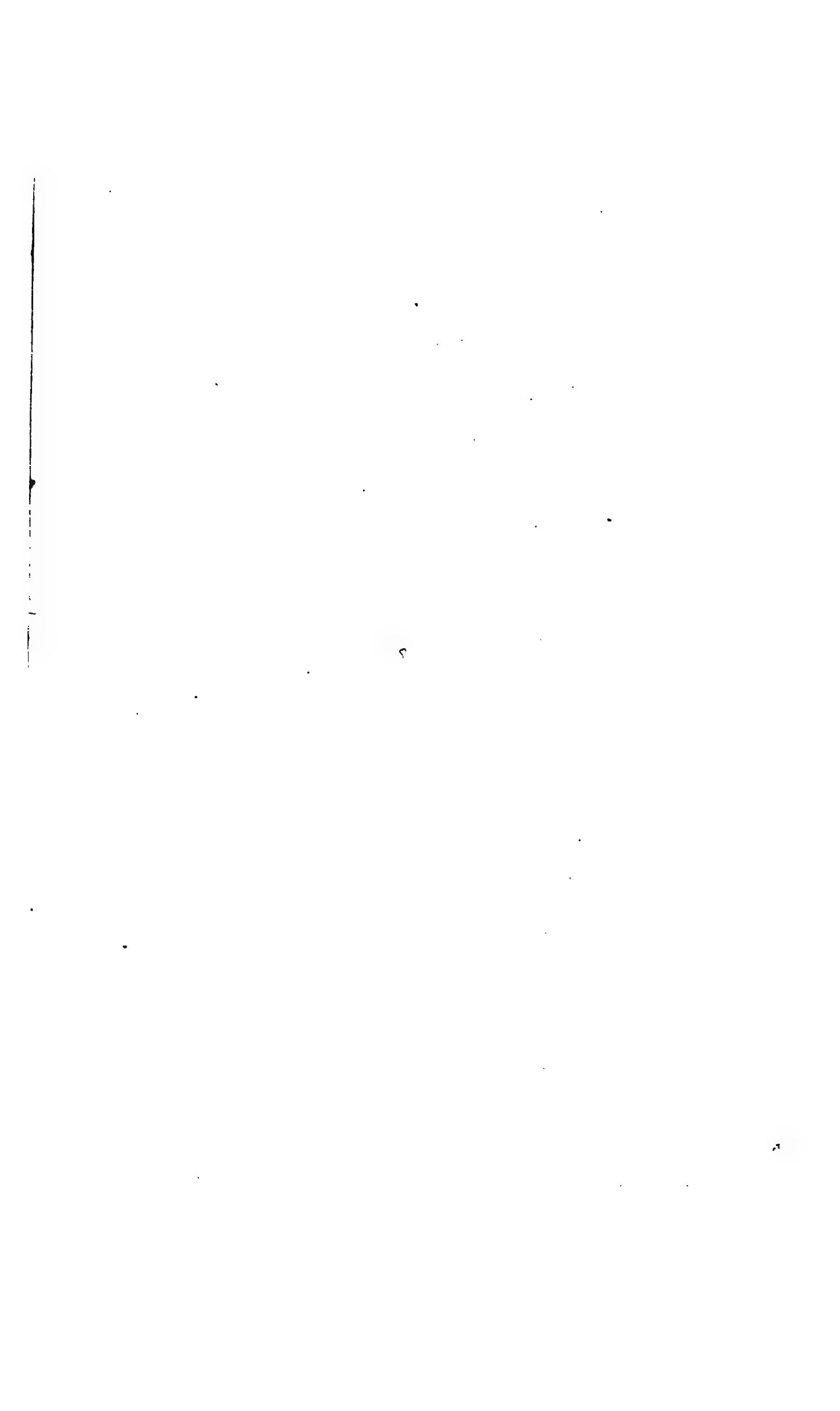
Page 9, note 12, for 'Cwchullian' read *Cuchullain*.

Page 14, note 16, for 'foowed' read *followed*.

Page 14, note 16, for 'Coumba' read *Columba*.

Page 105, note 63, for 'mirrowing' read *mirroring*.


Pages 296-299, notes 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, and 164, for 'Paterson' read *McKerlie*.



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